



PORTRAIT OF HENRY WOTTON
(From the original at Eton College, by an unknown painter)

THE LIFE AND LETTERS
OF
SIR HENRY WOTTON

BY
LOGAN PEARSALL SMITH

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LETTERS

200 TO SIR THOMAS EDMONDES

Stowe MS 172, f 224, holograph Wotton's embassy to Turin

(Amiens), this 28th of our March, 1612

MY LORD,

Although since my return home from Venice by that place where you are, and where you used me so nobly, I have lived in much silence towards you and all others, passing my time more in mine own private study than in the Court, which is the market of noise and novelties, yet being now put abroad again by his Majesty into some action, I am bound to give your Lordship a reckoning of myself and of my employment both out of the general duty of such correspondence as ought to run between the servants of one good master, and likewise by mine own personal and particular obligations towards yourself. It may please your Lordship, therefore, to understand from me, that I arrived yesterday night as far as Amiens¹, on my way towards the Court of Savoy, whither I am bearing his Majesty's commandments, who is desirous to satisfy that Duke about the subject of the two late embassies, in the first propounding a reciprocal,² in the second a single match. It is likewise his Majesty's care not to remain in obligation for certain rarities that were sent him, and therefore he hath returned by me unto the said Duke a very rich and royal present, consisting of ten ambling horses, sumptuously caparisoned in several kinds, and a jewelled sword³. And to conduct the horses he hath sent Sir Peter Saltonstall, one of the four queries⁴, whom

¹ Wotton wrote to Donne from Amiens, but the letter has not been preserved (*Gosse*, i, p 301)

² The first embassy from Savoy was that of Count Cartignana, early in 1611 who proposed the double match, the second, the return of Count Cartignana in the autumn, with proposals for the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth and the Prince of Piedmont (*Gardiner*, ii, p 140)

³ Chamberlain describes these horses as 'ten light ambling geldings, with a variety of saddles and rich furniture'. They were sent away on March 10 in the charge of Sir Peter Saltonstall, but met Wotton at Lyons. The sword Chamberlain wrote, was a rich one, 'with the hilt, pommel, handle, and chape of gold, set full of fair diamonds, to the value of sixteen thousand pounds, certain selected sworn jewellers have so valued it' • (*C & T Jas I*, i, p 138) The night before Wotton went away, an attempt was made to steal this sword, but the thieves made a mistake, and took from his room the ambassador's own sword by mistake (*Ibid*, p 163) ⁴ 'Queries,' old form equeries (*N E D*)

the King doth well esteem, and five of his grooms with their coats, which company is gone before me for commodity sake but is to stay at Lyons till my arrival. I shall have with me, for gentlemen of quality, Sir Robert Riche¹ whom I find here full of worthy remembrance of your Lordship, Mr Francis Howard, son to my Lord William, and Sir William Cavendish, son and heir to Sir Charles his father, and by his mother heir to the Barony of Ogle, a young gentleman very nobly bred, and of singular expectation, some other gentlemen there are of meaner note, whom I shall not need to describe unto your Lordship. Our whole troop together, when we shall pass the mountains will be about fifty horse. Now, for the substance of mine errand, your Lordship may (if it please you) assure the Duke of Savoy's Minister there, that if his master shall not with those embassies wherewith he hath so much honoured his Majesty, gain in ally (whereof all the impediment shall depend upon some circumstances on his side and on no disestimation of the offer on ours) yet *en tant* as he hath gained a perpetual friend towards him and his in all just occasion, as I have very large and particular commission to assure him. This is that account which I found myself tied to give your Lordship of my present employment. It shall be a new obligation

* ¹ Sir Robert Rich 1557-1628. Second Earl of Warwick in 1619. Lord High Admiral 1643. (*D.N.B.*) Gussoni, the Venetian ambassador at Turin calls him 'il Barone Rizzo', and says he was reported to have an income of 60,000 ducats a year (£15,000). About two weeks after Wotton's arrival, Rich suddenly left Turin and returned to England. His departure was variously explained, some said the King wished to send him as a colonel of infantry to help the King of Denmark, others reported that Wotton was displeased with him because he kept frequenting Catholic churches, while the more malicious believed that the ambassador was jealous of the great honours paid him--as great, if not greater, than those paid to Wotton himself. When about to depart, he found that his trunks had been forced open, and a large sum of money stolen. The malicious again accused Wotton of having had this done to prevent Rich's return to England. (*Ven. Arch.*, Gussoni, June 3, 1612, calendared *ed. S.P. 105*, xii, p. 368.)

² Francis Howard, afterwards Sir Francis Howard of Corby Castle, a royalist colonel in the Civil Wars. Chamberlain on March 11 gives the names of Wotton's companions 'of note' as follows: 'a son of the Lord William Howard, two sons of Sir Charles Cavendish, one Yorke, and Sir Robert Rich carries for him in France' (*C. & T. Jas. I.*, i, p. 138.)

³ William Cavendish (1592-1676), afterwards the first Duke of Newcastle (1665). This journey is mentioned by the Duchess of Newcastle, in her life of her husband. 'When he was grown to the age of fifteen or sixteen, he was made Knight of the Bath, and soon after he went to travel with Sir Henry Wotton, who was sent as ambassador extraordinary to the Duke of Savoy, which Duke made very much of my Lord, and when he would be free in feasting, placed him next to himself. Before my Lord did return with the ambassador into England, the said Duke proffered my Lord, that if he would stay with him, he would not only confer upon him the best title of honour he could, but also give him an honourable command in war, although my Lord was but young, for the Duke had then some designs of war. But the ambassador, who had taken the care of my Lord, would not leave him behind without his parents' consent' (*Notes of the Duke and Duchess of Newcastle*, 1872, pp. 3, 4.)

if I may receive your letters at Lyons, and in them any such advertisement as you may think to concern our master's ends, as likewise any such news as your Lordship may have received from England very freshly, especially touching the sickness of my Lord Treasurer, whom I left in cheerful opinion of himself¹ Unto my Lady your wife I must remember my very humble service, of whose courteous usage of me, and generally of her noble fashion, I have been a professor in many places, which is all the payment I can yield her

Lastly, I recommend unto your Lordship's kindness this gentle man, Mr Philip Woledge², who having thought to pass with me into Italy, hath changed that resolution into a better, meaning for a year or such a matter, to perfect his French tongue in this kingdom, and afterwards to spend some two or three years in Italy He is in himself of noble blend, and of good disposition and merit, and very nearest kin to my Lady my sister, which respects bind me to wish his well doing

And so committing your Lordship and your whole family to God's merciful love, I rest,

Your Lordship's faithful poor friend to serve you,

HENRY WOTTON

201 TO THE EARL OF PEMBROKE

14th MS 1729, f 116, holograph Wotton sends a copy of his dispatch to William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke (1580-1630)

From Lumburges, at the foot of the
Mont Senes, this 9th of May, 1612

Style of the place

My Lord,

I have sent herewith unto your Lordship the copy of (my letter) from this place to my Lord of Salisbury, touching our journey hitherto and the (events) thereof, which I have done in two respects first, for that your Lordship was one of those six

¹ The Earl of Salisbury was now in his last illness. Relying from a severe attack at the end of December, 1611, he began to apply himself to business in March, but his illness returned in April, and on May 24 he died at Marlborough on his way from Bath (*Gardner*, II, pp 141, 142). During Salisbury's illness, and after his death, Wotton was talked of for a while as his most probable successor in the important office of Secretary of State. On March 11 Chamberlain, writing to Carleton about Salisbury's illness, said that those who knew Salisbury's mind best believed that Wotton would succeed him, 'to whom,' he adds, 'in that regard I lent a charity that may chance stand in some need' (*C & T Jas* I, 1, 137, wrongly dated 1611)

² Probably Woolrich. Lady Wotton's aunt, Anne Wharton, daughter of Thomas, second Lord Wharton, married William Woolrich, Esq

whom his Majesty called into council about my dispatch next for mine own particular obligations towards yourself, which make me single your Lordship from the rest, and bind me to honour you, not *in communi*, but *in individuo*. When I have more matter, your Lordship shall have more trouble, and yet, perhaps, this is more than I shall know how to excuse or to redeem with the next. Our dear Saviour in the meanwhile, and ever, bless you

<Your> Lordship's faithfully to serve you,

HENRY WOTTON

My Lord, I have taken a presumption (which I hope your Lordship will pardon) to pass under your cover a few lines to my honest friend

202 TO THE EARL OF SALISBURY

Ashm MS 1729, f 115, transcript unsigned, extract. No date but the dispatch referred to in the previous letter. Wotton's journey to Turin.

<Lunenburg, May 9, 1612, N 3>

RIGHT HONOURABLE AND MY VERY GOOD LORD,

From Boulogne (where I wrote my last) through Picardie, Champagne, and a piece of the Duchy of Burgundie, I arrived at Lyons on Wednesday morning of the Easter week, and before dinner Sir Peter Saltonstone came likewise thither with his company by the way of Orleans. Our meeting thus together in the place which we had determined with the difference of so few hours, we esteemed a good presagement of the rest. In mine own passage I had here and there some honour done me by the mayors and eschevins, the governors of the principal towns being all at the Court by occasion of the late jollities ¹

From Boulogne to Lyons I spent just three weeks, staying in no place longer than was meet for some care of our horses, save only at Troyes, where I rested a day and a half upon a little indisposition <which> William Candish had contracted, first by the extreme <me of cold> and wind, and then of heats, being loath to leave <behind> so sweet an ornament of my journey, and a gentleman himself of so excellent nature and institution. At Lyons we were forced to rest five days, partly for the refreshing of our own equipage, before we should climb the hills, but chiefly upon an unfortunate accident happened to one of the best horses of the King's present, who had casually trod upon the sharp end of a pruner's sickle, such as they use in the vineyards, which ran some two inches into his foot. Our

¹ The rejoicings at the conclusion of the treaty for reciprocal marriages between France and Spain.

stay was to see whether he could be recovered without shedding the hoof, whereof, when there appeared small hope, Sir Peter Saltonstone resolved to leave him behind, and to supply his room with a very fair ambler of his own, being in truth as careful and zealous a servant as I think his Majesty could have chosen, whereof he hath given good proof, having (except that casualty which could not be prevented by any discretion) conducted the rest hitherto so as they are in fairer condition than when they came forth, and are everywhere admired for delicate beasts

From Lyons to Chambéry we took the longer way, by a day's journey, to avoid the mountain de la Gibillotta. Our reception there was full of circumstances of great respect. The Marquis de Lanz met us some three or four miles out of the town, with about three score (horse,) amongst his train some gentlemen of good title. He brought me to his castle through the principal (street), where he had placed all along the ladies in windows, and in the chief view his own *Valentina* (as he called her), of whom he did me the honour to ask my opinion. In his castle he lodged all the gentlemen of my company, and disposed the rest in good houses. And the next day after dinner he conducted me in a coach two leagues on my way to Mormillan, the same horse that met us attending us out of the town. At this fort we first alighted, though seated very high on a rock, where Mons de Lodes, captain of the place, after a salutation of all the small and great artillery, told me he had order from the Duke to show me more than had been opened even to cardinals. And so, leading us about (though in truth with concealment (of the) magazines, which perhaps were not so plentifully provided, he ended with a very delicate banquet and music in a (great) furnished room, which he called *La Camera di Sua Alt(ezza)*. After this, I was brought down to my lodging in the town by the Marquis, and there feasted that night, and a guard of muskets and harquebusiers appointed all night before my chamber, with sentinels on the stairs—nearer pomp than necessity, and so, having the next day after breakfast accompanied me on foot some quarter of a mile which could not well be ridden, we then parted.

These circumstances (which I have been curious to set down) were much magnified by the greatness of the Marquis, his birth and present authority, and somewhat likewise by the very propriety of his nature. By birth he is the Duke's sister's son,¹ and his brother is the Marquis d'Este, a grandee of Spain. His title and present qualifications are these *Marchese di Lanz, capo di tutta la nobilita*

¹ Filippo d'Este Marchese di Lanz, was a son of Maria, natural daughter of Emmanuele Filiberto, Duke of Savoy.

Premontese et Savorarda, Generale della Cavalleria di Sua Altezza, et suo Vice Duca et Governatore Generale nelli stati di Savoia His nature seemeth strangely composed, for though he be so popular, that in the street he will put off his hat to the meanest artisans, and even to beggars (as we twice noted), yet all men agree that he is otherwise not very cheap of his person. And he spared not himself to let fall in good handsome <terms thus> much to me, that he had never met nor gone with any <ambassador> out of the town, but had indeed received charge <from the D>uke to exceed any former example. Thus his Majesty seeth that, for his sake, his humblest and unworthiest servant hath had an honest entrance into this country, upon which notwithstanding (though the whole fashion hath appeared very real) I dare conclude nothing, till my second audience with the Duke himself. For being sent to a Prince (who is *Lerda nada*¹), and informed already (as I must presume) of what he shall expect, I am bound to leave a certain latitude of believing that he will set the best value that may be upon his own business in the noise of the world. Of which I shall inform his Majesty better, when I shall arrive where I desire. In the meantime I have been tedious to your Lordship, and in truth <to myself,> in running over this historical part of our passa<ge wi>th nothing but visible matter, or little more. <In my> next I shall endeavour, according to my poor capacity, to give his Majesty an account of the more substantial part of my employment, ever praying Almighty God to bless his royal person and estates.

Your Lordship's always bound to honour and serve you

203 TO THE EARL OF PEMBROKE

Askm MS 1729, f 114, holograph Albertus Morton returning to England

From Turin, this 23th of May, 1612
Style of the place

RIGHT HONOURABLE AND MY VERY GOOD LORD,

This bearer A<lbertus Moit>on² will, by your favour, ac<quaint

¹ So in the MS, but the original is lost, and 'no' may have been omitted in the transcript. '*Lerda nada*' means in Spanish 'a dull nothing', which is the last phrase that Wotton would have applied to Charles Emmanuel.

² On June 11 Chamberlain wrote that Albertus Morton had newly returned from Turin (*O & T Jas I*, i, p 172). And in a letter of June 17 he adds that Morton 'had a thousand crowns given him by the Duke at his coming away, and during four or five days that he stayed here, he spake four times with the Queen, and carried a jewel from her to his uncle, who is willed to make all the haste he can homeward, whereas it was once resolved he should have taken the new Emperor in his way, and instructions were drawn for this purpose, to have gone and congratulated his election' (*Ibid*, p 177).

your Lordship > with what commissions <I have charged him > I most humbly beseech <you to receive> him into your grace, <for> you <have an> undisseizable right in him two ways, first, as he is my nephew, next, as he is an honest man

And so with a languishing look homewards, even among these infinite honours and entertainments, I humbly kiss your Lordship's hands, and commit you to God's blessed love

<Your> Lordship's faithful <serv>ant,

<He>NRY WOTTON

204 To ADAM NEWTON

Harl MS 7002, f 129, holograph Wotton writes to Prince Henry's secretary Adam Newton, to acknowledge the receipt of a letter from the Prince. This note is undated, but endorsed 'Aug 1612', and was probably written shortly after Wotton's return to England on July 27, O S

London, this Thursday, towards night <August 1612>

SIR,

I received by my nephew such lines from his Highness as have bound me for ever, not only to his own grace that gave them life, but even to that hand which helped him, therefore, besides my other obligations to yourself, let me give you particular thanks for this. last, and promise you the service of an honest man, which is most indubitably

This

HENRY WOTTON

205 To SIR JULIUS CAESAR

Lansd MS 165, f 190, holograph No date, endorsed '16 Sept 1612'

* Wotton writes to the Chancellor of the Exchequer about the payments for his embassy to Spain

<Sept 16, 1612>

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

I humbly present unto your Honour here inclosed my accompts of this last employment, beseeching of you two favours. The one, that my diet money may run at least till the end of August, although my return to the King was, as I remember, on the 9th or 10th of that month for so the late Lord Treasurer at my coming from Venice gave me in the entire month, and I think the case be so familiar in others that I shall not need to urge mine own example. The other favour that I beg of your Honour is that I may receive my demands out of that sum which Signor Filippo Builamachi is to pay the King by order out of France, that so the said Builamachi (upon

whose credit I have lived abroad, and to whom I owe upon the point of 1,000 pounds) may be the sooner satisfied, as in truth his honest kindnesses require. All this is matter of favour and grace, wherein I am much emboldened by the many assurances of your Honour's love towards me. The rest of my reckonings I have set down—not at large, as perhaps some do in the like case, but upon the truth of my conscience, wherein I will justify that both it hath been spent, and hath been spent necessarily, as I am sure will appear to those that shall examine the way I have gone outwards, and in return, and the impediments I have had on the way, besides the extraordinary charge that the very quality of my errand required, which in truth was to be helped with show, wherewith princes are often fed. There fore in that part I call upon your Honour, not as a friend, but as a judge.

I am hindered myself at the present from waiting upon your Honour personally, and therefore I have been bold to trouble you with these lines by Mr. Pey, through whose hands all my former accompts and pecuniary businesses have passed at home. I will end with all hearty thanks to your Honour, for your great good nesses towards me, and with assurance of all faithfulness on my part, in whatsoever you shall command me.

Your Honour's, to serve you, *alla reale*

HENRY WOTTON

206 TO THE VISCOUNT ROCHESTER

S P Dom Jas I, lxxi, no 33, holograph. Wotton asks that Sir George Carew's pension may be conferred on him.

(Nov. 14, 1612, OS)

RIGHT HONOURABLE AND MY VERY GOOD LORD,

In this City of Westminster (where I have a poor lodging) Sir George Carew, Master of the Wards, died the last night¹ which hath occasioned me to take this presumption of writing unto your Lordship, whose noble favour I humbly beg in procuring from the King the continuance of that annual pension of 200 pounds unto me, which the said Sir George Carew enjoyed during his life.

We were both at one time in several places his Majesty's servants abroad, and albeit the condition of Italie (as then seeming to threaten some great and good alteration) drew on my time there to double the length of his in Fraunce, yet at my return home we had the same pensions allotted us, through the late Lord Treasurer's representation.

¹ Sir George Carew, English ambassador in France 1605-9, died on Friday, Nov. 13 (*S P Dom Jas I*, lxxi, no 33). The date of this letter is therefore Nov. 14.

of our cases to our good master, perhaps with some disequity, if it may become me to charge a man at rest so far, to whom otherwise for his professions I was much beholden. Now (my Lord) although I know that the bounties of kings are the motions of their own hearts, and do not ordinarily pass (to use the law phrase) by way of acciue from one fellow servant to a survivor, yet I hope that his Majesty (to whom my devotion began before my subjection) may be pleased, by your Lordships favourable means to extend unto me this effect of his mere grace.

And, to your Lordship (by whose mediation I shall gain it) I can promise no more than, a perpetual acknowledgement of you for my patron, whom I beseech, howsoever, to pardon this unseasonable boldness in a time of so public grief. And so committing your prosperity to God I humbly rest,

Your Lordship's to do you faithful service,

HENRY WOTTON

207. TO MARK WELSER²

Reliq., 1st ed., p. 400. Wotton defends himself against Schoppius

Londino, Nonis Decembris Iulianis,
Anno unci Mediatoris nostri, MDIOXXII

MARCO VELSERO, DUUMVIRO AUGUSTAE VINDELICIAE, HENRICUS
WOTTONIUS S O

Privatim antehac ad te aliquoties scripsi, nunc causa est ut publice quoque id faciam. haec, qualis sit, quaeso audias. Prostabat Franco fuit superioribus Nundinis opus quoddam, si molem spectes (quod fere sit) non sane de infimis, cum hac inscriptione,

*Gasparis Scioppij Ecclesiasticus, auctoritati Serenissimi Domini
Iacobi Regis oppositus*

In quo, cum argumento magnam partem novo, tum exemplo nemini adhuc usitato, et caetera quae eandem modestiam sapiunt

Huius operis consutor, cum farraginem rerum undecunque emendicaret, videtur nescio quo modo incidere in iocosam Legati definitionem, quam iam ante octennium istac transiens apud amicum virum

¹ The death of Prince Henry, on Nov. 6, 1612

² Marc Welsel or Velselius (1558-1614), a wealthy and learned patrician of Augsburg, and one of the consuls of that city. Although a Catholic, and a patron of the Jesuits, he was a friend of Casaubon, who said of him, 'Il est honnête homme, et ne maintiendra les jésuites contre un homme docte' (*Pattison*, p. 400). The above letter was published, as on Dec. 17, 1612, Chamberlain wrote 'Sir Harry Wotton hath printed a sheet of paper for an apology in the matter objected to him by Schoppius, and dedicated it to Welsel of Augusta. I have been promised a sight of it once or twice, but cannot yet light upon it' (*S. P. Dom.*, lxxi, no. 65). This was reprinted in the first edition of the *Reliquiae*, and a translation added in the third edition. As far as I know, no copy of the original publication has been preserved.

Christophorum Fleckameum¹ forte posueram in Albo Amicorum more Teutonico his ipsis verbis, 'Legatus est vii bonus, peregre missus ad mentiendum Reipublicae causa'² Definitio adeo fortasse catholica, ut complecti possit etiam Legatos a latere Quid hic, obsecro, facit Scioppius? Reserat familiaritatis sciuntia, resuscitat, post tot annos, obsoletos sales, iam ipsa vetustate ab inquietudine redemptos, ornat me, pio humanitate sua, clementissima interpretatione, tanquam id non solum scio sed et iactanter scripsissem, neque hoc contentus, conatur quoque intemeratum optimi Regis nomen per iocos meos in invidiam trahere, quasi Domini praestare tenerentur etiam servorum lusus, postremo ad honestandam petulantiam suam locum unum atque alterum ex Esaia et Solomone lepide intermiscet,³ ut nihil est tutum a profanis ingenis Haec in me fateor cecidisse nullo seculo Quis enim putarat nascurum hominem impatientem brevis ioci super Legatorum licentia qui tantum politica agitant, ubi indies videmus ipsam Sacrosanctae Theologiae severitatem a quibusdam aequivocationum, mentalium reservationum, et praevaricationum magistris tam foede constupratam? neque hoc obiter, aut iocose, aut in Albis Amicorum, ubi vana veraque pari securitate tam scribi quam depingi solent, sed ex professo, et de suggestu, et cum privilegio et auctoritate Superiorum Verum Scioppius est qui surrexit Et quid expectet me responsi um? Sane memini familiam meam cum Venetiis essem anathemate pericussam in Paraenesi Baroniana⁴ Memini tum etiam a Gomitulo Iesuita Perusino⁵ et ab Antonio Possevino⁶ eiusdem farinae quaedam in me iacta, quae quanquam ab exulceratis animis effluerent utcumque tacitus ferebam, quippe hi erant viii non indignae existimationis saltem apud suos, et ipsorum auctorum qualiscunque claritudo leniebat iniuriam Sed cum famelicus transfuga et Romanae curiae lutulentus circulator scriptitatur solum ut prandere possit, cum semicoctus grammaticaster, et nulla antehac solidiore disciplina tinctus, ecclesiastica tractat, cum vespillonis et castiensis scorti⁷

¹ Probably Flechammer, and a relative of the Flechammer of Augsburg, mentioned in Wotton's letter No 338

² There are several references, in contemporary literature, to this famous definition of an ambassador, e.g. the phrase 'liegers that lie out' in Ben Jonson's *Staple of News*, i 2, Ruggle's *Ignoramus* (ed Hawkins, p 32), and Massinger's *Renegado*, i 1 ³ *Ante*, i, pp 126, 127

⁴ *Paraenesis ad Remp Vnetum*, 1606, p 49 'Anglicano conventu qui apud vos est'

⁵ *Confutazione del Libro de' Sette Teologi contra l' interdetto Apostolico*, composta dal Rev^{do} P Paolo Comitolo Perugino (Bologna, 1607) On Dec 13, 1606, Wotton showed this book to the Doge, declaring that it was really by Possevin (*Cal S P Ven*, x, p 442)

⁶ Possevino, *ante*, i, p 345

⁷ 'Lege vulgata de vita et parentibus Scioppu, p 127' (note in margin) This book was published at Leyden, 1609

spuma invereientei in regem debacchatur, cuius eximia in divinis humanisque sapientia et constans iusti tenor cuicunque vel privato venerationem conciliaret, cum homo Germanus exuta patria probitate et modestia nihil aliud per totum opus quam eveisionem regum regnorumque spuiat, cum denique idem os quod Iesuiticam societatem¹ 'parricidalem cohortem' vocaverat, nunc postquam culinas Romae oleie coepit, eandem 'Praetoriam'² Castrorum Dei cohortem³ vocat, quis iniquae tam patiens uerbis (quae istud animal pabulatur) tam ferieus ut teneat se?⁴ Igitur, semota omni festiuitate, te serio, te ex animo (ornatissime Velsere) in hac epistola convenio orans, obtestansque per commune humanitatis vinculum, per eiusdem Baptismi, eiusdem symboli conscientiam, ipse velis (pro auctoritate qua te scio valere apud tuos) istos Scioppios compescere, ut electis e coetu Christiano similibus hominum propudius, caussarumque sane vel optimarum dehonestamentis, sua bonis viuis existimatio, sua principibus dignitas maneat non vexentur nundinae prostitutis para sitorum calamis, non typi (nobile Germanorum inventum) adeo miserie torqueantur, sequatur denique infirmitas nostra feriat, illa regnorum ecclesiarumque requies, quam nobis commendavit supremus pacis praeceptor simul et exemplum Quod si impudentem illam dicacitatem (quam ab infami ortu *μᾶλα ἀναλόγως* τράxit) non deponere poterit sine magno ventriculi incommodo, saltem dignus est certe cui curtetui esca ob execiandam argutiam, qua sibi videtur vel ipsis Tridentinis patribus oculatio Illi Traditiones et Scripturam Sacram pari tantum pietatis affectu et reverentia suscipiendas⁴ primi omnium (quod ego sciam) decievere At iste novus ecclesiasticus non in Albo Amicorum, sed pulcherrimi syntagmatis sui⁵ p 485, maiorem traditi quam scripti verbi Divini auctoritatem blasphemo et pudendo ore pronunciat Possem sexcentas id genus *Scioppnetates* pioferre, sed hoc esset ruspari sterquilinum Vale igitur (vni nobi lissime) atque iterum salve

208 TO SIR ARTHUR THROCKMORTON

Reliq, 1st ed., p 478, no date Dated 'Feb 1613' in 3rd ed., p 278 Wotton invites Sir Arthur Throckmorton and his family to London for the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth

(London), Feb, 1613

SIR,

One reason of my writing now unto you, is because it seemeth a great while unto me since I did so Another, to give you many

¹ 'Ibidem, p 132' (note in margin)

² 'Ecclesiasticus Scioppii, p 371' (note in margin)

³ Juvenal, *Sat* 1 81

⁴ '8 April, Sess 4' (note in margin)

⁵ G Scioppii *Syntagma de Cultu Adorationis et Honori*

thanks (which upon the casting up of my reckonings, I find I have not yet done) for that gelding wherewith you so much honoured me, which, in truth, either for goodness or beauty, runneth for one of the very best about this place, and I have had a great deal of love made unto me for him by no small ones. After this, I must plainly tell you, that I mean to persuade you I am sorry I cannot say to invite you (for my mind would bear that word better than my fortune), to bestow yourself and your whole family upon us this Shrovetide, if it be but for three days, at the conjunction of the *Thames* and the *Rhene*,¹ as our ravished spirits begin to call it. The occasion is rare, the expense of time but little, of money inconsiderable: you shall see divers princes, a great confluence of strangers, sundry entertainments to shorten your patience and to reward your travel, finally, nothing spared, even in a necessitous time. I will add unto these arguments, that out of your own store at home, you may much increase the beauty of this assembly, and your daughters shall not need to provide any great splendour of clothing, because they can supply that with a better contribution, as hath been well authenticated even by the King's own testimony of them. For though I am no longer an ambassador, yet am I not so bankrupt of intelligence, but that I have heard of those ſiſſual passages.

Now let me, therefore, with this hobbling pen again and again pray you to resolve upon your coming, if not with all the fair train, yet yourself and my Lady, and my nephew and his wife, or at the least of leasts, the masculine.

We begin to lay off our mourning habits, and the Court will shortly, I think, be as merry as if it were not sick. The King will be here to-morrow: the Friday following he goeth to Windsor, with the Count Palatine, about the ceremony of his instalment. In the meantime, there is expected the Count Henry of Nassau, to be at the said solemnity, as the representant of his brother. Yesterday the Count Palatine invited all the Council to a solemn supper, which was well ordered: he is a gentleman of very sweet hope, and hath rather gained upon us, than lost anything after the first impression. And so, sir, having ended my paper, I will end my letter with my hearty prayers for the prosperity of yourself and yours, ever resting,

Your faithful poor friend to serve you,

HENRY WOTTON

¹ On Feb. 14 the Princess Elizabeth was married to Frederick V, Elector Palatine, or the Count Palatine of the Rhine, as he was called. *The Marriage of the Thames and the Rhine* was the title of the masque devised by Sir Francis Bacon for the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn.

² Frederick Henry, afterwards Prince of Orange, 1625-47.

209 TO SIR EDMUND BACON

Letters to B, p 153, undated Dated '1612-13' in *Reliquiae*, 3rd ed., p 401
(for exact date see note 1) News of the Court and London

(Feb 23, 1613, O S)

SIR,

I must now acknowledge it true which our navigators tell us, that there be indeed certain variations of the compass for I think there was never point of a needle better touched than you have touched me, having ever since I parted from you been looking towards you, and yet still by something or another, I am put out of my course I will therefore hereafter not promise you any more to come unto you, but I will promise myself it, because, indeed, I have no other means to be at peace with myself for I must lay this heavy note upon your conversation, that I am the unquieter for it a good while after

This is the first part of what I meant to say After which I would fain tell you, that I send this footman expressly unto you to redeem some part of my fault, for not answering your late kind letter by the messenger that brought it but the truth is, I had some special occasion to send to Berry and therefore I will set no more upon your account, than his steps from thence to Redgrave, where perhaps you now are See what a real courtier I am, and whether I be likely to prosper Well, howsoever, let me entertain you a little by this opportunity, with some of our discourses The King departed yesterday¹ from hence towards you, having as yet, notwithstanding much voice, and some wagering on the other side, determined nothing of the vacant places² Whereupon the Court is now divided into two opinions, the one, that all is reserved for the greater honour of the marriage, the other, that nothing will be done till a Parliament, or (to speak more precisely) till after a Parliament which latter conceit, though it be spread without either author or ground, yet as many things else of no more validity, it hath gotten faith enough on a sudden I will leave this to the judicial astrologers of the Court, and tell you a tale about a subject somewhat nearer my capacity

On Sunday last at night, and no longer, some sixteen apprentices (of what sort you shall guess by the rest of the story) having secretly learnt a new play without book, intituled *The Hog hath lost his Pearl*,³ took up the White-Fryers for their theatre and having

¹ Feb 22 (*Nichols*, II, p 601) The date of this letter is therefore Feb 23

² The places of Lord Treasurer and Secretary, vacant owing to the death of Salisbury

³ By Robert Taylor See *D N B*, and Fleay's *Chronicle History*, p 251

invited thither (as it should seem) rather then mistresses than then masters, who were all to enter *per bullettin* for a note of distinction from ordinary comedians. Towards the end of the play the sheriffs (who by chance had heard of it) came in (as they say) and carried some six or seven of them to perform the last act at Bridewel, the rest are fled. Now it is strange to hear how sharp witted the City is, for they will needs have Sir John Swinerton¹, the Lord Mayor, be meant by the Hog, and the late Lord Treasurer by the Peail. And now let me bid you good night, from my chamber in King Street, this Tuesday, at eleven of the night.

Your faithfulest to serve you,

HENRY WOTTON

Francesco² hath made a proof of that green which you sent me, against which he taketh this exception, that being tied upon glass (which he esteemeth the best of trials) it is not translucent, arguing (as he saith) too much density of the matter, and consequently, less quickness and spirit than in colours of more tenacity.

210 To SIR DUDLEY CARLETON

S P Dom Ja. I, lxxii, no 43, holograph Wotton in retirement

From King St, this 25 of Feb, 1612<3>

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

When this gentleman, your Secretary³, shall arrive there, you have then with you a living *gazetta* of this Court, where he hath been retained so long that he can now bring your Lordship an accompt both of our griefs and our jollities⁴, which, indeed, have so contempered each other, that we have been extreme in neither. For myself, if he chance to speak of me (as in the catalogue of your affectionate, though unprofitable, friends I may justly claim a room), then I hope he will tell your Lordship that I am here in Westminster with a few books about me, more attending the study of truth than of humour, contented, I thank God, with mine own poor thoughts, and *vicinae nescius urbis*⁵, unto which course, if nature had not inclined me, I think fortune would have done it, having lost this fatal year two great patrons⁶. But let me cease these lamentations, for though there be no place so proper to discharge them into as the bosom of a virtuous friend, yet I am loath to appear unto you

¹ Sir John Swinnerton, knighted 1603, Lord Mayor 1612 (*Nichols*, i, p 113)

² Sir Francis Bacon (?)

³ Isaac Wake, who succeeded Wotton as ambassador at Venice in 1624

⁴ The death of Prince Henry, and the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth

⁵ Claudian, *Carm Min* xx 9

⁶ Prince Henry and Lord Salisbury

Lordship so vain as to remember mine own particular in the midst of such public losses *Quid superest?* In truth, my Lord, only this, that we learn hereafter to plant ourselves better than upon the grace or breath of men. And so giving your Lordship many thanks, and ever resting much beholden unto you for the care it pleased you to take about those pictures, which I have received by your means in very good condition, I commit you and your whole family to God's continual blessing

Your Lordship's faithful poor friend to serve you,

HENRY WOTTON

TO MY GOOD LADY YOUR WIFE

Good Madame, Receive in this little room my hearty remembrance of your kindnesses, and my continuing desire to serve you

HENRY WOTTON

211 TO SIR EDMUND BACON

Letters to B, p 114, *Reliq.*, 3rd ed p 403 'Cambridge, Sunday, at night,' for date see note 2 on p 16 News from Venice of war between the Turks and the Emperor

(Cambridge, March 21, 1618, O S)

SIR,

To divert you from thinking on my faults, I will entertain you with some news out of a letter which I have here received from Venice, of much consequence divers ways

The Bishop of Bamberg¹, a practical Almayn prelate (of which kind there be enough of that coat, though not in that country), was treating in Rome a league against the Protestant princes of Germany, with whom his Majesty (you know) was first by articles, and is now by alliance more nearly confederate² his commission he had from the Emperor, *sotto parole tacite* as they call it. Now, while this matter was there moulding, a Chiaus arrives at the Emperor's Court, with a letter from the Turk, importing a denunciation of war, grounded upon a heap of complaints easily found out between princes that do not intend to agree. And accordingly the Turk is departed in person from Constantinople into Hungarie, with great forces (as my friend writeth), on a morning *quando nevicava a furia* (by which appeareth the sharpness of the humour), having made a levy before his going of 5,000 youths out of the Seragli, a thing never seen before. He hath left behind him Nasuf Bassa as president

¹ Joann Gottfried von Aschhausen, Bishop of Bamberg from 1609 to 1622

² Wotton refers to the treaty of alliance between James I and the Protestant Union (March 25, 1612) and the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth

of his affairs, who told the *Barolo* of Venice¹, there resident, that his master was but gone to hunt, and seemeth to have held the same language with the other ambassadois whether out of mere wantonness of conceit, or as esteeming a war with Christians but a sport, in respect of that which he had newly concluded with the Persian, I know not. Howsoever, this is likely to quash the Bishop's business, and I fear it will fall heavy upon Germany, which, first in itself was never more disunited, and besides, the Emperor in small good will with those that should help him. It will likewise in my conjecture hasten the departure of the Count Palatine, or at least (if it so please him) it may well serve his turn for that purpose.

This is all that I have for your entertainment. To-morrow morning I depart hence towards London², whence I determine to write by every carrier to you, till I bring myself.

In your last, you mentioned a certain courtier that seemeth to have spoken somewhat harshly of me. I have a guess at the man, and though for him to speak of such as I am, in any kind whatsoever, was a favour, yet I wonder how I am fallen out of his estimation, for it is not long since he offered me a fair match within his own tribe, and much addition to her fortune out of his private bounty. When we meet, all the world to nothing we shall laugh, and in truth, sir, this world is worthy of nothing else. In the meantime, and ever, our sweet Saviour keep us in his love.

Your poor faithful friend and servant,

H. WOTTON

212 TO SIR EDMUND BACON

Letters to B, p. 5, *Reliq.*, 3rd ed., p. 405. The Accession Day festivities, Court and foreign news.

(London), March the last, 1613

SIR,

I returned from Cambridge to London some two hours after the King. The next day was celebrated with twenty tilts, wherein there entered four fraternities: the Earls Pembroke³ and Montgomerie⁴, my Lord Walden⁵, Thomas⁶ and Henry Howards⁷,

¹ Christoforo Valer.

² Wotton arrived in London the day before the tilting described in the next letter. The tilting was on Wednesday, 24th, the King's Accession Day (*Nichols*, ii, p. 609). The date of this letter is therefore March 21.

³ William Herbert (1580-1633), third Earl of Pembroke (*ante*, ii, p. 8).

⁴ Philip Herbert (1584-1650), first Earl of Montgomery, fourth Earl of Pembroke (*N E D*).

⁵ Theophilus Howard (1584-1640), second Baron Howard de Walden, second Earl of Suffolk 1626 (*Ibid*).

⁶ Sir Thomas Howard, second brother of above, created Lord Howard of Charlton 1622, and Earl of Berkshire 1626.

⁷ Henry Howard, third brother.

the two Riches¹, and the two Alexanders², as they are called (though falsely, like many things else in Court) The rest were Lenox³, Arundel⁴, Rutland⁵, Dorset⁶, Shandowes⁷, North⁸, Hey⁹, Dingwall¹⁰, Clifford¹¹, Sir Thomas Sommerset¹, and Sir John Harrington¹¹ The day fell out wet to the disgrace of many fine plumes Some caparisons seen before adventured to appear again on the stage with a little disguise, even on the back of one of the most curious So frugal are the times, or so indigent The two Riches only made a speech to the King, the rest were contented with bare *imprese*, whereof some were so dark, that their meaning is not yet understood, unless perchance that were their meaning, not to be understood The two best, to my fancy, were those of the two Earls brothers the first a small exceeding white pearl, and the words, *Solo candore valeo* The other a sun casting a glance on the side of a pillar, and the beams reflecting, with this motto, *Splendente refulget* In which devices there seemed an agreement, the elder brother, to allude to his own nature, and the younger to his fortune The day was signalized with no extraordinary accident, save only between Sir Thomas Howard and Sir Thomas Sommerset, who with a counter buff had almost set himself out of the saddle, and made the other's horse sink under him, but they both came fairly off without any further disgrace Of the merits of the ~~case~~ I will say nothing, my pen being very unfit to speak of lances

To this solemnity, of the public ambassadors, only the Archdukes' was invited, for the healing of the distaste he had taken for the preference of the Venetian at the marriage¹¹ But I doubt the plaster be too narrow for the sore, which he seemed not much

¹ Sir Robert Rich (*ante*, i, p. 2), and his brother, Sir Henry Rich (1590-1649), first Earl of Holland in 1624 (*D N B*)

² Sir Robert Alexander, knighted 1603, and his brother Sir Sigismund Alexander (*Nichols*, i, pp. 189, 210)

³ Ludovick Stuart, second Duke of Lennox (1574-1624) (*D N B*)

⁴ Thomas Howard (1586-1646), second Earl of Arundel and Surrey (*Ibid*)

⁵ Francis Manners (1578-1632), sixth Earl of Rutland (*Ibid*) It has recently been discovered that the Earl of Rutland's *impreza* for this occasion was designed by Shakespeare, and painted by Burbage (See Mr Sidney Lee in *Times*, Dec. 27, 1905)

⁶ Richard Sackville (1590-1624), third Earl of Dorset (*D N B*)

⁷ Grey Brydges (1579?-1621), fifth Baron Chandos (*Ibid*)

⁸ Dudley North (1581-1666), third Baron North (*Ibid*)

⁹ James Lord Hay (d. 1636), Earl of Carlisle 1622 (*Ibid*)

¹⁰ Sir Robert Preston, Lord Dingwall

¹¹ Henry Lord Clifford (1591-1643), fifth Earl of Cumberland in 1641 (*Ibid*)

¹² Sir Thomas Sommerset, third son of Edward, fourth Earl of Worcester, knighted 1605, created Viscount Somerset 1626 (*Nichols*, i, p. 478 n)

¹³ Sir John Harrington (1592-1614), second Baron Harrington of Exton

¹⁴ There was a quarrel for precedence between the Venetian and the Archdukes' ambassador, the Venetian was invited to the wedding feast of the Princess Elizabeth, and the Archdukes' ambassador for the tourney on the following day

discontented that men should note in his whole countenance that day Towards the evening a challenge passed between Aichy¹ and a famous knight, called Sir Thomas Parsons, the one a fool by election, and the other by necessity, which was accordingly performed some two or three days after at tilt, tourney, and on foot, both completely armed, and solemnly brought in before their Majesties, and almost as many other meaner eyes as were at the former, which bred much sport for the present, and afterwards, upon cooler consideration, much censure and discourse, as the manner is

The departure of the Count Palatine and my Lady Elizabeth is put off from the Thursday in the Easter week till the Tuesday following, which day I think will hold The commissioners that accompany her have the titles of ambassadors, to give them precedence before Sir Ralph Winwood at the Hague, and likewise in any encounters with Almaine princes Sir Edward Cecil² goeth as treasurer, to keep up that office in the name, though it be otherwise perhaps from a general, rather a fall than an ascent Before this journey there is a conceit that the Duke of Lenox will be naturalized a peer of our Parliament, and my Lord of Rochester be created Earl of Devonshire The foreign matter is little increased since my last unto you from Cambridge The Savoy ambassador not yet arrived The Turks' designs hitherto unknown, and marching slowly, according to the nature of huge armies, in which suspense the Venetians have augmented their guard in the Gulf, enough to confirm unto the world that states must be conserved, even with ridiculous fears This is all that the week yieldeth My Lord and Lady have received those letters and loving salutations which my footman brought And so with mine own hearty prayers to God for you, and for that most good niece, I commit you both to His blessing and love

Your faithfullest of unprofitable friends,

HENRY WOTTON

I pray, Sir, remember me very particularly to my cousin Nicholas³ your worthy brother, for whose health our good God be thanked

Sir James Cromer⁴ is this week dead of an apostem in his stomach, and in him the name, unless his Lady (as she seemeth

¹ Archy Armstrong (d 1672), the King's jester (D N B)

² Sir Edward Cecil (1572-1638), son of first Earl of Exeter, created Viscount Wimbledon 1626. (D N B)

³ This expedition turned out to be merely a hunting expedition towards Adrianople

⁴ Afterwards Sir Nicholas Bacon, Bait, of Gillingham

⁵ Sir James Cromer, of Kent, knighted May 11, 1603 (*Mohulfi*, p 141)

to have intention) shall revive it with matching one of her four daughters with a Cromer of obscure fortune, which they say is latent in your shire

213 TO SIR EDMUND BACON

Letters to B, p 160, *Reliq*, 3rd ed, p 408 Arrest of Sir Thomas Overbury.

From my chamber, this Thursday,

St George his Eve,

(April 22,) 1613

SIR,

The last week, by reason of my being in Kent, was a week of silence, and thus I think will appear unto you a week of wonder

The Court was full of discourse and expectation that the King, being now disencumbered of the care of his daughter, would towards this Feast of St George fill up either all, or some at least of those places that had lain vacant so long, and had been in this time of their emptiness a subject of notorious opposition between our great Viscount¹ and the house of Suffolk. Thus, I say, ran the opinion, when yesterday, about six of the clock at evening, Sir Thomas Overbury was from the council chamber conveyed by a clerk of the Council and two of the guard to the Tower, and there by warrant consigned to the lieutenant as close prisoner, which both by the suddenness, like a stroke of thunder, and more by the quality and relation of the person, breeding in the beholders (whereof by chance I was one) very much amazement, and being likely in some proportion to breed the like in the hearers, I will adventure, for the satisfying of your thoughts about it, to set down the foreunning and leading causes of this accident, as far as in so short a time I have been able to wade in so deep a water. It is conceived that the King hath a good while been much distasted with the said gentleman, even in his own nature, for too stiff a carriage of his fortune, besides that scandalous offence of the Queen at Greenwich,² which was never but a palliated cure. Upon which considerations, his Majesty resolving to sever him from my Lord of Rochester, and to do it not disgracefully or violently, but in some honourable fashion, he commanded not long since the Archbishop, by way of familiar discourse, to propound unto him the ambassage of France, or of the Archdukes' Court, whereof the one was shortly to be changed, and the other at the present vacant. In which proposition it seemeth, though shadowed under the Arch

¹ Rochester

² The Queen imagined that she had heard Overbury laugh at her disrespectfully while walking with Rochester under her windows at Greenwich Palace
D N B, xli, p 379)

bishop's goodwill, that the King was also contented some little light should be given him of his Majesty's inclination unto it, grounded upon his merit. At this the fish did not bite, whereupon the King took a rounder way, commanding my Lord Chancellor¹ and the Earl of Pembroke to propound jointly the same unto him (which the Archbishop had before moved) as immediately from the King, and to sweeten it the more, he had (as I hear) an offer made him of assurance, before his going, of the place of Treasurer of the Chamber, which he expecteth after the death of the Lord Stanhop², whom belike the King would have drawn to some reasonable composition. Notwithstanding all which motives and impulsives, Sir Thomas Overbury refused to be sent abroad, with such terms as were by the Council interpreted pregnant of contempt in a case where the King had opened his will, which refusal of his I should, for my part, esteem an eternal disgrace to our occupation, if withal I did not consider how hard it is to pull one from the bosom of a favourite. Thus you see the point upon which one hath been committed, standing in the second degree of power in the Court, and conceiving (as himself told me but two hours before) never better than at that present of his own fortunes and ends. Now in this whole matter there is one main and principal doubt, which doth travail all understandings, that is, whether this were done without the participation of my Lord of Rochester? A point necessarily enfolding two different consequences, for if it were done without his knowledge, we must expect of himself either a decadence or a ruin, if not, we must then expect a reparation by some other great public satisfaction, whereof the world may take as much notice. These clouds a few days will clear, in the meanwhile I dare pronounce of Sir Thomas Overbury, that he shall return no more to this stage, unless Courts be governed every year by a new philosophy, for our old principles will not bear it.

I have showed my Lord and Lady sister your letter of the 18th of April, who return unto you their affectionate remembrances, and I many thanks for it. The King hath altered his journey to Thetford, and determineth to entertain himself till the progress nearer London. The Queen begunneth her journey upon Saturday towards Bath. Neither the Marquess di Villa³ (who cometh from Savoy) nor Don Pedro di Sarmiento⁴ (who shall reside here in the

¹ Lord Ellesmere

² John Stanhope (1545?-1621), Baron Stanhope of Harrington 1605, Treasurer of the Chamber 1596-1616 (D N B)

³ Marquis di Villa (*ante*, i, p. 181)

⁴ Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, the famous Spanish ambassador, Count of Gondomar, which title was given him in 1617.

room of the present Spanish ambassador¹) are yet either arrived, or near our coast, though both on the way. So as I can yet but cast towards you a longing, and in truth an envious look, from this place of such servility in the getting, and such uncertainty in the holding of fortunes, where methinks we are all overclouded with that sleep of Jacob, when he saw some ascending, and some descending, but that those were angels, and these are men, for in both, what is it but a dream? And so, Sir, wishing this paper in your hands, to whom I dare communicate the freest of my thoughts, I commit you to God's continual love and blessings

Your faithful poor friend and servant,

HENRY WOTTON

I pray, Sir, let me in some corner of every letter tell my sweet niece that I love her extremely, as God judge me

214 To SIR EDMUND BACON

Add MS 34727, f 23, holograph, printed Letters to B, p 10, Reliq, 3rd ed, p 411 Court news, Overbury in prison, deputation of the Elector and Electress Palatine

London, this Thursday the 29th of
April, 1613

SIR,

I have newly received your last of the 25th of April, and acquainted my Lord with the postscript thereof touching your father's sickness, of which he had heard somewhat before by Sir R Drurie², who at the same time told him the like of my Lady, your mother. But we hope now that the one was never true, and that the other (which you confirm) will be light and sufferable, even at heavy years

The long expected ambassador from Savoy arrived yesternight at Dover, so as now I begin by the virtue of a greedy desire to anticipate beforehand, and to devour already, some part of that contentment which I shall shortly more really enjoy in your sight and conversation

Sir Thomas Overbury is still in the Tower, and the King hath since his imprisonment been twice here, and is twice departed, without any alteration in that matter, or in other greater

My Lord of Rochester, partly by some relapse into his late infirmity, and partly (as it is interpreted) through the grief of his

¹ Don Alonzo de Velasco

² Sir Robert Drury (1577?-1615), the patron and friend of Donne. He married Anne Bacon, Sir Edmund Bacon's sister

mind, is also this second time not gone with the King. Some argue upon it, that disassiduity in a favourite is a degree of declination, but of this there is no appearance, only I have set it down to show you the hasty logic of courtiers

The Queen is on her journey towards Bathe

My Lady Elizabeth and the Count Palatine, having lain long in our poor province of Kent languishing for a wind (which, she sees though it be but a vapour, princes cannot command), at length, on Sunday last towards evening, did put to sea, some eight days after a book had been printed and published in London of her entertainment at Heidelberg¹, so nimble an age it is. And because I cannot end in a better jest, I will bid you farewell for this week, committing you and that most beloved niece to God's dearest blessings

Your own in faithfullest love,

HENRY WOTTON

215 To Sir EDMUND BACON

Letters to B p 125 *Reliq*, 3rd ed p 411 News from London
various imprisonments

Friday, May 7 (1613)

SIR,

Your friend, Sir Robert Killigrew, hath been committed to the Fleet, for conferring with a close prisoner² in a strange language, which were (as I hear) the two circumstances that did aggravate his error

Of his case whose love drew him into it, I can yet make no judgment, the humour seemeth to be sharp, and there is wisdom enough in those that have the handling of the patient to manage the matter, so that at length his banishment from the Court may be granted as a point of grace. The nature of his alteration was (as you rightly judge it) in the first access somewhat apoplectical, but yet mingled in my opinion with divers properties of a lethargy, whereof we shall discourse more particularly when we meet, which I now long for, besides other respects, that we may lay aside these metaphors

This very morning shall be heard at the Star Chamber the case of Sir Peter Buck³, an inhabitant at Rochester, an officer (as I take it) of the navy, who hath lain some good while in prison, for having

¹ *A Monument of Remembrance erected in Albion, in honour of the hopeful marriage, magnificent Departure from Brytaine, and honourable recreation in Germanie, at Heidelberg, of the two most noble Princes, Edward, Elizabeth, &c* Entered at the Stationers' Registry, March 30, 1613, by Henry Bell (*Arber*, II, p 236 b)

² Sir Robert Killigrew, 1579-1633 (*DNB*). He had been to see Sir Walter Raleigh, and Overbury spoke to him as he passed his window (*Nichols*, II, p 641 n)

³ Sir Peter Buck, knighted July 4, 1604 (*Metcalf*, p 158)

written to a friend of his at Dover a letter containing this news, 'that some of the Lords had kneeled down to the King for a toleration in religion,' besides some particular aspersion in the said letter of my Lord Privy Seal¹, whom likewise of late a preacher or two have disquieted, whereby he hath been moved, besides his own nature and (as some think also) besides his wisdom, to call these things into public discourse, *quæ scripta exolescunt*², if ancient grave sentences do not deceive us

My Lady of Shrewsbury, my Lord Gray, and the Lady Arabella, remain still close prisoners since their last restraint, which I signified unto you in a little ticket Sir William Wade⁴ was yesternight put from the lieutenantancy of the Tower

I set down these accidents barely, as you see, without their causes, which in truth is a double fault, writing both to a friend and to a philosopher, but my lodging is so near the Star Chamber that my pens shake in my hand I hope therefore the ambassador of Savoy (who hath already had two audiences) will quickly be gone, that I may fly to you and ease my heart By the next carrier I shall tell you all his business In the meanwhile, and ever, our dear Saviour bless you

•Your faithful poor friend to serve you,

HENRY WOTTON

This Friday morning, May 7, in such haste, that I must leave my dear niece unanswered, till I can better assemble my spirits and call the aid of the Muses

216 TO SIR EDMUND BACON

Letters to B, p 13, *Reliq*, 3rd ed, p 412 Killigrew released,
news of the Court

The 14 of May, 1613.

SIR,

Your kinsman and friend, Sir Robert Killigrew, was in the Fleet from Wednesday of the last week till the Sunday following, and no longer, which I reckon but an ephemeral fit, in respect of his

¹ The Earl of Northampton

² *Scripta exolescunt*. (Tac, *Ann* iv 34)

³ The Countess of Shrewsbury was imprisoned in the Tower for aiding her niece, Lady Arabella Stuart, in her attempt to escape abroad in 1611 The Lady Arabella remained in the Tower till her death in 1614 (*Gardiner*, ii, p 119) Lord Grey of Wilton had been imprisoned in 1603 with Sir Walter Raleigh, for taking part in Watson's plot against James I He died in the Tower in 1614

⁴ Sir William Waad was removed through the influence of the Rochesters, in order to facilitate the murder of Overbury His successor, Sir Gervase Helwys, was implicated in the plot, and was tried and executed in 1615 (*D N B*, xxi, p 376)

infirmity who was the cause of it, which to my judgement doth every day appear more and more heetical¹ Yesterday his father petitioned the King (as he came from the chapel) that his son might have a physician and a servant allowed him, as being much damaged in his health by close imprisonment, which for my part I believe, for the diseases of fortune have a kind of transfusion into the body, and strong working spirits, wanting their usual objects, revert upon themselves, because the nature of the mind being ever in motion must either do or suffer

I take pleasure (speaking to a philosopher) to reduce (as near as I can) the irregularities of Court to constant principles Now to return to the matter, the King hath granted the physician, but denied the servant, by which you may guess at the issue For when graces are managed so narrowly by a King, otherwise of so gracious nature, it doth in my opinion very clearly demonstrate the asperity of the offence Sir Gervis Elvis (before one of the pensioners) is now sworn lieutenant of the Tower, by the mediation of the house of Suffolk, notwithstanding that my Lord of Rochester was the commender of Sir John Keyes² to that charge, which the said Keyes had for a good while (and this maketh the case the more strange) always supplied even by patent, in the absence of Sir William Wade Upon which circumstances (though they seem to bend another way) the logicians of the Court do make this conclusion, that his Majesty, satisfying the Suffolcians with petty things, intendeth to repair the Viscount Rochester in the main and gross And therefore all men contemplate Sir Henry Nevil³ for the future secretary, some saying that it is but deferred till the return of the Queen, that she may be allowed a hand in his introduction, which likewise will quiet the voices on the other side, though surely that point be little necessary for yet did I never in the country, and much less in the Court, see anything done of this kind that was not afterwards approved by those that had most opposed it Such vicissitudes there are here below, as well as of the rest, even of judgement and affection I would say more, but I am suddenly surprised by the secretary of the Savoy ambassador,⁴ who I think will depart about the end of the

¹ Sir Thomas Overbury is referred to 'Heetical' is used in its earlier sense of 'chronic', 'permanent'

² Sir John Keyes, of Yorkshire, knighted May 27, 1607 (*Nichols*, II, p. 131)

³ Sir Henry Neville (1564?-1615) had been ambassador to France in 1599, and was at this time the most popular candidate for the post of secretary, which was still vacant Sir Ralph Winwood, however, was appointed Neville died in 1615 (*D N B*)

⁴ Chamberlain wrote to Carleton on May 18, 1618 'Here is the Marquis de Villa, come ambassador from the Duke of Savoy, they say he is a gallant gentleman, and is well received He makes no great duntty of himself, but goes with his troupe to the ordinary plays, to the Exchange, to the pawn, and

Whitsun holidays, for which I languish. With his business I can acquaint you nothing till the next week, by reason of this surprisal, and, besides, it hath disturbed my muses so, I must remain still in debt to my sweet niece for that poetical postscript that dropped out of her pen. I do weekly receive your letters, which in truth are more comfort than I could hope to purchase by mine, so as whereas before I had determined to continue this my troubling of you but till I should see you next, I have now made a resolution to plant a staple¹, and whensoever we shall be separated, to venture my whole poor stock in traffic with you, finding the return so gainful unto me. And so committing you to God's dearest blessings, I ever rest,

Your faithfullest poor friend and servant,

HENRY WOTTON

217 To SIR EDMUND BACON

Letters to B, p 17, *Reliq*, 3rd ed p 415. The Savoy ambassador, the outbreak of war between the Dukes of Savoy and Mantua

May 21, 1613

SIR,

I have not yet presented to my Lord that box which came with your letter of this week, for he removed on Wednesday with the King and household to Greenwich, and I still remain here to show you that the Court doth, like a loadstone, draw only those that are *intra orbem virtutis suae*. I mean, within the compass and circle of profit.

The Savoy ambassador seemeth in his second audience to have discharged all his commission, or otherwise he wanteth authority to proceed further than to a general overture, till the arrival of the Cavalier Battista Gabaleoni, who is hourly expected, and is here to remain as resident for the said Duke.

With him likewise come certain other gentlemen of title, who should from the beginning have dignified the ambassador's train, but the cause of this straggling was a sudden attempt which the Duke, immediately after the ambassador's departure (who appointed those gentlemen to follow him), made upon the Marquisate of Monferrato, where he surprised three towns with the petard, the first time (as one writeth from Venice) that ever that pestilent invention had been put in practice beyond the Alps.

chaffers and bargains at every shop. He will leave Gabelhorne behind him for a heger. All this business we may thank Signor Fabricio for, who hath no other means to uphold himself, nor entertain the King's and the Queen's ear, but with these priests and devices that have and will cost the King many a fair penny. (*S P Dom Jas I*, lxxii, No 129)

¹ 'Staple,' a public market where merchandise is regularly exchanged

The cause of this attempt was for that the Cardinal Gonzaga (now Duke of Mantua¹) had yielded to send home the Dowager Infanta to the Duke of Savoy her father, but would retain her only child, a daughter of two years, in whose right the said Duke of Savoy pretendeth colourably enough to the foresaid whole marquisate, and clearly to all the movables left by the late Duke of Mantua her father, who died intestate. Into which point of law there entered besides some jealousy of state, being unfit for respects that would have fallen easily into the apprehension of duller princes than the Italian, to leave a child out of the custody of her mother in his that was to gain by the death of it. Yet am I of opinion who have a little contemplated the Duke of Savoy's complexion, that nothing moved him more in this business than the threatenings of the French Queen who had before commanded Didiguines² to fall into the said Duke's estates by way of diversion, if he should meddle with the least village in the Monferrato, which feminine menacement did no doubt incite him to do it out of the impatience of scorn, and withal, he built silently upon a ground, which could not well fail him, that the King of Spain would never suffer the French soldiers to taste any more of the grapes and melons of Lombardie, because *l'appetit vient en mangeant*³, which the issue of the businesses hath proved true, for the Governor of Milan⁴, having raised a tumultuary army of horse and foot, did with it only keep things in stay from further progress on both sides, till the agreement was made between the Duke of Mantua himself in person and the Prince of Piedmont, within the town of Milan. The accord is advertised the King from Venice and Paris. The conditions will be better known at the arrival of Gabaleoni, and then likewise we shall see the bottom of this errand, which hath been hitherto nothing but a general proposition of a match between the same lady that was formerly offered⁵, and our Prince now living which the ambassador hath touched so tenderly, as if he meant⁶ to manage his master's credit. Upon the whole matter, I cannot conceive (though he seemeth to let fall some phrases of haste) that he will be gone yet this fortnight or three weeks, till when I languish. And so let me end all my letters, ever resting,

Your faithfullest poor friend and servant,

HENRY WOTTON

¹ Ferdinando Gonzaga, born 1587, cardinal 1605, Duke of Mantua 1612-26

² Margurita, widow of Francesco Gonzaga, Prince of Mantua
François, Duc de Lesdiguières, 1543-1626

³ Rabelais, *Gargantua*, v

⁴ The Constable of Castile

⁵ The Infanta Maria (*ante*, i, p. 121)

⁶ 'Went' in *Letters to P*

218 To SIR EDMUND BACON

Letters to B, p 72, wrongly dated at the end 'This 18 of April, 1633',
Reliq, 3rd ed, p 417 An accident to Albertus Morton the arrest of
 Sir Robert Mansell

From St Martin's by the Fields,
 May the 27 (1613)

SIR,

I do as unwillingly put my pen to tell you, as I am sure you will be to hear, what hath befallen my nephew Albertus¹ this week. He was going on Friday last towards evening in a coach alone, whose driver alighting (I know not upon what occasion) hard by Charing Cross, the horses (being young) took some affrightment, and running away so furiously, that one of them tore all his belly open upon the corner of a beer cart, my nephew (who in this meanwhile adventured to leap out) seemeth to have hung on one of the pins of the boot, from whence struggling to get loose, he broke the waist band of his hose behind, and so fell with the greater violence on the ground, hurting only the hindermost part of his head, by what possibility we cannot conceive, unless the motion of the coach did turn him round in the fall. The force of the concussion took from him for some hour or thereabouts, the use of his voice and sense, which are now well restored, only there yet remaineth in his left arm a kind of paralytical stupefaction, and his right eyelid is all black with some knock that he took in the agitation of the coach, which peradventure may have been the motive to make him leap out. But these external evils do not so much trouble us as an inward pungent and pulsatory ache within the skull, somewhat lower than the place of his hurt, which hath continued more or less since his fall, notwithstanding twice letting blood, and some nights of good rest, and shaving of his head for the better transpiration, which we doubt the more because it cometh *sine ratione*, his hurt being only in the fleshy part, and very slight, without fracture of the skull, without inflammation, without any fever, and all the principal faculties, as memory, discourse, imagination, untainted. The King hath in this time much comforted us both with sending unto him, and with expressing publicly a gracious feeling of his case, but we must fetch our true comforts from Him, who is Lord of the whole, and so I leave it.

Since my last unto you I am sure you hear how Sir Robert Mans

¹ Albertus Morton. On June 10, 1613, Chamberlain wrote Carleton 'The ambassador of Savoy spends his time merrily, and is much with the King. Signor Fabrizio is never from him, indeed, it is all the work he hath to do. Young Fabrizio was almost killed a fortnight since by the running away of a coach' (*C & T Jas I*, i, p 243).

field¹ hath been twice or thrice convented² before the Lords and committed to the Marshalse, partly for having consulted with Mr Whitlock, the lawyer, about the validity of a commission drawn for a research into the office of the Admiralty, whereof himself is an accomptant, and partly for denying to reveal the name of the said lawyer, his friend, who before had been committed to the Fleet for another case much of the same nature. The point touched a limb of the King's prerogative and immediate authority. Sir Robert Mansfield's answers (by report) had as much of the philosopher or of the hermit, as of the soldier or courtier, professing openly his little cue of this world, or of his own fortunes in it, and divers other phrases of that complexion. Sir Thomas Overbury is still where he was, and as he was, without any alteration, the Viscount Rochester yet no way sinking in the point of favour, which are two strange consistents.

Sir R Drury runneth at the ring corbeteth³ his horse before the King's window, haunteth my Lord of Rochester's chamber, even when himself is not there, and in secret divideth his observations between him and the house of Suffolk and all this (they say) to be ambassador at Brussels. So as *super tota materia*, I see appetites are not all of a kind, some go to the Tower for the avoiding of that which another doth languish to obtain⁴. I will end with my paper, and by the next carrier either tell you precisely when I shall see you, or prevent the telling of it. And so our sweet Saviour bless you and my dear niece.

HENRY WOTTON

219 To Sir EDMUND BACON

Letters to B, p 157, *Reliq.*, 3rd ed., p 419, undated written apparently a week after the above letter of May 27, certainly before June 13, when Mansell was released. News from London, Irish affairs, &c.

(London, June 3^o, 1613)

SIR,

By the next carrier (for yet I must say so again) you shall hear when this ambassador will be gone. The meanwhile let me entertain you with the enclosed paper, which the Duke of Savoy hath published in his own defence, joining together the sword and reason⁵.

¹ Sir Robert Mansell (1573-1656), Treasurer of the Navy. For his arrest see *Gardiner*, II, pp 187-191. ² 'Convented,' i.e. summoned. Obs. (N.E.D.)

³ 'Corbeteth,' old form of curveteth. (*Ibid.*)

⁴ This refers to Overbury's refusal of the embassy to Brussels.

⁵ 'We have had the Duke of Savoy's declaration here above this fortnight, and it is putting into English, and they were sold ordinarily for two pence.' Chamberlain to Carleton, June 10, 1613. (*C & T Jass I*, I, p 243)

Sir Robert Mansfeld is still in restraint Sir Thomas Overbury not only out of liberty (as he was) but almost now out of discourse

We have lately started at a dispatch from Ireland, importing a variance there about the choice of a Speaker in the summoned Parliament,¹ which came to so sharp a point, that the Deputy was fain to fetch wisdom from hence Sure it is that the humours of that kingdom are very hovering, and much awaked with an apprehension taken that we mean to fetter them with laws of their own making, which in truth were an ingenious strain of state My Lord and Lady are stolen down into Kent for a few days to take in some fresh air They go not this next progress, if my brother can get leave of the King to see his grandchildren, where he intends to spend some fortnight, and the rest of the time between Boughton and Canterbury

A match treated and managed to a fair probability between my Lord Cook's heir and the second daughter of Sir Arthur Throckmorton is suddenly broken, the said Lord Cook having underhand entertained discourse about the daughter of the late Sir Thomas Bartlet², who in defect of her brother shall be heir of that name

I have nothing more to say, and therefore God keep you and my sweet niece in His continual love

Your poor uncle, faithful friend, and willing servant,

HENRY WOTTON

Albertus (God be thanked) groweth better and better, and in the midst of his own pains hath remembered those in Suffolk, whom we both so much honour

220 To SIR EDMUND BACON

Add MS 34727, f. 25, in part, the whole letter printed *Letters to B* p 21, *Reliq*, 3rd ed, p 421 The trial of Whitelocke and Mansell, journey of the Electress

The 18th of June, 1613

SIR,

In my last I told you that the ambassador of Savoy was to meet the Queen at Windsor, which pains she hath spared him by her own coming yesternight to Greenwich, where I think she will settle herself a day or two before she admit him Now, seeing the time of the Commencement at Cambridge so near as it is, and being able to determine of this ambassador's departure within that space, I have resolved to take those philosophical exercises in my way to you,

¹ The protest of the Irish Catholics against the election of Sir John Davies as Speaker on May 18 (*Gardiner*, II, p 289)

² Sir Edward Coke, commonly called Lord Coke or Cooke (1552-1634) His eldest son married a sister of Lord Berkeley (*C & T Jas* I, I, p 359)

³ Sir Thomas Bartlet, knighted July 23, 1603 (*Nichols*, I, p 219)

hoping in the meantime to see Albertus admitted by oath to a clerkship of the Council, or at least to the next vacancy, for he is now strong enough again to swear¹

Sir Robert Mansfield and Mr Whitlock were on Saturday last called to a very honourable hearing in the Queen's Presence Chamber at Whitehall, before the Lords of the Council, with intervention of my Lord Cook, the Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer², and Master of the Rolls³, the Lord Chief Justice⁴ being kept at home with some infirmity. There the attorney and solicitor first undertook Mr Whitlock, and the recorder (as the King's sergeant) Sir Robert Mansfield, charging the one as a counsellor, the other as a questioner, in matters of the King's prerogative and sovereignty, upon occasion of a commission intended for a research into the administration of the Admiralty against which the said Sir Robert Mansfield (being himself so principal an officer therein) had sought some provision of advice, and this was the sum of the charge, which was diversely amplified. Whitlock, in his answer, spake more confusedly than was expected from a lawyer, and the knight more temperately than was expected from a soldier. There was likewise some difference noted, not only in the manner, but in the substance between them, for Whitlock ended his speech with an absolute confession of his own offence, and with a promise of employing himself hereafter in defence of the King's prerogative. Sir Robert Mansfield, on the other side, laboured to distinguish between the error of his acts, and the integrity of his zeal and affection towards the King his master, protesting he should hold it the greatest glory under heaven to die at his feet, and that no man living should go before him, if there were occasion to advance his dominions, with some other such martial strains, which became him well. The conclusion of his speech had somewhat of the courtier, beseeching the Lords, if the restraint he had endured were not in their judgement a sufficient punishment of his error, that then they would continue it as long as it should please them, and add unto it any other affliction of pain or shame whatsoever, provided that afterwards he might be restored again unto his Majesty's favour, and then good opinions. To tell you what they all severally said that day, were to rob from the liberty of our discourse when we shall meet. In this they generally agreed, both counsellors and judges, to represent the humiliation⁵ of both the prisoners unto the King in lieu of innocency, and to intercede for his gracious pardon,

¹ Albertus Morton was appointed Clerk of the Council in 1614 (*Cal S P Dom*, 1611-18, p. 268).

² Sir Julius Caesar

³ Sir Edward Phelps (1560?-1614)

⁴ Sir Thomas Fleming who died on Aug. 7, 1613 (*Gardiner*, II, p. 207).

⁵ The rest of the letter from this word is preserved in MS

which was done, and accordingly the next day¹ they were enlarged upon a submission under writing. This is the end of that business, at which were present as many as the room could contain, and men of the best quality, whom the King was desirous to satisfy not only about the point in hand, but in some other things that were occasionally awaked, which I likewise reserve to our private freedom.

The King's officers are returned from my Lady Elizabeth, whom they left at Goltzheim the last of May, where his Majesty's expense did cease. This place was chosen for her consignment instead of Bacherach, suspected of contagion. She was at Andernach feasted by the Elector of Cullen², at Confluence, or Cobolentz (as they call it), by the other of Trier³, and at Mentz by the third of those ecclesiastic potentates⁴, very royally and kindly, and (which was less expected) very handsomely. The Count Maurice and his brother, with troops of horse and a guard of foot, accompanied her to Cullen, and entered themselves into that city with her (I need not tell you that though themselves were within, the horse and most of the foot were without the walls), which is here (by the wise sort of interpreters) thought as hazardous an act as either of them both had done in the heat of war, and indeed no way justifiable *in foro sapientiarum*. And therefore such adventurers as these must appeal *ad forum Providentiarum*, where we are all covered by His vigilant mercy and love, to which I commit you and my sweet niece in my hearty prayers.

Your faithful poor friend, uncle, and servant,

HENRY WOTTON.

Sir, I send you a sprig of some flowers, which I have newly received out of Piedmont, in winter and summer the same, and therein an excellent type of a friend.

I am bold likewise to keep myself in the memory of my niece, till I see her, with a poor pair of gloves of the newest fashion.

Inventore HENRICO WOTTONO,

Sculptore CROCIO

221 TO SIR EDMUND BACON

Letters to B, p. 27, *Reliq.*, 3rd ed., p. 424. Departure of the Savoy ambassador, Wotton's projected journey to Cambridge and Redgrave.

Friday, the 25th of June, 1613

SIR,

I told you in my last that I would take the Commencement at

¹ June 13, 1613 (*Gardner*, II, p. 191)

² Prince Ferdinand of Bavaria, Elector of Cologne (*ante*, I, p. 286)

³ Lothary, Elector 1599-1623

⁴ John Suicard of Cronberg, 1604-26

⁵ Mr. Green suggests that this means Wotton was the designer, '*inventore*,' of the gloves, and '*Crocio*' (perhaps Crook) the maker.

Cambridge in my way towards you, where I shall be, God willing, to morrow sevennight. This I now repeat, to save the telling of it again by the next carrier, foreseeing that I shall then be impatient of so much delay as a line of mine own effusion, which even now doth torture me, while I contemplate some of those green banks (that you mention), where when I have you by me (to express my contentment in the Italian phrase) *non scrivero al Papa fratello*. The ambassador of Savoy departed yesterday¹, making much haste homewards, or at least much show of it, where he is likely to come timely enough to the warming of his hands at that fire which his master hath kindled, whose nature in truth doth participate much of the flint as well as his State. But is not all this out of my way? Sir, believe it, my spirits do boil, and I can hold my pen no longer than till I have wished all God's blessings to be with you, and with that best niece of the world

Your poor uncle and faithful servant,

HENRY WOTTON

Albertus was yesterday with me at the Court. And though there be great disproportion in the space, yet I dare conclude that as much strength as did carry him to Greenwich will bear him to Redgrave

222 TO SIR EDMUND BACON

Letters to B, p. 29, *Reliq*, 3rd ed., p. 425. The burning of the
Globe Theatre

July 2, 1613

SIR,

Whereas I wrote unto you, that I would be at Cambridge as on Saturday next, I am now cast off again till the King's return to London, which will be about the middle of the week following. The delay grows from a desire of seeing Albertus his business settled before we come unto you, where we mean to forget all the world besides. Of this we shall bring you the account.

Now, to let matters of state sleep, I will entertain you at the present with what hath happened this week at the Bank's side. The King's players had a new play, called *All is true*, representing some principal pieces of the reign of Henry VIII, which was set forth with many extraordinary circumstances of pomp and majesty, even to the matting of the stage, the Knights of the Order with their Georges and garters, the Guards with their embroidered coats, and the like.

¹ Chamberlain wrote to Winwood (July 8, 1613) 'The Marquis de Villa, ambassador of Savoy, went hence some fortnight since he stayed at least three weeks to present certain toys of crystal to the Queen' (*Winwood Mem*, iii, p. 469).

sufficient in truth within a while to make greatness very familiar, if not ridiculous. Now, King Henry making a masque at the Cardinal Wolsey's house, and certain chambers¹ being shot off at his entry, some of the paper, or other stuff, wherewith one of them was stopped, did light on the thatch, where being thought at first but an idle smoke, and then eyes more attentive to the show, it kindled inwardly, and ran round like a train, consuming within less than an hour the whole house to the very grounds²

This was the fatal period of that virtuous fabric, wherein yet nothing did perish but wood and straw, and a few forsaken cloaks, only one man had his breeches set on fire, that would perhaps have broiled him, if he had not by the benefit of a provident wit put it out with bottle ale. The rest when we meet, till when, I protest every minute is the siege of Troy. God's dear blessings till then and ever be with you.

Your poor uncle and faithful servant,

HENRY WOTTON

I have this week received your last of the 27th of June, wherein I see my steps lovingly calculated, and in truth too much expectation of so unworthy a guest.

223 To SIR EDMUND BACON

Letter, to B, p 135, no date, dated in *Reliquiae*, 3d ed, p 427
Rochester created Earl of Somerset, &c

(London, Nov 5, 1613)

Now I begin, but why not before? That question shall be answered by the next carrier, or by a special messenger the next week, at which time you shall have an account of all that hath passed, and some prognostication also upon the future, for my pen is grown bold and eager with rest, as dogs that are tied up.

At the present all my care is to let you know that I have received your last, with the enclosed, which although I well understand myself, yet I have not had time since the deciphering to acquaint the party with it, which shall be done as soon as I have sealed this, and sent it to the carrier's.

I thought now to have said no more, but lest it lose the grace of freshness, I pray let me tell you, that yesterday morning the Viscount Rochester was very solemnly in the banqueting hall, in the sight of many great ones and small ones, created Earl of Somerset, and in

¹ 'Chambers,' name given in 16th-17th century to pieces of ordnance (*N E D*)

² The famous Globe Theatre was burnt on June 29. It is generally supposed that an adaptation of Shakespeare's *Henry VIII* was being acted (*Nichols*, 1, p 155, *Wimwood Mem*, iii, p 469)

the afternoon, for a farther honouring and signaling of the day, my Lord Cook (brought in by the said Earl) was sworn a Privy Councillor, to counterpoise the difference of the profit between the Common Pleas and the King's Bench¹

I will turn over the leaf though I die for it, to remember the heartiest love of my soul to that good niece, to that sweet niece, to whom I have much to say by the next opportunity Our dear Saviour keep you both in His continual love

Your faithfullest servant,

HENRY WOTTON

Touching the project of our house believe it, sir, I boil in it, and am ready to begin again, that I may tell you how busy I have been in the matter, but let this also be put over till the following week, which is likely to fall heavy upon you

Written on the day of our great preservation, for which our God be ever glorified

224 TO SIR EDMUND BACON

Letters to B, p 109, *Reliq*, 3rd ed, p 428 dated 'Tuesday, the 16th of November' Tuesday fell on Nov 16 in 1613, and it is otherwise plain from the context that the letter was written in that year Wotton writes to Bacon of some family business he had been negotiating with his brother and Bacon's father-in-law, Lord Wotton, also of his own employment at Court

(Royston,) on Tuesday, the 16th
of November, (1613)

SIR,

An express messenger will ease us both of the trouble of a cipher, but I was in pain whether I should send another, or be that messenger myself, being now as near you as Royston,² and scant able to obtain pardon of mine own severity for not passing farther, yet this may be said for me, that the present occasion required little noise, and besides, I am newly engaged into some business, whereof I will give you a particular account, when I shall first have discharged that part which belongeth to yourself

My Lord my brother, having been acquainted with the matter enclosed in your last to me, dispatched the very next day Mr Pen down to Boughton, for such writings as had passed at your marriage, which having consulted with his lawyers, he found those things to stand in several natures, according to the annexed schedule

For the point of your coming up, he referreth that to your own

¹ Sir Edward Coke, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in 1606, was now by Bacon's advice, and against his own will, appointed to the Chief Justiceship of the King's Bench, a more honourable, but less lucrative position (*Gardiner* ii, pp 207, 208)

The King was at Royston on this date (*Nichols*, ii, p 704)

heart, and I have only charge from him to tell you, that without any such occasion as this, which seemeth to imply your affectionate respect of his daughter, your own person and conversation shall be ever most welcome and dear unto him

As for my Lady, through whose knowledge, and myself, through whose hands, you have passed this point of confidence, if you could behold us, and compare us with my Lord, you should see, though no difference in the reality, yet some in the fashion. For to him you must allow the sober forms of his age and place, but we on the other side are mad with gladness at the hope we have now taken by this occasion of enjoying both you and my niece this winter at London, and we are contented to profess it as profusely as it is possible for a better pen to set it down. Nay, for my part (who in this case am¹ somewhat single), I flatter myself yet farther, that the term (whereof not much now remaineth) will accelerate your coming, which if you resolve, I pray then let me only by this bearer know it, that I may provide you some fit lodgings at a good distance from White Hall, for the preservation of blessed liberty, and avoidance of the cumber of kindness, which in truth (as we have privately discoursed) is no small one. Now touching myself

It may please you, Sir, to understand that the King, when he was left at Hampton, called me to him, and there acquainted me with a general purpose that he had to put me again into some use. Since which time, the French ambassador² (and very lately) having at an audience of good length besought his Majesty (I know not whether voluntarily, or set on by some of our own) to disencumber himself of frequent accesses, by the choice of some confident servant, to whom the said ambassador might address himself, in such occurrences as did not require the King's immediate ear, it pleased him to nominate me for that charge, with more gracious commendation than it can beseem me to repeat, though I write to a friend in whose breast I dare depose even my vanities. But lest you should mistake, as some others have been apt to do here, in the present constitution of the Court (which is very umbrageous) the King's end in this application of me, I must tell you, that it is only for the better preparing of my insufficiency and weakness for the succeeding of Sir Thomas Edmunds in France, towards which his Majesty hath thought meet first to endue me with some knowledge of the French businesses, which are *in motu*. And I think my going thither will be about Easter³

¹ 'Am,' have' in *Letters to B*

² Samuel Spifame des Bisseux

³ On Nov 24 Biondi wrote to Carleton that Wotton was appointed ambassador to Paris, but would not go till April. Biondi expected to go with him. (*S P Dom Jas* 1, lxxv, no 25)

Thus you see, Sir, both my next remove, and the exercise of my thoughts till then, wherewith there is joined this comfort, besides the redemption from expense and debt at home (which are the gulfs that would swallow me), that his Majesty hath promised to do something for me before I go

I should now, according to the promise of my last, tell you many things wherewith my pen is swollen, but I will beg leave to defer them till the next opportunity after my coming to London, and they shall all give place now to this one question, whether there be anything in this intended journey that you will command? Which having said, I will end, ever resting

Your faithfullest poor friend and servant,
HENRY WOTTON

225 TO SIR EDMUND BACON

Letters to B, p. 32, *Reliq.*, 3d ed., p. 431 The 'Undertakers' or 'Addled' Parliament of 1614

June 8, 1614

SIR,

It is both morally and naturally true, that I have never been in perfect health and cheerfulness since we parted, but I have entertained my mind, when my body would give me leave, with the contemplation of the strangest thing that ever I beheld, commonly called in our language (as I take it) a Parliament¹, which hath produced nothing but inexplicable riddles, in the place of laws. For first, it is aborted before it was born, and nullified after it had a being, insomuch as the Count Palatine (whose naturalization was the only thing that passed in both Houses) is now again an alien. And whereas all other Parliaments have had some one eminent quality that hath created a denomination, some being called in our records mad Parliaments, some merciless, and the like, this, I think, from two properties almost insociable² or seldom meeting, may be termed the Parliament of greatest diligence, and of least resolution that ever was, or ever will be. For our committees were as well attended commonly, as full houses (as) in former sessions, and yet we did nothing, neither in the forenoon nor after, whereof I can yield you no reason but this one, that our diversions were more than our main purposes, and some of so sensible nature, as took up all our reason and all our passion, in the pursuit of them. Now, Sir, what hath followed since the dissolution of this civil body, let me rather tell you, than lead you back into any particularities of that which is passed.

It pleased his Majesty, the very next morning, to call to examina-

¹ Wotton was member for Appleby in this Parliament (*ante*, i, p. 132)

² 'Insociable,' i.e. incompatible. Obs. (*N. E. D.*)

tion before the Lords of his Council, divers members of the House of Commons, for some speeches better becoming a Senate of Venice, where the treaters are perpetual princes, than where those that speak so irreverently are so soon to return (which they should remember) to the natural capacity of subjects. Of these examinants, four are committed close prisoners to the Tower (1) Sir Walter Chute¹, (2) John Hoskins², (3) one Wentworth³, a lawyer, and (4) Mr Christopher Nevil⁴, second son to my Lord of Abergavenny.

The first made great shift to come thither, for having taken in our House some disgrace in the matter of the Undertakers⁵ (of whom he would fain have been thought one) to get the opinion of a bold man, after he had lost that of a wise, he fell one morning into a declamation against the times, so insipid, and so unseasonable, as if he had been put but out of his place for it of carver (into which one of my Lord Admiral's nephews is sworn) I should not much have pitied him, though he be my countryman. The second is in for more wit, and for licentiousness baptized freedom. For I have noted in our House, that a false or faint patriot did cover himself with the shadow of equal moderation, and on the other side, irreverent discourse was called honest liberty, so as upon the whole matter, 'no excesses want precious names'. You shall have it in Pliny's language, which I like better than mine own translation, *nullis vitis desunt pretiosa nomina*.⁶

The third is a silly and simple creature, God himself knows, and though his father was by Queen Elizabeth at the time of a Parliament likewise put into the place where the son now is, yet hath he rather inherited his fortune than his understanding. His fault was, the application of certain texts in Ezekiel and Daniel to the matter of impositions, and saying that the French King was killed like a calf, with such like poor stuff against which the French ambassador (having gotten knowledge of it) hath formed a complaint, with some danger of his wisdom.

The last is a young gentleman, fresh from the school, who having

¹ Sir Walter Chute, of Kent, knighted 1603.

² John Hoskins (1566-1638) had been a contemporary of Wotton's at Oxford, and they were apparently intimate friends. (See the poem *Sir Henry Wotton and Serjeant Hoskins riding on the way*, *J. Hannah*, p. 6.) He was something of a poet, and a friend of Ben Jonson, Donne, Selden, and Camden. (*D. N. B.*)

³ Thomas Wentworth. These speeches were made on June 3, after the King had sent a message to the Commons, stating that unless they proceeded forthwith to treat of supply, he should dissolve Parliament. The speakers were examined before the Council, and arrested on June 8, while the King 'was sitting in a neighbouring room, amusing himself by looking through an opening in the hangings, in order to see his orders carried out' (*Gardiner*, II, p. 249).

⁴ (Sir) Christopher Neville, of Newton St. Loe, Somersetshire.

⁵ The 'Undertakers', who undertook to procure a majority favourable to the Government. (*Gardiner*, II, p. 229.)

⁶ *Nat. Hist.* xxxvii. 12.

gathered together divers Latin sentences against kings, bound them up in a long speech, and intelaidd them with certain Ciceronian exclamations, as *O Tempora, O Mores* ¹

Thus I have a little run over these accidents unto you, enough only to break out of that silence, which I will not call a symptom of my sickness, but a sickness itself. Howsoever, I will keep it from being heetical, and hereafter give you a better account of mine own observations. This week I have seen from a most dear niece a letter, that hath much comforted one uncle, and a postscript the other ². Long may that hand move, which is so full of kindness. As for my particular, take heed of such invitations, if you either love or pity yourself, for I think there was never needle touched with a loadstone that did more incline to the north, than I do to Redgrave. In the meantime, we are all here well, and so our Lord Jesus preserve you there.

Your faithfulest poor friend and servant,

HENRY WOTTON

Sir, I pray remember my hearty affection to my cousin Nicolas Bacon, and all joy to the new conjoined.

I shall propound unto you the next week a very possible problem, unto which, if you can devise how to attain, *non scruciamo al Papa, fratello*

226 To SIR EDMUND BACON

Letters to B, p. 38, *Reliq.*, 3rd ed., p. 434. Death of the Earl of Northampton, arrest of Leonel Sharp, trial of Hoskins, &c.

London, June 16, 1614

SIR,

The Earl of Northampton ³ having, after a lingering fever, spent more spirits than a younger body could well have borne, by the incision of a wennish tumour grown on his thigh, yesternight between eleven and twelve of the clock departed out of this world, where, as he had proved much variety and vicissitude of fortune in the course of this life, so peradventure he hath prevented another change thereof by the opportunity of his end. For there went a general voice through the Court on Sunday last, upon the commitment of Dr Sharp ⁴ and Sir Charles Cornwallis ⁵ to the Tower, that he was

¹ For Chamberlain's account of these speeches see *C & T Jas I*, i, p. 321.

² Sir Francis Bacon?

³ Lord Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, made Lord Privy Seal in 1608, died June 15, 1614. (*D N B*)

⁴ Leonel Sharp (1559-1631), Chaplain to Prince Henry. He was released from the Tower on June 15, 1615. Sharp became afterwards the Vicar of Becton Mulherb, Wotton's birthplace. (*Ibid*)

⁵ Sir Charles Cornwallis, died 1629, was ambassador to Spain 1605-9.

somewhat implicated in that business, whereof I will give you a little account at the present, as far as I have been hitherto able to penetrate John Hoskins (of whose imprisonment I wrote unto you by the last carrier) having at a re-examination been questioned, whether he well understood the consequence of that Sicilian Vespers,¹ whereunto he had made some desperate allusion in the House of Parliament, made answer (and I think very truly) that he had no more than a general information thereof, being but little conversant in those histories that lay out of the way of his profession. Whereupon, being pressed to discover whence he then had received this information, since it lay not within his own reading, he confessed to have had it from Dr. Sharp, who had infused these things into him, and had solicited him to impress them in the Parliament, and further, that Hoskins hereupon demanding what protection he might hope for, if afterwards he were called into question, the said Doctor should nominate unto him, besides others (whose names I will spare), that Earl,² who hath now made an end of all his reckonings, assuring him of his assistance by the means of Sir Charles Cornwallis, with whom the Doctor was conjoined in this practice. Thus came Sir Charles into discovery, who being afterwards confronted with the Doctor himself, though he could not (as they say) justify his own person, yet did he clear my Lord of Northampton from any manner of understanding with him therein upon his salvation, which yet is not enough (as I perceive among the people) to sweep the dust from his grave. Thus you see, Sir, the natural end of a great man, and the accidental ruin of others, which I had rather you should see in a letter, than as I did on Sunday at Greenwich, where it grieved my soul to behold a grave and learned divine, and a gentleman of good hopes and merits, carried away in the face of the whole Court, with most dejected countenances, and such a greediness at all windows to gaze at unfortunate spectacles.

The Earl of Northampton hath made three of his servants his executors, with a very vast power, as I hear, and for overseers of his will, my Lord of Suffolk³, my Lord of Worcester⁴, and my Lord William

Treasurer of the Household to Prince Henry in 1610. Cornwallis also remained a year in the Tower. (*D N B*)

¹ Hoskins had attacked the King's Scottish favourites, and suggested the possibility of an imitation of the Sicilian Vespers. (*Gardner*, II, p. 246)

² 'According to the belief of contemporaries Hoskins was set on by persons of high station, and every indication points to Northampton as the person who was suspected to have been at the bottom of the plot. There is every reason to suppose that the charge was true. An understanding between the King and the House of Commons would not have suited Northampton. (*Ibid.*, pp. 246, 247)

³ Lord Thomas Howard (1561-1626), first Earl of Suffolk. (*D N B*)

⁴ Edward Somerset (1558-1628) fourth Earl of Worcester. (*Ibid.*)

Haward¹ To the Earl of Arundel he left all his land (which will amount to some £3,000 of yearly revenue), besides three or four hundred to Mr Henry Haward, whereof he had before assured him at the time of his marriage, but neither of them to enjoy a penny thereof as yet this eight year, all which time he intendeth the fruits of his estate shall be collected and distributed in legacies and pious uses according to his will, which hath not yet been seen, but thus much as I have told you was understood before his expiation To my Lord of Suffolk he hath left his house, but hath disposed of all the movables and furniture from him And it is conceived that he died in some distasteful impression, which he had taken against him upon the voices that ran of my Lord of Suffolk's likelihood to be Lord Treasurer, which place will now assuredly fall upon him, and the world doth contemplate my Lord of Rochester for Lord Privy Seal and Lord Warden of the Five Ports As for the Lord Chamberlainship, it is somewhat more questionable between my Lord of Pembroke, the Duke of Lenox, and my Lord Knowls² A few days will determine these ambitions In the meantime I commit you, who have better objects, to the contemplation of them, and to the mercy of our loving God in all your ways

Your faithfullest poor friend and servant,

HENRY WOTTON

Sir, I have (I know not how) mislaid the *Character* which I left you, therefore I pray send me in your very next a copy Therefore I have deferred the matter which I am to propound unto you till the next week, because I must send you some ore of lead, and none withal, which I have not yet gotten

Is there no room left for the remembrance of that dear niece? God forbid And I pray Sir, tell her besides that a certain uncle here (whom yet I will not suffer to love her better than myself) doth greedily expect some news from her

227 TO SIR EDMUND BACON

Letters to B, p 137 Dated 'on Midsummer Morning', the year 1614 added in *Reliq*, 3rd ed, p 437 Rumours of Court appointments

On Midsummer Morning < June 24, 1614, O S >

SIR,

Like a woman great with child, I have threatened you almost every week with a proposition of profit, in which kind of breedings

¹ Lord William Howard (1563-1640) of Naworth Castle (*D N B*)

² William Knollys (1547-1632), Lord Knollys 1603, Earl of Banbury 1626 (*Ibid*)

³ Perhaps Wotton's *Character* of Salisbury See Appendix IV

methinks I am of hard birth, but I hope to be brought to bed by the next carrier. This week hath yet yielded in the public small effects to entertain you withal, only, some change of opinion about the future great officers, which are now thus discoursed.

The Earl of Suffolk is still beheld as a Lord Treasurer, and that conjecture hath never fainted since the very first rising of it. But it is thought that the dignity of Privy Seal shall lie vacant, as it did in the Cecilian times, and that the execution thereof, with the title of Lord Chamberlain, shall be laid on my Lord of Sommerset.¹ For if my Lord of Suffolk should remove from the King's privacy to a place of much distraction and cumber, without leaving a friend in his room, he might peradventure take cold at his back, which is a dangerous thing in a Court, as Ruygomez de Silva was wont to say, that great artisan of humours. Of the office of Five Ports, I dare yet pronounce nothing. My Lord my brother will none of it (as I heard him seriously say) though it were offered him, for reasons which he reserveth in his own breast, yet the late Northampton did either so much esteem it, or thought himself to receive so much estimation from it, as he hath willed his body to be laid in the castle of Dover.

Chute, Hoskins, Sharp, and Sir Charles Cornwallis are still in the Tower, and I like not the complexion of the place. Out of France, we have the death of Dr. Carrier², whose great imaginations abroad have had but a short period. And so, Sir, commending you, and that dearest niece, to God's continual blessings and love, I rest,

Your own in faithfullest affection,

HENRY WOTTON

228 TO JAMES I

S P Holland, holograph, extract. Wotton's arrival at the Hague

From the Haghe, this 18th of August, 1614

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

Although your Majesty may peradventure have expected from me some dispatch before now, yet I am not afraid of any mistrust in your royal heart, either of my zeal or of my diligence, whereof I shall ever be able to give your Majesty a better reckoning than of my judgement. I landed at Rotterdam the first of this month,

¹ Suffolk was appointed Lord Treasurer on July 10, Somerset was made Lord Chamberlain. The offices of Lord Privy Seal and of Warden of the Cinque Ports were kept vacant for a time. (*Gardiner*, II, p. 260)

² Benjamin Carrier, D.D., a native of Kent, who was presented by the Wotton family to the living of Paddlesworth in Kent. He was Chaplain to James I, but became a Catholic, and died in Paris in 1614. (*D N B*)

towards evening, after I had lain two nights on the sea, and the next day I was met by the Count Maurice¹, accompanied with his brother the Count Henry, and divers other commanders, some two miles from the Haghe, where he took me into his own coach, and so brought me through the fairest of the town, to a house which the States had very royally furnished, and had appointed their own officers to attend and defray me, which I accepted for some few days. At this house (where Mr Secretary² before had lain), four of the Lords, as they are here styled, serving for Gelderland, Holland, Zeeland, and Utrecht, were appointed to receive me in the name of the whole body, which they did with much reverent remembrance of your Majesty, and profession of their great obligations towards your sacred person and crowns.

The Count Maurice had likewise before inquired very tenderly of your Majesty's, the Queen's, and the Prince his health, and there was in truth in the reception of your unworthy servant no circumstance wanting of all due respect towards your royal name. I humbly expect to understand from your Majesty your farther will in this intricate business, which I hope the Archdukes will give us leisure to handle soberly. For if, after knowledge that your Majesty and the French King do sincerely concur in procuring by some equal measure the quiet of these Provinces (wherein both the crowns have such interest), the said Archdukes shall disturb our treaty with any hostile act, then we must conclude that he⁴ is weary of his own ease, and hath some unrevealed ends of the Pope's hatching, which a few days will discover. And so with my continual prayers to the God of peace and armies to bless your Majesty in all times with His vigilant love, I humbly rest,

Your Majesty's faithful and long devoted servant,

OTTAVIO BALDI

¹ Count Maurice of Nassau afterwards Prince of Orange, the famous general, who had carried to a successful issue the great war for Dutch independence. Wotton assured Count Maurice that there was no Prince in whom James I reposed more confidence, and as a proof of this had ordered the ambassador to carry on no negotiations with the States without first consulting with him, 'although your Majesty might be somewhat jealous of his heroic spirits in a business of peace, but that you knew no man had less reason to desire war than he, that so well understood the miseries, and had been situated with the glories of it. He smiled at my compliment,' Wotton adds, 'and after acknowledging how much he was bound to your Majesty for your affiance in him, he professed that both the States and himself desired an honourable end of this matter in hand' (*S P Holland*, Aug 18).

² Sir Ralph Winwood, English agent at the Hague 1603-14.

³ The Archduke Albert (brother of the Emperor Rudolf) and his wife Isabella, daughter of Philip II, whom he married in 1598, were Governors of the Netherlands, and were commonly called 'the Archdukes'.

⁴ The Archduke Albert.

229 TO THE EARL OF SOMERSET¹

S P Holland, holograph Date erased, but sent with above dispatch
Wotton writes to say that he is sending his dispatch to the King
through Somerset's hands, and mentions that he has been blamed by
the Dutch for delaying their military preparations

From the Haghe, (Aug 18, 1614, O S)

RIGHT HONOURABLE AND MY VERY GOOD LORD,

I have given his Majesty an account, partly by my pen, and partly
by this gentleman², of the present business as it standeth this 18th of
August, which I note precisely, because it is of an intricate and variable
nature, much depending upon accidents The Archduke Albertus
seemeth, or would fain seem, exceeding eager to do we know not what
And the States here have very handsomely bestowed the blame of their
backwardness upon my intercession with them³ The truth is
indeed, my Lord, I have done my best to keep them as far as may
be from one another, because chances peradventure might kindle
them sooner than either their wills or their wisdoms What will
become of it I dare not yet pronounce And I shall not need to tell
your Lordship what hath been done hitherto, for both my papers
to the King, and the honest bearer of them, hath no other way to
pass them (than) through your noble hands, both by my direction
and by my devotion And so I humbly rest,

Your good Lordship's to do you faithful service

HENRY WOTTON

¹ Somerset, though destined to fall in the following year, was now at the
highest point of his influence 'Though he had not the official title of
secretary, he was treated as a confidential adviser far more than Winwood,
through whom the correspondence with the ambassadors ostensibly passed'
(*Gardiner*, II, p. 317)

² Osbert Mountford, who was drowned in December of this year while carry-
ing dispatches from Wotton to England (see Appendix III) Mountford's
account of Wotton's negotiations up to Aug 18 is among the *S P Holland*

³ Reports had already reached the Hague of the great military preparations
in Brussels, and were beginning to cause considerable alarm The States sent
a letter to the Archduke asking his intentions, and received an answer 'so
civilly and so peaceably penned', Wotton wrote, 'as there is nothing that doth
make it more suspected here than the sweetness and calmness of the style'
Wotton himself sent Francesco Biondi (who was at the Hague in his service) to
Brussels to report on the Spanish preparations, and to beg the Archduke to
await the result of Wotton's intercession Biondi saw the Archduke and
Spinola and Verreyken, they were 'all protesting (and so often that it was
enough to breed some doubt)', Wotton wrote, 'a very religious intent to observe
the truce, but yet still hastening to the field' (*S P Holland*, Aug 18) Wotton
informed Buneveldt of this, but no one at the Hague seems to have realized
the swiftness of the Spanish preparations

230 To SIR THOMAS EDMONDES

Stowe MS 175, f 18, holograph Partly printed in Buch's *Negotiations*, p 378 Wotton writes to Edmondes (who had just returned to his embassy at Paris) of the negotiations at the Hague

From the Haghe, this 18th of August, 1614

My Lord,

I was, the morning of your departure, at your house in St Bartholomew's to have kissed your hands, and missing you at that time, I was returning towards you immediately after dinner to mend my fortune, when a sudden voice of the King of Denmark's arrival¹ carried me from your Lordship with the rest of the torrent, to the Queen's house, where I was lost all that afternoon among certain wits, that were glad of new matter to talk on, especially when kings fall into their hands. Since my coming hither, which was on the 2nd of August in our style, I have not written so much as once to his Majesty, for I saw nothing until this very day, upon which might be grounded any material dispatch, notwithstanding that I had had four public audiences and three committees (as I may term them), wherein some of the States were deputed to treat with me apart, besides sundry private conferences with his Excellency² and Monsieur Barneveld the oracle of the place. I impute the length of their deliberations, not so much now to the nature of their government (though I am well acquainted with the lenitude of common counsels), as to the very distraction of the business itself, breeding in them apparently enough a loathness to retire, and a doubtfulness to proceed. They have now finally put the whole matter touching the sequestration of Julius into Monsieur du Maurier's³ hands and mine, as the representants of our masters, which will appear unto you by their decree, which I send herewith to Mr Trumbal⁴, desiring him, when he hath perused it, to transport the same or the copy to your Lordship, in the company of these hasty ragged lines, which may well show you how we are straitened with time, fearing to be surprised by some hostile act of the Arch dukes, which would traverse our treaty. Your ancient creature

¹ On July 21

² Count Maurice of Nassau

³ Aubery du Maurier, resident French ambassador at the Hague. 'A Protestant of moderate opinions, of a sincere but rather obsequious character, pains taking, diligent, and honest' (Motley, *Barn*, i, p 415). At his arrival Wotton had a friendly disagreement about precedence, and as neither would yield, they arranged that the Dutch representatives should visit them in separate rooms (Relation of Mountford, *S P Holland*). Du Maurier's son, Louis Aubery du Maurier, published an account of his father's negotiations in his *Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire de Hollande*, 1688.

⁴ William Trumbull, who served under Sir Thomas Edmondes from 1597 in the Council Chamber, and in 1605 was appointed English agent at Brussels (N Sainsbury, *Original Papers concerning Rubens*, p 10 n).

Mr Trumbal (a very intelligent instrument, as appeareth by his letters, and right honest, by all reports) hath done many good offices to mollify the said Archdukes, who seem, or at least would seem, very eager to do we know not what. And the States here lay very civilly to my charge that I have kept them from marching towards their frontiers, which they now begin to fortify with a few removes of certain companies from the more inland garrisons. The hope is (and we may hope it very justly) that the expectation of Monsieur de Refuge¹ at Bruxelles will on the Archdukes' side suspend all action, the two Kings concurring so sincerely and so professedly to procure his consentment. The said ambassador shall find at his coming hither the matter well masticated, or rather indeed well digested already, whereof your Lordship shall have from me a more particular accompt as we go forwards. In the meantime, I must tell you that none of those ways propounded in my written instructions² (wherewith your Lordship is well acquainted) can take place, for in the management of them, there fell out insuperable difficulties not considered in the beginning. But it pleased the King to commit unto me verbally some private remembrances which I hope will determine this business³. We have a voice, believed in Amsterdam and almost here, that the Emperor is dead. If it be true, it is likely to breed great matters. And for my part I do not see how his mandate, lately executed on the poor town of Aix,⁴ after his decease can be of validity. I have scant room left to remember my humble service to your Lordship and your worthy Lady, and to desire your pardon for this trouble which I have given you. God bless your whole family, and send us peaceful days,

Your Lordship's faithfully to serve you,

HENRY WOTTON

¹ De Refuge was the special French ambassador, sent, like Wotton, to settle the difficulties about Juliers. He did not arrive at the Hague till Sept 13, though he pretended to be travelling in great haste, and to have killed two coach horses in his hurry. This delay made Wotton suspect that the French were not in earnest in their desire to avoid a rupture.

² Wotton's instructions for this embassy have not been preserved.

³ In his fourth audience with the States General Wotton proposed that Juliers should be placed in the hands of the Kings of France and England. Although not formally instructed to propose this, he knew it would be approved of, as he had had 'a little breeding in the School of Philosophy, where I have learned that the actions of Princes are directed by their ends' (*S P Holland* Aug 18, 1614).

⁴ During the troubles at the end of the reign of the Emperor Rudolf, the Protestants of Aix-la-Chapelle took up arms, expelled the Jesuits, and re-established themselves in the magistracy. On Feb 20, 1614, the Emperor Matthias revived the ban of the Empire against them, and entrusted its execution to the Archduke Albert and the Elector of Cologne. Matthias did not die till 1619.

231 TO SIR RALPH WINWOOD

S P Ven, holograph, extract The advance of the Dutch army

From the Haghe, this Thursday morning,
the 25th of August, 1614 Style
of England

SIR,

I direct the present unto your Honour through Sir John Throckmorton's¹ hands at Vlissing, only to acquaint his Majesty that the Count Maurice is this very morning departed hence with the Count William², the Count Henry, and all the captains of horse and foot, towards the frontiers, where the fencible is appointed at Schenck's Sconce³ on Sunday next. If they arrive in time they are likely enough to prevent Spinola's taking of Wesel, Ries, and Emerick, which if he do, we doubt they will speak big language in the treaty. I have kept them asunder as far and as long as may be, and they have very handsomely bestowed upon me the blame of their backwardness⁴. The doubt now is that coming near together, some chance may kindle them, though perhaps neither of the sides have much will unto it. I shall dispatch unto his Majesty within these two days an express messenger, with more particular judgement upon the whole matter, which I now begin to think that I understand

232 TO SIR RALPH WINWOOD

S P Holland, holograph, extract Wotton defends himself against the charge that he was to blame for the delay which allowed Spinola to take Wesel

From the Haghe, the 9th of September,
1614 Stilo veteri

I am very sensible here (as I have just cause) of the voices of some people that would impute the loss of Wesel⁵, and the back

¹ Sir John Throckmorton, Lieutenant Governor of Flushing, one of the cautionary towns still in the possession of James I.

² William Louis of Nassau, Stadtholder of Friesland, died 1620. Wotton called him 'our Nestor' (*S P Holland*, Dec 29, 1614).

³ Schenck's Hans, or Schenck's Sconce, a fort built by the freebooter, Martin Schenk, a few miles above Nimeguen, where the Waal divides from the main stream of the Rhine.

⁴ On August 20 Sir John Throckmorton wrote from Flushing, 'I protest to God that such is the outcry of these people generally against our minister for his temporizing in these affairs that so nearly concern them, as that I wish I were not at all to hear them, seeing that I know not what to answer unto them. But I am sore afraid that I shall both see and hear worse things than all these ere it be long' (*S P Holland*). For Wotton's defence of his action see below, pp 69-73.

⁵ Wesel was captured by Spinola on Sept 7, 1614 (*Motley, Barn*, i, p 345).

wardness of the States, to his Majesty, or at least (when they would speak more civilly) to his instruments, and in particular to myself¹, which ridiculous conception will be easily dispelled, when it shall be more publicly known (as it is fit it should) that the King my master did, within the compass of fifteen days (namely, from the 14th of August till the 29th of the same), voluntarily enter into two royal engagements of himself in favour of his friends and the cause, besides an expostulation with the Archdukes for their unsound² proceeding. And all this, while the Protestant United Princes (who are nearest both the danger and the utility) have looked on, and while the French King and Queen (who are interested as much as his Majesty in these affairs) have been very coldly and neutrally disposed, as appeareth by the steps of their minister. As for myself, I may affirm with most indubitable truth, and I can directly prove it where it shall be questioned, that my intercessions did not detain the Count Maurice from the frontiers one hour longer than the States themselves were secretly willing and thought fit that he should be stayed, which I speak with good warrant from a mouth of authority, though I must confess that I studied (till the point of necessity) to keep the armies as far asunder as might be², lest otherwise some chance might kindle them sooner than either their own wills, or their wisdoms, as I have written in my former letters. I have through your Honour's hands discoursed these things unto his Majesty, more out of zeal to his inviolable name, than any care of myself, for surely the condition of public servants were most miserable, if they were bound to be troubled with vulgar voices, and to gather up all the rumour and breath that is so easily spent.

233 TO SIR THOMAS EDMONDES

Stowe MS 175, f 46, dictated, extract The arrival of De Reffuge,
movements of the Dutch and Spanish armies

From the Haghe, on the 10th of
September, 1614

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

I have received your Lordship's letters by the French captain, dated the 3 of this month, for which I do heartily thank you, as

¹ On Sept 17 the Rev Thomas Lorkin wrote, 'Sir Henry Wotton is much complained of by the States, as having been the chief cause of the loss of Wesel, he entertaining them so long with delays, that they came two days short of the relief. But how justly they censure him I know not' (*O & T Jas I*, p 348)

² On Aug 22 Count Maurice wrote to William Louis of Nassau, that the States would assemble on the 25th to deliberate about the marching of Spinola's army. If he proceeded toward the Rhine, the Dutch army would be sent thither, but

likewise for your intention of writing sooner, had you not been mis-
impressed by the ambassador of the States there, who seemeth not
well acquainted with my commission. It is true indeed that the
King hath deputed me (after the quieting or relaxation of these
affairs here) to meet his Majesty of Denmark's ambassador at the
Court of Brunswick,¹ and there jointly to treat (as I do here with
the French) an agreement between that Duke and the town, so as
your Lordship seeth how pacifical I am in this journey. But that
German business must sleep a while.

Monsieur de Reffuge at last arrived here on the 13th of the present.
From the Archdukes he hath brought little more than generalities,
and a kind of reference, for the knowledge of their particular will,
unto the Marquis Spinola, who hath been now three or four days
treating a cessation of action for some limited time, at the vehement
suit of the provincials, who suffer extremely, while the two generals
agree well enough (for aught I see), and while the two Pretendants,
Newburg on the one side and Brandenbourg on the other, lend both
countenance, and as much help as they can to their own ruins,
which is a pretty contemplation.

Monsieur de Reffuge hath this morning his first audience. After
which we have determined to make a joint dispatch unto the two
Princes, and to the two generals, for the understanding of their
inclinations about the place of our treaty, whereof you shall have
knowledge by my next. I was glad to understand that which
de Reffuge had let fall to your Lordship, in his conference with you
before his coming from Paris, namely, 'that he thought the instances
and menacings of the two Crowns would do little good with the
Spaniards, unless they were likely to be followed with the effects.'
Which, I can assure your Lordship, shall not be wanting, unless they
fail on the French side, for the King our master hath within the
compass of 15 days (namely in his dispatches unto me of the 14th
and 26th of August) voluntarily entered into two real engagements
of himself in favour of his friends and the cause, which made me
yesterday, at my first visitation of this new ambassador, hold with
him this language, 'that I was a person of small discourse and less

Count Maurice thought they ought to arrive there first. He adds, 'L'Ambassa-
deur d'Angleterre insiste forte que Messieurs les Etats ne fassent point marcher
leurs troupes, a quoi je vois qu'ilz ont quelque inclination, puisque le dit
Ambassadeur a opinion qu'il accommodera l'affaire' (Gloen van Pinsteren,
Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, 2nd ser., II, 1858, p. 446.)

¹ The Duke of Brunswick, Friedrich Ulrich, had inherited from his father
(whom he succeeded in 1613) a long standing quarrel with the town of Bruns-
wick, which he besieged in July, 1615. By mediation of the Emperor and other
powers the quarrel was settled in Dec., 1615. (O von Heinemann, *Geschichte von
Braunschweig und Hannover*, III, p. 84.) Wotton was kept too busy at the Hague
to find time to perform this part of his mission.

ceremony, but I did humbly offer him mine own service, and I was come to assure him that I had charge from the King my master to join with him in a fraternal consultation upon the present affairs, and in any resolution whatsoever, either of peace or war according to the occasion'

This moved him to tell me at length the passages of his journey, and how he was used by the Archdukes. But I could make no greater heat in his discoursing than he had showed in his marching, and I am of your Lordship's opinion that France is too distracted at home (whereof the Spaniards are not ignorant) to help us greatly here

234 TO SIR RALPH WINWOOD

S P Holland, dictated, extract, postscript and signature holograph. The King of Spain's title, Biondi sent with Du Maurier to arrange for a treaty

From the Haghe, this 18th of September,
1614. Stalo veteri

SIR,

I protest unto you that I am both ashamed and tired with representing these *menudencias* unto his Majesty, but withal I consider that his honour (whereof I am bound to be tender) may suffer in the smallest things, and therefore I have thought it fit for me to render him an account of my carriage even in the most contemptible circumstances. I must protest withal that I was glad to see Mons de Reffuge so prompt and forward as I yet find him, and I have no fear in the present business but to leave him behind me. I was glad also to see him join so well with Mons du Maurier, who is a gentleman of singular piety and clear intentions.

The copies of our credencial letters¹ sent by the said Mons du Maurier and Francesco Biondi, are sent herewithal, wherein was this nicety² observed, that to the two generals we used *Monsieur* and *Excellence*, and to the two princes *Monseigneur* and *Altesse*. And there fell out afterwards between De Reffuge and me, when we came to seal the letters with both our seals (as we did upon distinct labels), and to see them superscribed, a scruple that yielded some sport. For upon the letter to Spinola, when we came to nominate his titles and charges which he held from the King of Spaine, Reffuge willed his secretary to write '*de sa Majeste Catholique*', which I would not suffer, although between jest and earnest, I told him that if these provinces now in question were suffered to fall into Spanish hands,

¹ These copies are in the Record Office (*S P Gen States*, vol. xiii)

² 'Nicesitie' in MS

that King within a while would prove 'Catholic' enough, that is 'universal', as the word importeth after which, with a very little ado, he yielded to have Spinola described '*Lieutenant General des Armees de sa Majeste d'Espagne*'. And this was the end of our first meetings Mons Maurier and Francesco Biondi (who will do this turn, or a greater, with requisite discretion) departed two days since towards the camps¹. We expect them not any time possibly in less than five days more, and Mons Barneveld hath newly sent me word that he thinketh, till their arrival, the cessation will not be concluded. The rest I will signify after my audience, in a letter to his Majesty, whom for the present I humbly commit, with all his, to God's continual blessing, ever resting

Your Honour's to do you faithful service,

HENRY WOTTON

Right Honourable, the time is now come that I must beseech you to prepare his Majesty and yourself to a patience of being troubled both with frequent and long letters, as we grow deeper into the bowels of this perplexed business

235 TO SIR RALPH WINWOOD

S P Holland, holograph Wotton and De Reffuge about
to leave the Hague

From the Haghe, this Tuesday the 20th
of September, 1614 Stalo veteri

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

I signified unto your Honour the departure of Mons du Maurier towards the armies by Captain Minn², and his infirmity on the way by Sir David Murray³, whereupon Mons de Reffuge and myself have resolved, after our audiences here this morning, to pass towards the armies. The rest his Majesty shall receive from Utrecht (where, God willing, I will be to morrow at night) by your Honour's careful servant William Diston⁴ resting in the meantime and ever,

Your Honour's to serve you cheerfully,

HENRY WOTTON

The bearer is a servant to Sir Thomas Gates, and I hope hath learned some diligence from his master

¹ The object of their journey was to arrange with Count Maurice, Spinola, and the two Possessionary Princes, a place and date for the negotiation of a treaty which should settle the whole Juliers-Cleves controversy

² Perhaps (Sir) Henry Mynne, Paymaster of Gentlemen Pensioners in 1616 (*Cal S P Dom*, 1611-18, p. 387)

³ Sir David Murray (1567-1629) (*D N B*)

⁴ William Diston, see *Cal S P Dom*, 1611-18 p. 484, 'Warrant for payment of £10 to William Diston for carrying letters to Brussels,' Sept. 14, 1617

236 To JAMES I

S P Ger States, holograph, extract Wotton's journey to Rees, Xanten the probable place of the treaty, motives and desires of the various parties concerned

Written at Rees Sent from Wesel
on Michellmas day, 1614 Stylo
veteri

At Utrecht we found Mons du Maurier much weakened with some relics of that infirmity which had surprised him on the way, and there we left him, with intention to follow us when his strength would bear it But as yet we hear no more of him

At Arnhem ¹ I found the Countess of Nassau ², her Majesty's niece, in grief for the late loss of a little daughter, her husband being absent at the army with double charge at the present of Lieutenant-General and Marshal, by reason of some infirmity of the Count William ³, the wisest and indubitably the realest gentleman of his whole house, who is, for his better recovery, retired to Gioningen

At Rees we arrived on Saturday the 24th, about four of the clock in the afternoon, and were met about a mile out of the town by the Marquis of Brandenburg and the Count Maurice, who, after a few compliments, put Mons de Reffuge and me into their coach, and Chatillon with us, the commander of the French

The young Prince of Brandenburg ⁴ is a gentleman of very forward understanding for his years, and of good breeding for his nation, and hath gotten in the States army, partly by his countenance (which is full of sweetness) and partly for the cause's sake, a great deal of good opinion

Touching the place of our treaty (for I have tued your Majesty too much about the persons) I think it will be Santen, which the Marquis Spinola took on the other side of the Rhene, if he may be moved (which he cannot deny, neither in reason nor courtesy) to withdraw his garrison out of it for the time, and to restore the town, till the issue of the treaty, to a neutral nature, which place hath been judged the fittest, being between the two armies, and of commodious receipt

Touching the matter, or subject of the treaty, I cannot more

¹ Arnheim

² Hedwig, wife of Ernest Casimir, Count of Nassau-Dietz She was a daughter of the Duchess of Brunswick, sister of Anne of Denmark

³ Count William Louis of Nassau (*ante*, ii, p 46)

⁴ Marquis of Ernest of Brandenburg, brother of John Sigismund, Elector of Brandenburg

distinctly represent it unto your Majesty than by some short notes upon certain new articles, which have been propounded on the one side and the other, which I have now addressed to Mr Secretary, being the ground whereon we must build. And your Majesty will see by them that the difficulty doth lie rather in the humours than in the things. Therefore it is lastly fit for me to speak of those affections that have an influence into it, as I find them either visibly or by conjecture. The States can hardly hide, with artificial suppression, their desire of quietness. And on the other side we are well informed of the imperfections of the Spanish army, and of Neuburg's wants, by intercepted letters, which he wrote to the Bishop of Wormes¹, complaining that the clergy had failed him in the moneys that were promised. Whereupon doth arise this doubt, that both parties, deeming each other easy to yield unto an accord, may peradventure retard that which they seek by pressing the greater conditions. Brandenburge hath about him (as I have said) a very various council, full of suspicion and lenthitude, according to the Almagne natures, and more now than ordinarily for two respects: first, because he is (as they call him) but *Mandaturus Patris*, and therefore must proceed himself with the more awe, secondly, because his own resolutions being not absolute, and his age deceivable, this doth make his advisers (as we find them) the more apprehensive, standing in a kind of obnoxiousness to the event.

For the Count Maurice (to consider him *in individuo*) no man doubts his desire of war, both for benefit and for respect. Refuge being the instrument of a kingdom distracted in the temporality, divided in religions, and under a child contracted with a late enemy of jealous power,² hath reason to wish peace, unless it be to engage your Majesty and then to look on—which I must confess, to mine own understanding, is the slipperiest point of my charge. Lastly, the Provincials groan under the burden of two armies that take towns at ease, and feed upon the soil that belongeth to neither of them both, while the pretending Princes lend authority to their own ruins, which causeth in all corners poverty and clamour. And if none of these considerations will help us, I hope the winter will do it.

Thus have I discoursed unto your Majesty a few of mine own free thoughts about the inward part of the business—I mean, the passions that lead it, which lines your royal hand receiveth by an honest and learned gentleman, who in a little person containeth a great deal of zeal towards your Majesty and courage to serve you.

¹ Wilhelm von Efferm, Bishop of Worms 1604–16.

² Louis XIII, who married Anne of Austria in 1616.

And so with my continual prayers to the God of peace and armies
for His vigilant love over your sacred person and estates, I humbly
rest,

Your Majesty's faithful poor vassal,

OTTAVIO BALDI

Mr Weekes¹

237 TO SIR RALPH WINWOOD

S P Ger States, dictated, extract Spinola's army, a visit from Spinola
and the Duke of Neuburg, the meeting of the envoys at Xanten

From Santen, the xth of October, 1614
Style of England

To Wesel I came the morning after Mons de Reffuge, for I had found some inconveniences in arriving jointly with him before at Rees, and less dignity in it. I was accompanied with divers gentlemen of command and quality of his Majesty's subjects² in the States' service, who on this occasion had a full sight of the Spanish or Imperial army (baptize it how you please) at the fairest distent³ and show, whereof I shall speak more anon. The next day after my arrival, Mons du Maurier came likewise thither, with slighter reception, and lodged that night in a tent there, as De Reffuge had done the night of his arrival, and as was offered to me, but refused, because I thought it more congruous to mine own ends to lodge in the town of Wesel, especially his Majesty's agent, Mr Dickenson⁴, being then in my company (who was come unto me at the very point of my departure at Rees), and could not be well accommodated without separation from me in the Spanish leaguer. In Wesel they had prepared for Mons de Reffuge and myself distinct partitions in the same house, which, though very inconvenient, I let pass without exception, imagining that therein they had contemplated their own ease in the visitations of us. Here they found a shift to hold us from Thursday night till the Monday following.

I must not omit to tell your Honour a pleasant passage between

¹ Probably the Mr Weekes mentioned in *Nichols* (ii, p 537) as secretary to Lord Willoughby de Eresby, commander of the English forces in Denmark.

² One of these gentlemen was Sir Edward Herbert (afterwards Lord Herbert of Cherbury). 'It happened about this time that Sir Henry Wotton mediated a peace by the King's command, who coming for that purpose to Wesel, I took occasion to go along with him into Spinola's army' (*Lord Herbert*, p 151).

³ 'Distent,' obs for distension (*N E D*).

⁴ John Dickenson, Agent of James I at Dusseldorf to the Possessionary Princes, Neuburg and Brandenburg. On Sept 29 Wotton wrote that he had sent to Dusseldorf for Dickenson, 'who through his long experience in these countries (where men's minds are not very transparent) will be of great use to me' (*S P Holland*).

the Duke of Neubourg, the Marquis Spinola, myself and Mr Dickenson at Wesel. They came the night before our departure, very late, to visit us, where, after some discourings interchangeably *a la volée* upon the whole subject now in hand, the Marquis acquainted us (as it were *adud agens*) that the Archdukes had sent thither their deputies to concur in this treaty, whereat myself interjecting that I thought the said Archdukes might spare that charge, because the two Kings, the Princes of the Union, and the States, would be as well sufficient to mediate the present accord, as they had been to put the two Princes into the first possession¹, he replied that the face of the business was now much altered, and so much that himself and the Count Maurice were Possessioners of the whole, 'for the two Princes,' said he '*tengono mente*, which I think he repeated some twenty times, laying his arms very familiarly over the shoulders of Neubourg, and both of them for a good space equally laughing, though in my opinion not upon equal cause. And we for the present time bore them company in the humour, reserving our thoughts to ourselves, which were these, that perhaps the Duke may be laughed in that fashion out of a province or two, and contribute his own mirth to the matter.

From Wesel we brought the answer of Neubourg to Brandenburg's *postulata*, whereunto the deputies of Brandenburg have here since replied with interposition of some little new matter, which moved Neubourg's commissioners to fetch more counsel and authority from the Duke at Wesel, while likewise the Brandenburgians did step to the Prince at Rees, and one or two of the States to Count Maurice². Between which answers, and replies, and rejoinders, and *allees*, and *venues*, and complimentary intervisitations, and preparatory conferences, we have miserably spent the days of this week, yet not

¹ The treaty of Dortmund, by which the *Condominium* was established in 1609.

² Wotton himself visited Count Maurice in his camp, as the Dutch commander sent his general of artillery to Xanten to invite the English and French ambassadors and the Dutch representatives 'to good cheer with him in his tent on Sunday, and to the view of his incomparable army (as I must boldly term it)' Wotton wrote that he had therefore seen both armies, and conversed with both the generals (*S P Ger States*, Oct 10). Richard Seymer (one of Wotton's suite) wrote to his brother, Robert Seymer, on Oct 14 'Upon Sunday last, being the 9th of this October, the two ambassadors of France and England were entertained by solemn invitation of Count Maurice at his army near Rees, whither being come, to entertain the time until dinner, his Excellency gave the ambassadors a view of his whole army, drawn forth expressly for that purpose—an army *sans pareil* for their number, excelling Spinola's in all that can commend an army, in so much that I have forgot that I ever saw Spinola's, or at least would exile his tottered regiments from my memory. I am sure (if force could gain liberty) they would soon be frighted from these confines. Many a volley of shot was spent in honour of the ambassadors. Dinner being ended, we returned to Zanten, where we expect either a conclusion of war or peace (*Add MS 29,974, f 85*)

without thus much fruit, that we have now found the principal differences, which we reckon some advancement towards our purpose

But before I speak of the subject itself, I will entertain his Majesty with a little discourse touching the body of our assembly

We are a full Grand Jury, precisely twenty-four, two for his Majesty, two for the French King, seven for the States, representing the Seven United Provinces, three for Brandenburg, as many for Neubourg, two for the Count Palatine Elector, two for the Archdukes, and three for the Elector of Cologne

Thus, after some little debatement about the persons and qualifications, we are met together with one intent (according to the outward appearance) in this town, but to bring us here all together in the same room, in the qualities that we bear, there is no possible means devisable by the conceit of man, considering the sundry disputes concerning *preseance* which distract this body For neither will Brandenburg give place to Neubourg, being the heir apparent of an Electoral House, nor Neubourg to him, being (since the death of his father) an absolute Prince¹ The States likewise will by no means give way to the Archdukes, and Monsieur Schombergh² hath also acquainted me (to my no small wonder) that they disputed the precedency with the Elector his master, or, to speak more properly, with the Duke of Deux Ponts³, his master's representant at the time of the baptism of my Lady Elizabeth's child, which doth make the said Schombergh now abstain from all intermeetings of the State deputies here, save at their own lodgings, lest he should call this point again into question, which cannot be touched without much indignity

Among which *puntiglios* the French ambassadors and myself have likewise our share, for this very day, being visited at my lodging by them, and discoursing how and where we and the States might meet at several times with those of Brandenburg and Neubourg, his Majesty's agent and myself were contented it should be in the forenoon with the French, and in the afternoon at my chamber, which was by De Reffuge (as I must be bold to say) very presumptuously refused, affirming that the private assemblies at the time of

¹ Owing to the recent death of his father, Wolfgang William was now Duke of Neuburg

² Hans Meinhard von Schönberg (1582-1616), marshal of the Palatinate He held an important position at the Court of the Elector Frederick V, whose education he had superintended, and whose marriage with the Princess Elizabeth he had arranged (*D N B*, p 424) He was now serving as a colonel under Count Maurice, but the Princess Elizabeth was anxious for his presence at Heidelberg and Wotton had instructions from James I to urge him to return (Everett-Green, *Princesses of England*, v, p 267)

³ John II, Duke of Zweibrücken (1584-1635)

the treating of the truce were all at the chamber of Jeannin¹—and this even in the presence of M^r Dickenson, who told him he had been misinformed. And for my part I desired him in fair terms, not to build so much upon a mere permissive precedence, but to use it moderately, and to take it (as scholars do oftentimes in their disputations) *pro dato, sed non concesso*. And thus we parted without any more passion.

238 TO SIR THOMAS EDMONDES

Stowe MS 175, f 71, dictated. Negotiations at Xanten

From Santen, this 11th of October, 1614
Style of England

MY LORD,

By Captain Blunte, going from hence to Bruxelles I send this unto your Lordship, through the honest hands of M^r Trombal, to tell you how we stand.

Santen, by the courtesy of the Marquis (who hath withdrawn his garrison out of it, though with assurance of restitution in default of agreement), is the seat of our treaty—a place more famous for the ancient Roman name of *Castia Vetera* than for any modern commodity that I see in it.

In propositions, replies, rejoinders, *allees* and *venues* (to the Princes of each side, who are equally distant), complimentary intervisitations and preparatory conferences, we have miserably spent one week.

The main difficulties are to find an even partition of the litigious Provinces for the one Prince and the other provisionally, for we go no farther. Juilliers, Berg and Ravensburg against Cleves, Marcke, and Ravensteyn, are found unequal in the balance, because on the part of Juilliers there are more fortified places, and more houses for the habitation of the Princes.²

This is the principal knot of the whole business. The second difficulty is whether the partage shall be absolute or alternative³,

¹ Pierre Jeannin, one of the French commissioners for negotiating the truce with Spain.

² Many difficulties naturally arose in making this division, and it was even seriously brought forward that there were more fish in the rivers of the territories of Juilliers, and its inhabitants were more obsequious, and therefore pleasanter to rule. But as Wotton remarked, 'in treaties of this kind (which are incapable of exact equality) we must resort to the Italian proverb that *che vuol bere, bisogna inghiottire qualche mosca*' (*S P G. States*, Oct 21), and finally, after 'much agitation of brains', a division was agreed on.

³ The party of Brandenburg, who had the better claim for all the territories, wished for alternative possession, as they feared that absolute possession would end by being permanent, and that they would only obtain half the inheritance—the whole of which they claimed by right. Neuburg, on the other hand,

which two points evacuated, the rest is very reconcilable And so
your Lordship hath all (as God help me) that I can tell you Where
with I commit you to God's blessed favour

Your Lordship's to do you faithful service,

HENRY WOTTON

My humble service to your Lordship's virtuous lady and all yours

239 TO SIR THOMAS EDMONDES

Stowe MS 175, f 87, dictated Negotiations at Xanten, arrival of
Count Hohenollern The affairs of Brunswick

From Santen, the 25 of October,
1614 Stalo veteri

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

I give your Lordship kind thanks for your letter of the
13th of October, which hath found us still at Santen, where we have
almost spent an entire month But we are now come so far that we
shall conclude within two or three days, *ou fait, ou faill*

The personal residence, which did most exercise our brains, is
accorded, namely, that Cleves, Marck, Ravenstein, and Ravensburg
be on the one side, and the two Dukedoms of Juliers and Berg on the
other, whereof the choice to be put to lot, but the lots not to be
drawn until a full agreement upon the rest, about which we are now
in travail, and find more difficulty in the humour than in the
things, especially for the accommodating of the Barony of Monjoy,
given heretofore by the Elector of Brandenburg, and confirmed by
his son, to Colonel Ketler, one of his deputies here at the present,
against which Nieuberg doth very manly exclaim, saying that no
piece of the inheritance is alienable by either of the parties And
although Brandenburg do offer to defalk¹ as much from his own
part, if he shall light on the contrary side, yet is Nieuburg not
contented therewith, having indeed conceived much passion against
the said Ketler, whom he pretendeth to have been the principal
instrument that did traverse his match with the Prince of Branden-
bourg's sister

The aforesaid Monjoy doth lie on the part of Juliers, and on the
part of Cleves, Colonel Schomberg hath gotten Hussen into his
hands, by way of caution for good sums disbursed by him in the

wished for permanent possession, and alleged the expense and trouble of
moving troops and changing territories every six months It was finally
decided, that the possession should be absolute

¹ 'Defalk,' i.e. defalcate (N E D)

service of Biandenbourg, so as these two colonels, when it shall come to the drawing of the lots, will solicit the heavens with contrary prayers

Between these things the Grave of Hohensolern¹ is arrived in quality of ambassador from the Emperor at Spinola his camp, and about the same time, as it were by way of counterpoise, the Grave of Solms² and Mons von Buvinchousen³ are come hither in the name of the whole Union, but without any purpose to interrupt us with any new propositions. This is the state of our affairs at the present, wherein I deal more frankly with your Lordship than you do with me, for you say nothing unto me of your own main business⁴

I was destined to Bröunswick, and the King wished me to send my credential letters thither beforehand, as I did by my secretary, by whose late return I understand that my own going is suspended, and the differences between that Duke and the town in likelihood of an end, through a notable advantage offered the said Duke by the dissension of the plebeity, who have taken the Duke's part and imprisoned their superiors, especially a turbulent syndic by name Roerland, who was the incendiary of that business

This is all wherewith I can entertain your Lordship at the present, wishing you more ease, and better cheer for less money than we have here

Your Lordship's very affectionate to serve you,

HENRY WOTTON

I pray, my Lord, remember my humble service unto your worthy lady Tobie Mathew, as I hear, is at Wesel

¹ Count Hohenzellern, or Zollern, had been sent by the Emperor Matthias to prevent the signature of the treaty, except with the full concurrence of the Imperial Government. He also renewed the old proposition that the Emperor should hold the provinces in sequestration until the right of inheritance should have been settled (Motley, *Barn*, i, p. 350). On Oct. 30 Sir John Throckmorton wrote to Viscount Lisle, 'Sir Henry Wotton hath carried himself very worthily, in an answer which he made to the Count of Hohensolern, the Emperor's ambassador, who, seeing that he was not visited by an ambassador, sent him word that he was arrived at Weesell. Sir Henry Wotton by the same party answered, that he had nought to say to him, until he received order from the King his master, that he was there to agree and compose, by amicable means, the difference in the business between the two Princes, and that they had done it, if his legation did not hinder it, which that he might preserve he would truss up baggage and retreat to make report unto his master' (*Sydney Pp*, ii, p. 383)

² Count Albert Solms, an officer of the Court of the Count Palatine

³ Benjamin Buwinckhausen de Walmerode, councillor of the Duke of Wurtemberg

⁴ The proposed marriage of Prince Charles to Christina, the daughter of Henry IV, about which Edmondes was then negotiating (*Gardiner*, ii, p. 314)

240 TO SIR RALPH WINWOOD

S P Ger States, dictated, extract In this dispatch Wotton repeated the account of the negotiations given in the above letter to Edmondes. He then adds that he is sending his apology for the loss of Wesel.

Santen, the 28th of October, 1614
Stalo veteri

I have suspended the sending of my secretary for two or three days more, within which term I think we shall see the shore. And by him, besides the account of these things here, his Majesty shall receive my apology touching the town of Wesel, of which, as often as I think, it reduceth still to my memory a custom in practice (as I hear) even at this day with some nations, who upon every public calamity do sacrifice a man, which seemeth to hold much analogy with my case, for I have now furnished the altar. But your Honour shall see that I will present unto his Majesty better incense—I mean the truth. Till when I humbly rest

Your Honour's faithfully to serve you,
HENRY WOTTON

241 TO SIR RALPH WINWOOD

S P Ger States, dictated, extract The treaty signed, prospects of ratification

From Santen, this 18th of November, 1618

Concerning the present of our affairs here, they stand, I must confess, somewhat strangely, for though both the Princes have signed and sealed the articles¹ (which I sent unto his Majesty by my servant Cutbeid Milborne), yet we dare pronounce nothing of the issue. Only we are now sure, either to make a quiet end for these provinces, or an honourable for our masters, and a blameless for ourselves, because no mediators can go farther than first to project an equitable form of agreement, and then to induce the parties to accept it. This is done, the execution dependeth rather on the generals than on the Princes, wherein, for as much as belongeth to the States, we find no backwardness, but the deputies of the Archduke do interject some scrupulous delays, which hath made the French ambassadors and myself resolve this very morning to write jointly to Neubourg, and severally to the Marquis, letters of

¹ Wotton wrote on Nov. 2, O S, late at night, that the treaty had been concluded. The treaty of Xanten, signed by Henry Wotton, is printed in *Dumont*, v, pt. 11, p. 259.

round language to retrench all farther procrastination I reserve my secretary to bring the event, and all the circumstances from my last

I must crave pardon before I end (feeling at the present a little critical spirit) to set down unto his Majesty an observation of mine own about our treaty I note the deputies of the States and the French ambassadors (especially Reffuge) to be exceeding eager for a quiet end, and both for the same reason, or not much different, the States, for that if a rupture should ensue upon these distractions, they were likely, in common opinion, to bear a great part of the blame, as having given the first occasion by the seizure of Julius The French, for having stayed so long before and after the taking of Wesel, from assisting with their mediation, while De Reffuge lingered, that by the loss of a month and more (which would have done us more good than two months now) we are cast into the winter, and thereby the Marquis Spinola made the more secure in his delays and suspensions, because he may think to make his composition as well at the beginning of the next spring as now, and in the meantime feed his army upon these provinces, and hearken after the changes of the world, and the advantages of occasion, which are the true fountains of military counsel This is the secret difficulty of our treaty to my understanding, wherein his Majesty (whereof I am inwardly glad) hath no part, having sent me over so timely And when the French shall excuse their own fault in it, or the States theirs, in expecting them so long, then let me be sacrificed, which yet I beseech his Majesty to receive, not as proceeding from any passion in me, or from any despair of a good conclusion But it was my duty to unfold this point, because in all event it may serve for a great argument (if it be well handled) to draw the French into the quarrel, whose lenitude did difficult¹ the accord And so with my prayers to God for his Majesty's happiness, I rest

Your Honour's, to do you very affectionate service,

HENRY WOTTON

For conclusion let me give his Majesty more and more probability of a speedy and good end of this treaty, whereof I have received some new arguments from the camp at Wesel, since the subscribing of my letter And although Mons de Reffuge did write some ten days since into Fraunce that all would be accommodated within eight days, yet I dare not, even at this hour, pronounce either the time or the certainty. So as I am the better politique, and he the better Christian, because he hath more faith

¹ 'Difficult,' i.e. make difficult Obs (N E D)

242 TO THE MARQUIS SPINOLA

Egerton Papers, Camden Society, 1840, p. 466 Wotton's English draft for his 'letter of round language' to Spinola The letter actually sent was no doubt in Italian

Santen, 4th of November, 1614

EXCELLENT AND ILLUSTRIOUS SIR

Your Excellency knoweth all that hath passed since the time we have continued here at your request, and therefore <it is> unnecessary to trouble you with the repetition of the circumstances. You know likewise that this present business is already brought to such terms, that there remaineth no mean between peace and war. Yet for all this, we see that hourly there are new petty scruples most strangely interposed, either to delay, or absolutely to disannul that which hath been formally sealed and accorded on both sides. Whereupon, seeing that every minister (although joined with others) ought to have a particular reflection upon the honour of him by whom he is commanded, I have thought it my duty to put your Excellency in remembrance, with all due respect that if it be your intent to hold the places taken, peradventure it had been better to have done it, without abusing the dignity of the King my master and his crowns, with entertaining discourses here, and so many promises made and reiterated to his royal person. Therefore I pray your Excellency to deliberate, not only with magnanimity, but with your wisdom and reality, how much dependeth of that which is yet to be resolved, wherewith I heartily rest,

Your Excellency's servant,

HENRY WOTTON

243 TO SIR RALPH WINWOOD

S P Ges States, dictated, extract The envoys about to leave Xanten, the terms of the treaty not carried out

<Xanten, Nov 21, 1614, O S>

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

This is Monday, the 21st of November in our style, on which day after dinner, the French ambassadors, those of the Union, the deputies of the States General, and his Majesty's servants, do depart from Santen (where we have been precisely seven weeks) to Rees, having, for the honour of our masters and discharge of our own duties and consciences, done as much as I think could be done (all circumstances considered) by any mediators of the world. For first, the articles of agreement (formerly sent unto his Majesty) have been signed and sealed by the Duke of Neubourg and Prince of Branden

bourg on the 20th and 22nd of this month, *stilo novo*, next, the signatures and accords of the said Princes have been reciprocally accepted by and from each other, though not without some precedent opposition, even after the signing. And lastly the said articles were in every point approved and confirmed on the 23rd of the same month by the States of these provinces of Cleves and Juliers, etc., comprehending the gently and capital towns. Notwithstanding all which, one single point (and no more in appearance) hath dissolved our assembly, and hitherto hindered the execution¹

244 TO SIR RALPH WINWOOD

S P Holland, holograph, extract. Wotton writes from the Hague (where he arrived on Dec 1, O S) asking leave to return to England

From the Haghe, this 7^r of December, 1614

Touching myself, if the King our gracious master shall determine the continuance of me in his service here² (wherein, or howsoever it shall please him otherwise to dispose of me I will obey him cheefully), yet I beseech your Honour that by your intercession, I may come home for some little time, when the League of the Union

¹ The rest of this dispatch is so torn as to be illegible. The single point, however, which hindered the execution of the treaty was this—Count Maurice understood the terms about the Dutch and Spanish withdrawing their troops, and agreeing not to invade the disputed territories, as valid only in reference to the treaty of Xanten, and lasting only while that treaty lasted. Spinola maintained that the promise was absolute, the parties should bind themselves never to send troops into the Juliers Cleves domains. This would have bound the States, but not the German Catholic Princes, who were not a party to the promise, and Count Maurice could not agree to it. Moreover, just as the ambassadors were leaving Xanten, a courier arrived from Spain, bringing not a ratification, but a prohibition of the treaty. The articles were not to be executed, and above all Wesel was not to be restored without the concurrence of Philip. This rendered the treaty utterly futile. How this failure was regarded in England is shown by a letter of Chamberlain's to Carleton of Dec 16. 'Then proceedings in the late treaty in the Low Countries hath been so cautious, that we know not where to lay the fault that no better effects have followed. Neither, as it seems, do the actors or ambassadors themselves well understand how the case stands, at leastwise, they cannot hitherto make others understand it clearly, so that our old friend there hath imputations enough, but how he deserves them, God knows, yet he is generally thought not to be for that turn, the rather for that it seems he is not sufficiently furnished with French, but negotiates altogether in Italian' (*C & T Jas I*, 1, p 358)

² As resident ambassador Sir Dudley Carleton, who wished to leave Venice, was anxious to obtain this post, and in a letter of Dec 22 Chamberlain, after discussing his chances, adds, 'but the worst I gather is, that Sir Harry Wotton would build his tabernacle where he is, and labours to put off his extraordinary ship for the ordinary place, for so he hath given out to divers captains, which I am sure they are nothing willing to hear, neither do I hope shall he prevail, especially having given no better taste, either there or here' (*C & T Jas I*, 1, p 355). On Jan 5, 1615, he wrote that Wotton wished to remain in Holland, and on Jan 6, that the English at the Hague would prefer Carleton there, rather than Wotton, 'who is not affable, always busy, but dispatching little' (*Cal S P Dom*, 1611-18, p 270)

shall be concluded, and so return again in other quality Wherein I humbly beg speedy knowledge of his Majesty's good pleasure that I may settle mine own thoughts and provisions And so, Sir, commending the care of me to your noble friendship, I ever rest

Your Honour's to serve you with all affection,

HENRY WILTON

Sir, it was a wonder unto me to understand, that his Majesty complained of infrequent dispatches from me, till newly I heard that three or four of my messengers were at Vlissing together, having overtaken one another, while the former were there every day flattered by the hope of a wind

245 TO SIR RALPH WINWOOD

S P Holland, holograph, extract A League concluded between the States General and the Union of Protestant Princes

From the Haghe, this 13th of December,
1614 Stilo veteri

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

We have concluded the League between the Princes of the Union and the States General¹ this morning, perhaps sooner than businesses of such extent are usually determined I conceive three causes that did all concur to the hastening of it 1 His Majesty's mediation 2 The precedent preparation of the matter by the Count Palatine 3 The quality of the time

I accompanied the two ambassadors² at this final audience, and spake first to this effect that since the said ambassadors were come to signalize, or rather (as I might well term it) to sanctify this day with a just and Christian combination between these Princes and the States, I thought it my duty to accompany them publicly in this act, and thereby to declare the sincere conjunction that was between our masters and ourselves, assuring the States that, as his Majesty my gracious Lord had been the first and only mediator of this alliance, out of his love to both parties, and out of his judgement of their good, so he would receive extreme contentment to understand the conclusion of it Nay, I told them that I would pass a little farther and say, that not only good kings (who are the images and representations of God's visible Majesty on earth), but even angels themselves (as we may well believe)

¹ On March 23, 1612, the Princes of the Protestant Union had entered into an alliance with James I, and now, by his mediation, they formed a league with the States General for mutual succour (*Gardiner*, II, pp 140, 141, 162, 163)

² Counts Solms and Buwinckhausen (*ante*, II, p 58)

do rejoice when they see good combinations built, not only upon respects of policy and utility, but of conscience and zeal, as I knew was the scope of this League And so I ended with my best wishes unto it

To me Mons Barneveld made answer with exceeding reverence of his Majesty's royal person and name, affirming twice or thrice and very seriously (if I do yet understand his face) that his Majesty's mediation had been the principal motive of this League, with many other words touching their affiance in his royal concurrence and resolutions, as the nature of the time did require

246 TO SIR RALPH WINWOOD

S P Holland, holograph, extract Wotton's secretary drowned
while crossing to England

From the Haghe, the 23^d of December,
1614 Stalo veteri

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

In what perplexity I write the present you will easily conceive, when you have read the enclosed from my nephew, Captain Robert Morton¹, which came unto me but yesternight, touching the untimely and disastrous loss of my secretary² in his passage, wherein what is there more to be said by either philosopher or Christian, than that which our blessed Saviour hath not only prescribed us, in the form of our daily prayer, but hath likewise exemplified it Himself, and as it w^{as} sealed it in the patience of His own end *Voluntas tua fiat Domine*, both in heaven and in earth and in the deep?

I am little curious of what was shipwrecked with him that concerned myself *Transeat hoc quod inter fugacia bona*, as he sayeth Only this doth trouble me, that mine own defence and discharge from that foul ridiculous bruit about Wesel, which I had reserved till his coming, hath run the fortune of the rest But therein I shall satisfy his Majesty, by his favour, at a little more ease of mind and body than I find myself at the present In the meanwhile I am sure Mr Dickenson will bear me witness that I have cleared that report, both at Wesel itself before the magistrates, and at Zanten before the States of the Provinces, not in truth for any respect of myself (who am contented with mine own conscience), but in regard only of that qualification which I bear, although withal I must say that even the best and wisest of kings should be surely very unhappy

¹ Sir Robert Morton, brother of Sir Albertus Morton, and a captain in the service of the Dutch

² Osbert Mountford On Dec 22 Chamberlain wrote, 'It is doubted that his (Wotton's) secretary, Mountford, the doctor of physic's son, is cast away-coming from Flushing' (*G & T Jas I*, 1, p 805)

in then condition, if their honours were subject to blemishment upon every imputation maliciously or fondly bestowed upon then instruments And so, Sir, for the present I commit your safety to the God of Heaven, resting,

Your Honou^r's to love and serve you,
HENRY WOTTON

247 To SIR RALPH WINWOOD

S P Holland, dictated, extract No date Sent with John Dickenson on Dec 27 The hindrances in the execution of the treaty of Xanten due to Spain, Nicholas de Rebbe, delay in Wotton's dispatches

(The Hague, Dec 27, 1614, O S)

Touching that corrupt piece of intelligence wherewith the Manceidor¹ did abuse the Archdukes' ambassador, and he his Majesty, I must only say this, that it is *vetus ludus* for men to beautify their own misdealings, and I have observed in the course of my life this maxim (which every day doth confirm unto me), that the worst causes are ever the best defended This is as much as I find necessary to be said in answer of your aforesaid letter, for the matter of command in it Your own private discourse wherewith you conclude seemeth upon the whole matter very probable, and I do verily believe that the Archdukes² and the Marquis for his particular, and much more Newbourge, will be glad to execute the treaty, but I think that the King of Spain (by whose nerves they move) will never be brought unto it, without, at the least, the countenance of a war both by sea and land, for it is a feast for him (in my opinion) to fight in and for neutral provinces, while his own are at rest

As for the Emperor's ambassador³, who doth tempest (as we hear) in Bruxelles at much ease against the whole treaty, with protestations of nullity (as protestations are cheap in Germanie), the truth is we laugh at it And if his master continue to dispense his investitures and his bands so frankly and so familiarly as he hath

¹ Don Juan de Manceidor, secretary to the Archduke Albert

² According to Cardinal Bentivoglio, the Papal Nuncio at Brussels, whose *Relazione* is one of the principal authorities for the history of these negotiations, the Archduke Albert was (as Wotton believed) anxious to carry out the treaty of Xanten He wrote to the King of Spain reminding him of the advantages they had already achieved at Aix-la-Chapelle and Mulheim, and warning him against attempting too much 'Fortune is variable,' he added, 'she is gone when we least think on't, and hugs herself when she makes the greatest of mortals the greatest of laughing stocks' (*A Relation, &c*, by Cardinal Bentivoglio, translated by the Earl of Monmouth, 1654, p 149)

³ The Count of Hohenzollern

done of late, I will read his fortune that they will shortly run at the value of my *Paulus Quintus* his excommunications

I have been here extremely cumbered with a certain fellow whom you commended unto me for his passage. What his Majesty can distil out of him I know not, but I will be bold to tell you my opinion of him. He is by name Doctor Nicholas de Rebbe¹, by profession theologue, by misfortune a politician, and by nature a fool, equally destitute of both those parts which should compose a man of use, taciturnity, and discretion. Yet I have cherished in him his devotions towards his Majesty, which he will express himself at his return from Utrecht (whither he went yesterday) in person, having been either advised or commanded by a late letter from Monsieur de Mayern² (as he telleth me) to come to the King for some important piece of service, and thereupon he would have moved me to some disbursements, which at first I civilly refused without farther order from your Honour, because I would fain have drawn him to pass his advertisements through my hands, and so have saved the King both from the trouble and the charge of his person, but seeing him eager upon it, and imagining that there may be *aliquid sapidum in fungo*, I have promised to let him want no good means for his conveyance. Lastly, touching myself, I am both sorry and ashamed that my messengers, who found the winds so contrary to them in Vlusinge, had not the wit to pass through Flanders, whereby his Majesty was moved to so just impatience. Always I am sure, that for every dispatch that the French ambassador made, I made four, and I protest on my troth (whereof I have many witnesses), that all the while I was at Santen I had, between visiting and being visited, no one hour of rest, insomuch as all my dispatches were *noctis opera*, and born of tired spirits. This I hope will serve for my excuse towards my gracious master, who was never before offended with my indiligence,³ although I am guilty otherwise of too much imperfection.

And so I humbly rest,

Your Honour's very really to serve you,

HENRY WOTTON

¹ Two letters from this Nicolas de Rebbe are in the Record Office. In the first, which is to Winwood (dated July 2, 1614), he asks for a passport, and says that he wishes to be described as 'Nicolas de Rebbe, Gentleman of Flanders, Historiographer of Modern Times'. The other letter is to James I (dated 1614?), in which he begs for payment of the pension granted him eighteen months before, 'as from his experimental knowledge of the science of the greatest Cabinet in Europe he can much aid the King in reducing his enemies' (*Cal S P Dom.*, 1611-18, pp 250, 264).

² Sir Theodore Turquet de Mayerne (1578-1655), physician to Queen Anne (*D N B*). ³ 'Indiligence,' want of diligence. Obs (*N E D*).

248 To SIR RALPH WINWOOD

S P Ven, holograph Note sent with John DickensonFrom the Haghe in Holland, this
27 of December, 1614

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

This bearer¹ is a full dispatch of himself, in whose conversation and erudition we have all taken singular contentment And I must give you many thanks (besides other favours) for that letter which joined him with me, without whom I had been very naked Thus much I have likewise professed to the King And so I humbly rest,

Your Honour's really to serve you,
HENRY WOTTON

249 To SIR RALPH WINWOOD

S P Holland, dictated, postscript to letter of this date The
drowning of Osbert MountfordFrom the Haghe, this 29th of December
1614 Stilo veteri

I have now more particular advertisement than before of the unfortunate perishing of my secretary, who was not cast away upon any bank or flat, but in a sudden gust, by swagging of corn (as it was thought) to the lee side, wherewith the ship was ballasted together with want of mariners to help in such an extremity, in which point Flemings are commonly spareful of money, and prodigal of life But the will of the Highest be done in all

250 To SIR RALPH WINWOOD

S P Holland, dictated, extract Wotton's apology about the loss of Wesel, Dr Sticke, the German Protestant Princes threatened by the Catholic LeagueFrom the Haghe, this 12 of January,
1614(5) Stilo veteri

I hope ere this time you have received divers letters from me, written since the departure of Mons de Reffuge, rather in truth for entertainment of my duty than for matter of substance, for we are here merely passive, and tied to attend (*quod miserrimum est*) the King of Spain's humours

His Majesty receiveth from me at this present a little commentary upon a letter which the Duke of Neuburg sent him, whereof he sent

¹ John Dickenson (*ante*, II, p 53)

likewise the copy unto me And I have also opened my bowels unto my great and gracious master about the matter of Wesel, wherein I shall never have true rest in my spirit till the King dissoil¹ me, I do not mean by his grace, but by his justice, which is his eminent property

Sir, I want your favour in the protection of my <office>, but I am not so unthrifty to beg it in this occasion, because I thank God I need it not

With this dispatch there cometh the Chevalier Sticke², ambassador of Brandenburg, of whom I had a wrong impression given me, for by discourse I find him to be a very moderate person, and full of good intentions, and one upon whose judgement and integrity that Electoral House doth much rely, who professeth great obligation and reverence towards his Majesty, and did use his servants very nobly Thus much I was bound to say in discharge of the truth and mine own thankfulness

Out of Germany we are battered with continual voices of designs upon them,³ which discover themselves more and more, for our last news runneth that the Imperial and Popish Electors have demanded a garrison in Frankfort to contain that town in obedience, which in re<spect> of the Count Palatine doth much concern his Ma<jesty>, who, as I have before written, is a principal there, <though> he be an accessory here And this is the hazardest point that I see in but the present state of things

251 To JAMES I

S P Holland, holograph Letter sent with Wotton's apology for the loss of Wesel, undated, but sent with previous dispatch of Jan 12

(The Hague, Jan 12, 1615)

SACRED MAJESTY,

I offer at this time unto your Majesty, with an humble and true heart, my discharge from that damnable report which was bestowed on me touching the town of Wesel, wherein I am so tender of your Majesty's opinion (which I have long sought to gain in some degree with my poor travails) that the cleanness of mine own conscience can give me no rest

¹ 'Dissoil,' i.e. assail, not in *N E D*

² Dr Sticke, 'a little old doctor,' Wotton described him in his dispatch of Dec 29, 1614, who was going to England to thank James I for arranging the League between the Union and the States

³ On Dec 18, 1614, Wotton wrote that if the King of Spain could have peace with James, and a truce with the States, he could 'swallow up the German Protestants in a week' He also reported Count Maurice's belief that the Spaniards meant to attack the Germans, 'of which country, though descended thence himself, I have never heard any man speak more slightly, being with him an ordinary and divulged conceit that those Princes have too much to make feasts and diets, and too little to make war' (*S P Holland*)

I am not the first whom idle or malicious or casual rumour hath injured. And I consider it as a point rather of glory than disgrace, since therein those mean and unworthy vassals, whom Princes employ in their foreign services, do represent in some sort their masters' fortunes, as they do in the rest their wills. For your Majesty well remembereth the saying of a great monarch, *Regnum est ubi bene feceris male audire*¹. With thus much I have been bold to trouble your Majesty, as a little preface to my defence, that cometh herewith.

Touching the public, I received in the time of my late sickness the copy of the Duke of Neuburg's letter unto your Majesty, upon which I have made a little commentary for your more particular information. And I have now also, through Mr Secretary's hands, given your Majesty an account of those formulaies which your wisdom conceived proper for the accommodating of this great business². Wishing your Majesty the fruit of your own excellent conceptions and intents, and many peaceful and happy years added to this, wherein we are lately entered,

Your Majesty's most faithful poor servant,

HENRY WOTTON

252 TO JAMES I

CCC MS 318, f 12, transcript. Printed in *Archaeol.*, vol xl. Wotton's long-promised explanation about the loss of Wesel has not been preserved among the State papers, there is, however, an unsigned transcript in the library of Corpus Christi College, which is here printed. It is undated, but was evidently sent with the above letters of Jan 12.

(The Hague, Jan 12, 1614-5, O S)

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR SACRED MAJESTY,

Among the papers that we lost in the fatal passage of my secretary, there was a letter unto your Majesty, which if I do not revive, my heart will break, as vessels that are stopped from vent when something boileth in them. The person whom it concerned was myself, the subject was the town of Wesell, the essential ques-

¹ Βασιλικόν, ἔφη, ἐστὶν εὖ ποιῶντα κακῶς ἀκούειν (Plutarch, *Reg et Imp. Apophthegmata Alexandri*, 82. Cf. Pub. Syrius, 'Regum est ubi bene feceris male audire').

² The 'great business' was the withdrawal of the Dutch and Spanish troops from the Juliers-Cleves territories, in order that the terms of the Treaty of Xanten might be carried out. Count Maurice and Spinola having disagreed about the meaning of the engagement not to return, neither was willing to move. The first proposal was that the engagement not to re-enter the disputed territories should be made by Count Maurice on one side and Spinola on the other. As, however, Spinola might be removed, and his successor would not be bound by this promise, the States refused to accept this proposal.

tion is, by whose default it was lost ? Wherein if I do not satisfy your Majesty, I desire never more to behold the face of so just a King, nor of any honest man But before the rest, it shall be fit to repeat these words, which I received in a letter from Mr Secretary¹ by your gracious commandment

'Now' (sayeth he), 'from his Majesty I am to acquaint you with a report which your last letters *en passant* do touch, but which to him hath been confidently delivered, that is, the States had with as much vigilancy and expedition prevented the surprise of Wesell, as after they did of Reez and Emerick, had not you, with much assurance, often engaged yourself that the Marquis Spinola would not attempt upon that town, which brut, though, his Majesty cannot easily believe,' &c

First, I was bound unto your Majesty for this particular advertise ment, for though I had heard before of some such voice bestowed upon me, yet I could gather it to no head Next, I yield your Majesty most humble thanks for the reservation of your belief, which I receive as an argument of your favour towards me, though it be a piece of your own usual and natural equity As for the matter itself, I conceive one special comfort in it, that they who told your Majesty how Wesell was lost by my securing of the States, would perchance likewise have said that I sold the town to the Archdukes, if my honesty had been as questionable as my discretion But these and the like aspersions are the proper badges of public servants, especially in democratical regiments², whereof both reason and examples might easily be given, if it did not more concern me at the present to rectify my poor estimation with your Majesty, than to search the nature of the place Therefore, for mine own discharge, I do here humbly protest unto your Majesty, before the Author of all truth, that I never engaged myself either to the States in general, or to any single man, dead or alive, either by probability or conjecture, or in the least imaginable terms, that the Marquis Spinola would not attempt upon the town of Wesell So far was I from often assuring them thereof, as some Voistian spirit³ hath traduced me For I beseech your Majesty to give me leave to ask a few questions in mine own case How could I give them any such assurance, or whence should I take it ? Did I bring any such commission from your Majesty ? Did I find any at the Haghe ? Did Spinola make me his secretary, or the Archduke his confessor ? Had I practised the world with such simplicity to trust Italians or Spaniards in

¹ Sir Ralph Winwood

² 'Regiments,' i.e. governments (N E D)

³ i.e. some follower of Conrad Vorstius, the well meaning Arminian of Leyden, whom James I denounced and persecuted as a 'blasphemous monster'

a point of then advantage? Have I purchased before so little credit in the cause of the Religion? Have I been bound to your Majesty so long for your confidence (wherein I joy more than in your benefits), and should I now betray it? Did I send any letter? Did I receive any message that might concern the main service, wherewith they were not here particularly acquainted? And is this a State to be stayed or stirred so lightly by private conceits? God let me not live, if I be not confounded, more with wonder than with other passion, at the monstious birth of this senseless report

True it is indeed that, at my second audience¹, I wished them by way of discourse, ten days before there was any doubt of Wesel, and twenty before it was taken, not to collect their troops till more evident necessity, pressing them rather to a resolution about Juliers (which was *focus febris*), and doubting that if the Marquis should besiege that place, or seek to block it up, and they oppose him with a formed army, it might hazard rupture, which was against the general scope of mine errand, and Monsieur Barneveld himself (who tendereth² the present quiet) did advise me, the evening before my said audience, to use some such speech as I did unto them. Some week after this, or thereabouts (for I do not precisely remember the day, nor thought I should ever need to record it), Monsieur Barneveld, Sir Joachim of Zeland³, and one Lucklama of Friesland, were deputed to confer at our houses with Monsieur du Maurier and myself. At which they asked our opinions more respectfully than necessarily, whether we thought it fit for them to march, the rumours being then much increased by a bridge⁴ of boats that was built at Bergh⁵, whereby it was concluded that the Marquis intended to pass the Rhene. Did we resist it? I remit that to themselves. Did they ask us perhaps too late? We are not soldiers by profession, but thus much (I) will be bold to pronounce, that Wesel might always have been saved in one day from any of the nearer garrisons of Arnhem, Zutphen, Newmegen, or Skincksconce, as well with an handful of the States' men as with an army (if the question had been only to save towns and not to take towns), or otherwise the Marquis might have broken the truce, to which point they put him in divers other places. Was there then no colour of raising this voice? I have searched my papers and myself, and I find only a letter from Mr Trumbal, your Majesty's agent, unto me, in answer of one which I wrote with knowledge and approbation of the States, wherein he speaketh of suspense or intermission of some four or

¹ On Aug 18

² 'Tendereth,' i.e. hath care of, aich

³ Albert Joachim of Ter goes (Cal S P Col East Indies, 1513-1616, p. 370)

⁴ 'Biedge' in MS

⁵ Rheinberg

five days, which he had with much ado obtained of the Archduke Albertus in a private audience, which, whether it were performed or no (as the Count Maurice by precise computation denieth), is now a needless inquiry. Mr Dickenson can inform your Majesty how far I pressed the Marquis and Monsieur Pechius¹ the Archdukes' representant therein. And sure I am, howsoever, that Mr Trumball did relate hither what he had done with such caution as did not stay them in their proceedings here the running of an hour glass. There remaineth, therefore, only the question how the town was lost, which might easily have been saved, as appeareth by the promises. Wherein not to keep your Majesty long from the solution of this mystery (for so I might call it, the matter being indeed wrapped in a few clouds of state), what is there more to be said than *peccatum tuum in te Israel*? The town of Wesell, notwithstanding their long engagement to the Duchy of Cleves, seeking, under pretence of impartiality between the two Princes, to maintain itself in the nature of a free and imperial town, or as near as it might be, much animated with their new fortifications, and little considering the difference between the burghers and soldiers, not distrusting their enemies, and perhaps jealous of their friends, lastly, willing enough to be helped without, but not within, did not only seek no help from whence they might best have had it, but likewise refused the assistance of the Colonel Schombergh, who offered very nobly and timely to levy and to maintain a regiment one month upon his own charge, for their defence, in no other quality than as a gentleman of their own entertainment.²

These were the circumstances, and this was the truth of that action, on my conscience to God and my faith to your Majesty. Wherewith I did charge both the town itself at my being there, and the States of the Provinces, when they came unto us about their immunities at Zanten, where I acquainted them with your Majesty's royal declaration of yourself in their behalf, though a little too late by the fatality of their own folly, which I likewise have made known in all towns and to all persons where I have passed, and though I am ashamed to seek witness for the discharge of so vile an imputation, and to borrow credit with your Majesty *extra me ipsum*, yet for the better proof of my sincerity (which was all the inheritance that my good father left me) I most humbly beseech your Majesty to inform yourself of the ambassador of Brandenbourg³, now coming

¹ Peter Pecquius, Chancellor of Brabant

² The town of Wesel had also refused to receive a Dutch garrison which the States had been most anxious to place there. The presence of this garrison would have saved them. (Motley, *Barn*, 1, p. 345)

³ Dr Stucke, see *ante*, 11, p. 68

to your Court, who hath understood from Monsieur Barneveld's own mouth the truth of this affair

I am now confident, notwithstanding my disasters, to have performed all my duties to your Majesty, and I was infinitely comforted that Mr Secretary, when by your commandment he acquainted me with this report, did with the same pen assure me that your Majesty had undertaken my cause at home in that poor expectative¹ which I held by your former goodness. It was a double favour in your Majesty both to do it and to do it towards one that stood in such obloquy, by which you have bound eternally unto you besides my other natural and long devoted duties,

Your most humble and loyal servant

253 TO SIR RALPH WINWOOD

S P Holland, dictated, extract. No date, wrongly endorsed 'about Apr 1615', but written before Jan 20 (see note 2). The sending of commissioners to settle trade disputes, Wotton's illness

(The Hague, Jan —, 1615)

Touching those commissioners² which his Majesty intendeth to send hither, I will conjoin with them my best endeavours, I hope with good success, because the time doth well favour it. But, on the other side, I must humbly deliver my conceit that I think this open interposition of matter of complaint and difference between us and the States, at this point of time, when we should most agree or most seem to agree, will do some hurt to the general matter, by adding encouragement to the other side upon our distractions.

And this is all wherewith I will now trouble his Majesty, being myself at the present under the hands of the physician and surgeon, upon an extreme torment much like the sciatica, contracted (I know not how) from cold, and sudden changes of the air, and crudities

¹ The reversion of the half of a Sir Clerk's place (see *ante*, i, p. 117)

² Clement Edmondes, Clerk of the Council (nominated by Wotton), Robert Middleton, and Maurice Abbot (nominated by the East India Company) were appointed on Dec 29, 1614, commissioners to negotiate with the States General about certain disputed questions of trade, and especially the commerce to the Spice Islands, which the Dutch merchants wished to keep in their own hands, to the exclusion of the English East India Company. Grotius, with other commissioners from the States, had vainly attempted to arrange a settlement in England in the spring of 1613, and this English commission (which arrived at the Hague on Jan 20) was destined to be equally unsuccessful. (See *Garämer*, ii, p. 313.) The commission for these negotiations is printed in Rymer's *Fœderata*, Hague edition, 1714, vii, part 2, p. 205, see also *Cal S P Col*, 1513-1616, pp. 348, 369

of the wine, and neglect of the beginning, till it doth now so much afflict me that I do even dictate this with pain¹ And so, Sir, I wish you more ease, and much happiness

Your Honour's to serve you,
HENRY WOTTON

254 TO SIR RALPH WINWOOD

S P Holland, holograph, extract The negotiations about trade, and the withdrawal of troops from the Juliers Cleves territories.

On Shrove Tuesday, stilo veteri
(Feb 21, 1614-5, O S)

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

For the better discharge of our joint commission we have thought fit to distinguish our labours

My associates (of whom his Majesty hath in truth made an excellent choice for men very zealous of his honour, and of their own duties) have formed the answers and replies hitherto in writing, *ex visceribus causae*, which is the part of pain and judgement, and I have assumed the other part of representing unto his Majesty an accompt of their travails, though they have among themselves an able pen

Now, touching mine own peculiar charge here It is the eighth day since I propounded unto the States that expedient which his Majesty had in his wisdom framed for the settling of our present suspensions², in the representation whereof there was no circumstance omitted that his Majesty's letters of the 24th of January did enjoin his humble vassal

Monsieur Barneveld, in the name of the rest, and of the Prince Maurice (who hath been present yet at all my audiences), after many thanks for his Majesty's continual care of the public, and of them in particular, made answer that it should be put into deliberation, and such respect had of it as became their reverence and obligations towards his Majesty, and the gravity of the subject now in hand And so he ended his speech with some few prelatives of patience, as his manner is And accordingly some three days after, Sir Joachim

¹ In a letter to Sir John Throckmorton, Wotton says that the cold weather at Xanten had caused his illness (*S P Holland*, Jan 15)

² The Dutch having refused to agree to a promise to withdraw from the disputed territories, made in Spinola's name, the Archdukes proposed an engagement to be made in their own name on the one side, and that of the States on the other, not to re enter the provinces, '*sous quelque nom ou pretexte que ce soit*' James I wrote on Jan 24 to Wotton, telling him to urge the States to accept this formulary He added that the formulary was not to be understood to mean that the States could not help their German allies, and offered to bind himself, and attempt to bind the French King, to come to them and if the treaty were violated (*S P Holland*)

of Zeland and Coenders of Gronigen were by public deputation sent to my house to tell me that the deputies of the States General had found it necessary to communicate my proposition with the Provinces, whence several deputies were expected here the week following, for other occasions, and therefore they prayed me not to attribute the delay of four or five days more or less to any want of respect towards his Majesty, sithence a point of such weight could not be well concluded without the general assent. This was all the subject of their visitation. The Count Maurice himself hath likewise been with me at mine own lodging, and I have been with Barneveld at his, and there hath passed between us large discourse, sometimes very calm and fair, and sometimes not without a little passion, or at least vehemence, both of them agreeing in the very same objection (which his Majesty toucheth in his foresaid dispatch), namely, that the formulary which the Archdukes had sent his Majesty, and which I now represented unto them, was *crambe bis cocta*, wherein nothing had been changed but the persons. I told them (as I had done before to the whole body) that his Majesty had very well considered this point, and would never have consented to propound it again (having been once refused) without very due correctives against the malignity thereof, which made it (as he conceived) before so indigestible. I find them upon the whole matter much distracted between a willingness to satisfy his Majesty, and a fear to be deceived by the Spaniard.

255 TO NICHOLAS PLEY

CCC MS 318, f 10 (printed, *Archaeol.*, xl), dictated, signature and post-script holograph. Wotton's explanation about the loss of Wesel accepted by the King.

Haghe, this 20th of March, 1614<5>

SIR,

I am so tired with public dispatches that I must take the liberty to ease both you and myself with a better hand. This is only indeed to thank you for such letters as I have heretofore received from you, which were full of love and good advertisement. I was tender to answer them while I stood under black reports, but you may now receive my letters without any fear of contagion, for I am purged of my leprosy, having my assolment from the King himself.

So you see how the world is changed with me, that whereas heretofore, in some man's favourable voice, I was perchance allowed the pretence of a little merit, I am now fain to brag of innocency. Well, Sir, I will neither trouble you nor myself any more with these

discourses The substantial point is to have money, for without that bladder we cannot swim I pray solicit my Lord Treasurer¹ for me according to those notes that you shall receive from this gentleman And so, Sir, reckoning myself for many kindnesses much beholden unto you, I rest,

Yours to serve you,
HENRY WOTTON

I take it unkindly that you, who were wont to make many staits over unto these Provinces, have stayed that humour since my being here Well, God send us anywhere cheeifly together You will easily pardon me that I now write no more unto you, for I hear you officers of the Green Cloth are angry and rebuked²

256 TO SIR RALPH WINWOOD

S P Holland, dictated, extract The negotiations about trade

From the Haghe, this 20th of March,
1614(5) Stilo veten

I reserve still in my breast his Majesty's commission, received from you, touching the fishings on the north side of England and Scotland³, it is indeed, as you wrote, a tender and dainty piece, and therefore, though Monsieur Barneveld hath been with me once or twice, and I sundry times with him, yet I have hitherto forborne to touch it, first because you gave me the freedom of taking my time, because there was not *periculum in mora*, next, for that I was willing first to see what language we should have from them concerning the commerce of the Moluccos⁴ and the Groenland business⁵,

¹ Lord Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, Lord Treasurer 1614-18

² This probably refers to a quarrel (which was the talk of London at the time) between Sir Arthur Ingram, Cofferer of the King's Household, and the officers of the Green Cloth, who had refused him his 'diets' (*C & T Jas I*, 1, p 359; *D N B*, xxix, p 12)

³ The herring fishing on the north coasts of England and Scotland had been almost completely neglected, until it was discovered by the Dutch, who were now sending fleets every year to fish in English waters In 1607 James I issued a proclamation forbidding foreigners to fish off the English coasts without a licence This proclamation was disregarded by the Dutch, and Wotton and the other commissioners were now trying to get the rights of the English Crown acknowledged (*Gardiner*, iii, pp 172, 173)

⁴ i.e. the trade to the East Indies, another disputed point of great importance The English claimed free trade to the Moluccas and the East, but as the Dutch had conquered this Eastern trade from the Portuguese, they refused to allow the English to share in it on equal terms, unless England agreed to join with them in maintaining an aggressive warfare against the Portuguese and Spaniards beyond the Cape (*Ibid*, ii, p 313)

⁵ The whale fishery in the northern seas, to which the English claimed an exclusive right The Dutch would not acknowledge this right, and on this point, as on the others, no agreement could be reached The negotiations,

from whence I might very fitly glance upon that other (as I mean to take occasion within three or four days), and then your Honour shall hear from me how the point is tasted

257 TO JAMES I

Reliq, 1st ed, p 396, no date Dated '1615' in 3rd ed, p 280 Wotton sends an account of his negotiations with Clement Edmondes and the two other commissioners, who returned to England about May 6, which is, therefore, the approximate date of this letter Wotton repeats the substance of this letter in another without address or date (*CCC MS* 318, printed, *Archaeol*, xl)

(The Hague, May 6, ? 1615, O S)

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR SACRED MAJESTY,

I beseech your Majesty to pardon me a little short repetition, how I have spent my time since my departure from your royal sight, because I glory in your goodness

I have been employed by your favour in four several treaties, differing in the matter, in the instruments, and in the affections

The first was for the sequestration of Juliers, wherein I was joined with the French

The second for the provisional possession of the two pretendents, wherein (contrary to the complaint of the Gospel) the labourers were more than the harvest

The third was for a defensive league between the United Provinces and the United Princes, who, though they be separate bodies of state, do now by your only mediation make one body of strength

The fourth was for the composing of some differences between your own and this people, in the matter of commerce, which hath exceeded the other three, both in length and difficulty, for two reasons as I conceive it

First, through the sensibleness of the subject, which is private utility Next, because it had a secret commixture of public respects, and those of no light consequence, for surely, it importeth more to let the King of Spaine dispense alone the commodities of the East, than for either of us to want them

Now of the three former treaties, I have given your Majesty an accompt in divers dispatches, according to my poor apprehensions As for this last, that they have eased my weakness in the conduct thereof (I mean my good associates, by whose light and leadings I have walked) will ease me likewise, by your gracious leave, in

therefore, came to nothing, and the commissioners returned to England in April (*Gardner*, II, pp 313, 314)

the relation By them it may please your Majesty to understand in what fair terms we have left it, somewhat resembling to my fancy those women of *Nombre de Dios*¹, who (they say) are never brought to bed in the place where they conceive, but bring forth their children in a better air And so I hope that our travails and unformed conceptions will take life in your own kingdom, which will be more honour to their birth² For our parts, I dare affirm of these your commissioners, that now return unto the comfort of your gracious aspect, that they have discharged their duties and their consciences with all faithful care of your Majesty's commandments I am confident likewise that they will give me their honest testimony, and we are bound jointly to profess unto your Majesty (from whom we receive our estimation) the respects and kindnesses that have been here done us, as your vassals

And so with my continual prayers to God for your blessed being, I here remain, till your Majesty shall vouchsafe me again the grace of your eyes,

Your Majesty's long devoted poor servant,

H WOTTON

258 TO SIR RALPH WINWOOD

S P Holland, dictated, extract The negotiations about the
formularies A duel

From the Haghe, this $\frac{11}{11}$ of May, 1615

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

This worthy gentleman in his return this way after a painful, but (I hope) a fruitful journey, hath found me here not yet altogether free of a fever that I had newly taken, which maketh me now the more unfit to entertain your Honour with any long discourse, besides my late dispatches, since when the face of our business is nothing changed³ I must be bold to call it, as astronomers do some stars, *trepidans negotium* Sometimes it appeareth in constant posture, sometimes it shakes extremely, and the Count Maurice hath lately told me, with much vehemency, that he will give me his head, if ever the Treaty of Xanten be executed on the Archdukes' part I know it was but a passionate phrase, and yet I am

¹ Nombre de Dios, Panama

² In November, 1618, commissioners came from the States to London for the purpose of settling these disputed points A treaty was finally agreed upon and signed June 2, 1619 (*Gardner*, iii, p 179)

³ The States having refused to accept a promise from the Archdukes only, James I had proposed on April 27 that the promise should be made to the Kings of England and France These new terms were sent to Brussels, and the above dispatch was written before the answer had arrived

bound in duty to set it down, of which matters I shall be able to say more within a few days, for we grow now towards the pressing season of action, so as we hope to know quickly what hath been done in Italy,¹ and what will be done here, which though they be distant places, are very connexed affairs

Sir Walter Rawley's son² being come over hither to fight with one Jaye of his own shire upon a quarrel (which they determined to end at Utiecht), myself informed thereof (though to cover their intent they did at Leyden eat together), I have by the Count Maurice his authority caused the said Rawley to be brought hither by Quartermaster Gouldinge, who was employed in it which I think will rather defer than prevent this evil, for the difference between them is irreconcilable, Jaye having some four or five months since been dangerously hurt by the other in a private chamber, and Rawley being so far from avoiding the challenge, that (as it is thought) he hath only gotten leave to travel for this purpose But I will trouble you, Sir, no longer with these private advertisements, there fore committing you to God's blessed favour I rest,

Your Honour's faithfully to serve you,

HENRY WOTTON

259 TO SIR RALPH WINWOOD

S P Holland, holograph Wotton recommends Francesco Biondi to Winwood

From the Haghe, this first of June, 1615
Style of the place

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

I will take the boldness to recommend humbly unto your favour this Italian gentleman, by name Francesco Biondi, who hath been long devoted unto his Majesty, and to the service of our State and Church, and was, in the time of the variance between the Pope and the Signory of Venice, sent unto the King, by the best persons of that place, with some good propositions³ In which business he carried himself with such discretion and zeal, as I had command

¹ The Duke of Savoy was still at war with Spain, and had sent Count Scarnafissi to beg assistance from the Dutch On May 4 Wotton wrote that the States had not made an answer yet to this request, 'but I think it will be much like that of the virgins in the parable, who would lend none of their oil, because their own lamps would need it (*S P Holland*) Wotton was instructed to urge the States to help Savoy, and, partly to please James I, Count John of Nassau was sent with a small body of well disciplined Dutch troops (*Motley, Barn*, II, p 37)

² Walter Raleigh, born 1593, killed at St Thomè 1618 "Ben Jonson, who accompanied him abroad in 1613, described him as 'knavishly inclined' (*D N B*, xlvii, p 204)

³ *Ante*, I, pp 98, 447

ment to allow him a yearly provision there of one hundred pounds, which afterwards his Majesty, very graciously and willingly, and I may in truth say, not undeservedly, did confirm unto him by patent for his life. This is all his fortune, for his conscience hath separated him from his other friends and means. He accompanied me hither (by his Majesty's good leave) with no intention at first of so long stay, which hath been drawn on with continual hope of mine own speedier return, till now his particular occasions recall him before me. I have here in the meantime (as your Honour knoweth by my former dispatches) made some public use of his abilities in employing of him to Bruxells, and other occasions that have concerned the Duke of Savoy.

I will now deliver him unto your honourable hands. He is the King's, he is a stranger, he is of sound religion, and can give a good account of it. He is of as clear and trusty conversation as the world can yield. Lastly, he hath been well seasoned with learning, and trained in public affairs from his first years of practice and judgement. By all which attributes he may in some sort challenge your support and favour, but by nothing more than by your own humanity, to which likewise (though with less merit) commending myself, I ever rest

Your Honour's to do you faithful service,

HENRY WOTTON

So, I have nothing to say unto your Honour touching the public, till some new matter from the Kings or from the Archdukes

260 TO SIR RALPH WINWOOD

S P Holland, dictated. Postscript and signature, holograph. Sent by Richard Seymour (*ante*, II, p. 54). Wotton asks that a promised supplement to his allowance might be paid him.

From the Haghe, this 7th of June, 1615

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

I was heartily glad by Mr Downiche¹ to receive so full an assurance under your own hand of your affection towards me, which doth embolden me at the present to make unto you a very serious request. It is that you will be pleased to authenticate with your approbation the enclosed demand of 20*s per diem* above my entertainment expressed in his Majesty's Privy Seal, which was promised me, both by yourself and by my Lord Chamberlain, at the time of my dispatch, upon the urging of other men's examples, and mine own, who had five pounds a day during my employment to Savoye in the same

¹ John Downiche, Appendix III

quality as I am now here, and it cannot stand with the equity of his Majesty's grace to make me inferior to myself

I hope likewise at my return to obtain some reasonable proportion for espial money, as I have had in my former journeys. But this other I now demand, because the year is out since the date of my Privy Seal. And though the present time be not very abundant at home, yet I beseech you, Sir, let not that respect hinder your present charitableness towards me, for I desire only your approbation of my demand, as an address to my Lord Treasurer, which both you have power to do by your place, and justice in yourself, and for the receipt I must have patience, till the exchequer be fuller. It is but £365 in all, for as painful and as chargeable a year as I think was ever spent, except yours of the truce¹

Now, if there did need arguments, I would say, as I may rightly, that my other extraordinary charge at Santen was set down by me far under foot,² in consideration of this supplement, which I now demand. I could urge more reasons, but I had rather acknowledge it from his Majesty's mere bounty, and from your own friendly regard of me. And so, Sir, I commit you to God's blessed protection and love

Your Honour's faithfully to serve you,
HENRY WOTTON

Sir, I beseech you in this case to compassionate a poor man whose fortunes shall wait upon you

261 TO SIR EDMUND BACON

Letters to B, p. 44 Sir Edmund Bacon in London Wotton's dislike of his mission at the Hague

(The Hague,) the 7 of June Style of
the place, 1615

Sir,

I hear a little voice that you are come to London, which to me is the voice of a nightingale, for since I cannot enjoy your presence, I make myself happy with your nearness, and yet now, methinks, I have a kind of rebellion against it, that we should be separated with such a contemptible distance. For how much I love you, mine own heart doth know, and God knoweth my heart. But let me fall into a passion for what sin, in the name

¹ In 1607 Winwood had been sent to the Hague with Sir Richard Spenser to represent England in the negotiations for a truce between the Dutch and Spain

² 'Foot,' i.e. the sum or total of an account Obs. (N E D)

of Christ, was I sent hither among soldiers, being by my profession academical, and by my charge pacifical? I am within a day or two to send Cuthbert¹ my servant home, by whom I shall tell you divers things. In the meanwhile, I have adventured these few lines, to break the ice of silence, for in truth, it is a cold fault. Our sweet Saviour bless you

Servidore,
ARRIGO WOTTONI

My hot love to the best niece of the world

262 TO SIR RALPH WINWOOD

S P Holland, holograph The omission of the Kings' names
from the formulae

From the Haghe, this 19 of June, 1615

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

By the opportunity of this worthy gentleman's passage into England, I hold it my duty to acquaint his Majesty that as yet there is no order come (as far as I can understand) to Mons. du Maurel to join with me about the omission of the regal names in the promise². But they are here advertised that he shall have commandment to that purpose, and if it arrive, then I am sure that the States must yield thereunto, or stand alone. In the meanwhile their General Assembly approacheth, which must be our critical day. This week we look for our best heads here again, who have been a while in dispersion, and at pleasure abroad. His Excellency, as you may know by the short leave of this bearer, expecteth alarms, but in other opinions the year is too forward for to dream of a leaguer. Only I am afraid that if the towns shall remain in the hands of each side one winter more, the very sweetness and length of possession will increase the appetite. This is all that I have to say at the present. When Mons. Barneveld shall return, who (as you

¹ Cuthbert Milbourne

² The Archdukes had proposed to add the Emperor's name to those of the Kings of England and France. The States refusing this, the Archdukes then said they would waive the mention of the Emperor's name, if the States would agree to omit the names of the Kings. James agreed to this, and on May 18 Winwood wrote to Wotton to press it on the States. Wotton had to carry out his orders, although he had previously protested against the conduct of the Archdukes in trying to coerce the Dutch by means of the English King. 'Now although I have been here before,' he wrote on April 19, 'little beholden to some public voices, yet in the conscience of equity I must be bold to say for these people where I serve, that having yielded (as they have done) to the altering of their former promise, the Archdukes shall want moderation and perhaps integrity, if they press them any further by his Majesty's means' (*S P Holland*). What made the matter more humiliating for James I was the fact that he had been deceived into believing that Louis XIII would agree to the omission of his name.

know) animateth this place, my matter will increase, and my judgement upon the future Till when I leave you, Sir, in God's blessed love

Your Honour's to serve you,
HENRY WOTTON

263 To SIR RALPH WINWOOD

S P Holland, holograph, extract Sent by Albertus Morton No news yet from Fiance

From the Haghe, 1^o July, 1615
Stilo veteri

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

This morning at ten of the clock Monsieur du Maurier came to my house, and passed with me some words of this kind that a good while had run since he was last with me, out of continual expectation of some new commandment from Fraunce about the public business, which not yet arriving, he could no longer well abstain from visiting of me This was the compliment, at which in truth I was more amazed than I hope he could spy in my face For at my last being with him, he had promised to come immediately unto me, as soon as he should receive charge about the omission of his master's name in the promise, which, by his now coming, I had well hoped to have been very seasonably sent him, especially having both by your own last letters, and divers times from Bruxelles, been advertised that the French King had yielded that point which finding now otherwise, doth much trouble my imagination to conjecture either the impediment or the reason True it is (and upon this I will venture more than ambassadors are wont to do upon the affirmations of ambassadors) that Mons du Maurier hath, till this very day, received no farther from his King, than only to sound the Count Maurice and Mons Barneveld how far they would like of such a proposition

264 To SIR RALPH WINWOOD

S P. Holland, dictated Wotton's departure from the Hague

(Calais ?) this 25th of August,
1615 St vet

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

I departed from the Haghe¹ on our Bartholomew day, very early in the morning The Prince Maurice, with his brother the Count

¹ On Aug 3 Wotton was recalled, and Winwood wrote to him telling him what to say to the Dutch authorities He was of course to put all the blame for

Henry and others, accompanying me as far as the bridge of Riswicke, where he first received me. I bring from him and from the States many great professions towards his Majesty, and I am bound (for mine own particular) upon the whole matter and manner to believe them. Of this I shall render the King an account at mine own arrival, who finding at Rotterdam the wind very contrary against us, both for the issuing out of the Mose, and for the passage to Zeeland, have taken the other way by Antwerp to Calles, therein somewhat favouring myself, who am an ill seaman, though I have much haunted that element.

Now, before mine own coming, I have thought fit to adventure these lines by this post, who perchance may prevent me. They are only to tell his Majesty that at the compliments of my departure with Mons du Maurier, he touched very earnestly a piece of news which had been sent him (as it seemed by express order) from Paris, namely, that a certain gentleman of title had been dispatched from the Prince of Conde¹ to his Majesty, for the imploring of his assistance in these broken times there, which he said he assured himself his Majesty would not embrace, both in his wisdom and in his justice, being a direct opposition to sovereignty, though otherwise coloured with beautiful pretences. I answered that I had heard nothing of it, and was now more busy to collect the accounts of mine own time spent here.

But well I knew that there was no Prince nor private man under heaven, of a juster heart than the King my master, as had clearly appeared unto the world in his whole proceedings, and so I left it. The rest I bring with me, and in the meanwhile I humbly commit your Honour to God's blessed love,

Your Honour's affectionately to serve you,

HENRY WOTTON

the failure of the negotiations on them, reproaching them for their conduct, when the King had made so many efforts to find *media* between the States and the Archdukes, and when he had brought the Archdukes to listen to reason, the States, although they did not actually refuse, yet delayed the acceptance, which seemed the stranger, as the King had engaged himself to the Archdukes that they would be contented with the omission of the Kings' names. That they believed that this omission would be to their disadvantage, showed the King that either his counsels were distrusted, or that he held a very poor interest in their favour. The King blamed them that the countries reciprocally possessed in Cleves and Juliers were not restored to their proper owners, and declared that for his part he was resolved not to intermeddle further in the business. Wotton was to tell all this plainly to Barneveldt, but in the assembly he was to 'speak more mildly and sweetly, as your own discretion shall best advise you, for I design you should come off with a good relish' (*S P Holland*, Aug 3, 1615).

¹ The Prince of Conde, Henri II de Bourbon (1588-1646), was now in revolt against the Queen Regent, Marie de' Medici, owing to his opposition to the Spanish marriage.

265 To SIR RALPH WINWOOD

S P Holland, holograph, undated, but endorsed 'Sept 1615', and written after Wotton's return from the Hague, and before his access to the King on Sept 10 He forwards a letter from the States to James I

(Sept, 1615)

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

If I had not received your favourable letter by my nephew this night, I had been with you to morrow, but I will now take the ease which you give me, and attend the King on Sunday at Waynsteade, unless I be otherwise advertised from you

In the meanwhile I beseech you, Sir, to acquaint his Majesty with my arrival here, and to present unto his royal hands the enclosed letter from the States,¹ which they hope will give him some satisfaction, for they have in it set down all the reasons of their own jealousy, and of the tenderness of their proceedings And I have thought fit to send it before the King shall command mine own access, that his Majesty may be the better prepared to move any doubts upon the whole matter wherein I presume that I shall be able to yield him some contentment And so I rest

Your Honour's faithfully,

HENRY WOTTON

266 To SIR RALPH WINWOOD

S P Ven, holograph, undated Wotton writes to ask that Winwood would pass his accounts for his Dutch embassy As the warrant to pay him was issued in Oct, 1615, this letter was probably written at about that time

From my Lodging in King St, this
Tuesday night, (Oct ? 1615)

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

Notwithstanding a little februous indisposition which I have felt within these three or four days, I had attended you at Royston, but that I stood expecting when the new Venetian ambassador² should have access to the King, which himself likewise expecteth, having therein used Sir Lewis Leukonar³ If his audience be speedy, I will accompany him thither as a point of due respect If not, I shall wait on you there before him In the meantime I have sent this my servant humbly to beseech your Honour to give expedition there unto my Privy Seals, and to honour me with your attestation

¹ Now in the Record Office (*S P Holland*, Aug 31, 1615) *

² Gregorio Barbarigo, Venetian ambassador in England (in succession to Antonio Foscarini) 1615-16

³ Sir Lewis Lewknor, Master of Ceremonies

about the 20s *per diem* which was promised me, and which I may very justly demand both by mine own and by others' example¹ And I beseech you, Sir, both in your wisdom and in your love towards me, to handle it so favourably that his Majesty may not conceive it to be a suit

I will study some ways to return you an accompt of your kindnesses, and I will ever rest

Your obliged poor friend to serve you,

HENRY WOTTON

267 To JAMES I

Rehg, 1st ed, p 447, undated, but written after Wotton's return from the Hague (see note 2), and perhaps in the autumn of 1615 Wotton begs the King to have his grant for a moiety of a Six Clerk's place confirmed

(1615 ?)

TO HIS SACRED MAJESTY,

I do humbly resume the ancient manner, which was *adire Caesarem per libellum* with confidence in the cause, and in your Majesty's gracious equity, though not in mine own merit

During my late employment, Sir E P, then Master of the Rolls, died² By his death Sir Julius Caesar claimed not only the succession of that place, but the gift of all the clerkships of the Chancery, that should fall void in his own time

Of these clerkships your Majesty had formerly granted two re versions, the one to the late Lord Bruce, for which Mr Bond, secretary to my Lord Chancellor, had contracted with him, the second to me The said Bond got his grant, through the favour of his master, to be confirmed by Sir Julius Caesar before his entrance into the Rolls, but through my absence in your Majesty's service, and want of pressing it in the due season, my grant remained unconfirmed, though your Majesty was pleased to write your gracious letter in my behalf Which maketh me much bewail mine own case, that my deserts were so poor, as your royal mediation was of less value for me, than my Lord Chancellor's for his servant The premisses considered, my humble suit unto your Majesty is this, that Sir Julius Caesar may be drawn by your supreme

¹ In Oct, 1615, a warrant was issued to pay Sir Henry Wotton such sums as his entertainment of 20s per day from June 1, 1614, to Sept 10, 1615, should amount to (*Docquet Books*, vi) On Dec 15, 1615, he was paid £4 a day till Sept 10, being the day of his access to his Majesty, £80 for transportation, £160 for extraordinary expenses (*Issues Ex*, p. 182)

² Sir Edward Phelps, Master of the Rolls, died Sept 11, 1614 (*C & T Jas I*, i, p 349) Wotton's 'late employment' must therefore have been his special embassy to the Hague

authority to confirm unto me my reversion of the second clerkship, whereof I have a patent under your great seal Wherein I have just confidence in your Majesty's grace, since your very laws do restore them that have been any ways prejudiced *in servitio regis*

Your Majesty's long devoted poor servant,

HENRY WOTTON

268 TO SIR RALPH WINWOOD

S P Ven, holograph Wotton's crossing from Dover

(Dunkirk, March 26, 1616, O S)

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

After we had been beaten back from sea to Dover, and there imprisoned three days with mists and contrary winds, we arrived this Easter Tuesday at night in the Roman style¹ all well in Donkercke, where I find four companies remaining of the late Spanish supply that came by sea, the rest diversely garrisoned in the country, and all new clothed (as there was good cause) by order from Bruxelles Mr Nevil², who took the title of Westmerland, and was wont to hover in this place, is now at Iper³

There is some curiosity here among the Spaniards (as I understand) in inquiring after the progress of Virginia and the Bermudes, and they have gotten a little vent already of Sir Walter Rawleigh's project⁴ This accompt I thought fit to give you of mine own landing, and these other *menudencias*, till I can charge my paper with some heavier stuff

I have understood, since my departure from London, that my stay there was somewhat uncharitably represented unto the King, as he were a miserable man that should lack an adversary in a Court But I rely in this and the rest upon your favourable protection of me And I can say this for myself, that after I had moneys, and the Queen's leave and letters, I lost not the running of an hour glass And so, Sir, I commit you and ourselves to the providence and love of our good God

Your Honour's,

HENRY WOTTON

I have sent a cipher, according to your Honour's direction, to Mr Moore, which my solicitor will deliver him

¹ Easter Sunday fell on April 3, N S, in 1616 The date of this letter is therefore April 5, N S, or March 26, O S

² Edmund Neville (1560?-1630?), the conspirator He claimed the Earldom of Westmorland after the death of Charles, the sixth Earl, in 1601, but his petition was not heard, though he may have been the next heir (*D N B*, xl, p 247)

³ Ypres
⁴ The expedition to Guiana, on which Raleigh started in the following year (June 12, 1617) To 'get' or 'take vent' is a phrase of Wotton's, meaning to get news of

269 To JAMES I

S P Ven, holograph Wotton's visit to the Court of the Elector Palatine

Written in a village called Giave,
four miles from Heidelbergh,
this 23 of April, 1616

SACRED MAJESTY,

For those things which I have treated with the Count Palatine,¹ they will best appeare unto your Majesty out of the papers that come herewith, and shall be from time to time more particularly discoursed, as I pass or rest in those places where they are to take their effect. In the meanwhile I am much comforted that I carry with me good matter to exercise that honest and humble zeal which I owe your Majesty and the public cause. Touching your particular service, first, your Majesty doth now likewise receive, among the other papers, a relation of mine endeavours in Colonia for the discovery of the author of that execrable libel intituled *Corona Regia*²

Next, having in this Court, for your Majesty's sake, been as kindly and as confidently used, both in conversation with the Elector and with your royal daughter, and withal their counsellors and principal servants, as I think any hath been before me, it is my duty to give your Majesty an account of the place, which I will discharge according to my capacity, in all humble freedom. First, it is a Court of great sobriety, and of very regular provision and attendance. The Prince himself had now, for his own entertainment, not above three or four titular men of any proportion with his years, but some were for a while retired (as they told us) to enjoy the pleasure of the season at their own possessions. I do not find the Count Palatine, in the judgement of my eye, much grown since your Majesty saw him, either in height or breadth, though there be a common opinion of the first *Par boutades* he is merry, but for the most part cogitative or (as they here call it) malincolique³ [His chiefest object is money, and one principal delight architecture⁴] My Lady, your gracious daughter, retaineth still her former virginal verdure in her complexion and features, though she be now the mother of one of the sweetest children⁵ that I think the world can yield

[Between this Prince and my Lady there do pass in outward view

¹ The plan for a League between the Protestant Princes and Savoy, and a closer friendship with Venice. On April 19 the Elector Palatine wrote to James I acknowledging the letters brought him by Wotton, and expressing his approval of the ambassador's propositions, about which he said he would consult the Princes of the Union (*S P Ger States*). ² See next dispatch

³ 'Malincolique,' old form of obs melancholic (*N E D*)

⁴ The words in brackets have been blotted out in the MS

⁵ Prince Henry Frederick, born Jan 2, 1614, showed great promise as he grew up, but was unfortunately drowned in 1629

rather kind than amorous demonstrations, according to the solemnness of the Court For I understand otherwise, from the nearest interpreter's intelligence (which is her Highness' own self), that his nature is not of itself froward and impliable¹] The domestic differences which, in the beginning and some good while after, grew by the emulation of servants, seem now to be as well settled as they can be in a Court, and by no means more than by the severing of the nations at their ordinary diet, the English and Scottish eating together and the Allemans apart Only of late there fell out (as I have been here informed) in their invitement to the Court of Wirtemberg, much disputation about the placing of her Highness, for that, according to the severity of the German form, both princes and others do sit in public feasts above their wives But having understood that the Count Palatine did, at that assembly likewise, as always at home, yield my Lady your royal daughter the best place, and yet rather by way of convenience for that time only, than as an example that should stand, I found myself bound in my own zeal, besides my Lady's commandment, provisionally to sound the Count Palatine about that point, telling him by way of collaudation² that I intended to advertise your Majesty what respect he had deferred³ to your royal name, by maintaining your daughter's dignity, as well in the Court of Wirtemberg, as in his own palace within our sights, which I assured myself your Majesty would take, though it were a point otherwise of right, as proceeding from his kindness.

Hereupon he was somewhat troubled, but resuming his spirits and that resolution which he seemeth to have taken from others' impressions, he fell plainly to tell me that though indeed he had done it at Wirtemberg, yet he could do it no more, that it was against the custom of the whole country, that all the Electors and Princes found it strange, that it would turn to his own diminution, which he hoped your Majesty would not desire, that Kings' daughters had been matched before in his race, and with other German princes, but still placed under their husbands in public feasts, that in the German ground he did compete with the Kings of Denmark and Sweden, and some other things of this kind⁴ I replied, that as I conceived your Majesty would have been glad of the contrary

¹ The sentence in brackets has been blotted out in the MS

² 'Collaudation,' i.e. commendation Obs or arch (N E D)

³ 'Deferred,' i.e. rendered Obs (N E D)

⁴ James had extorted from the Elector Palatine, just before he left England, a promise that Elizabeth, as the daughter of a King, should be given precedence over all German princes and princesses This claim was not justified by precedent, but James kept insisting on it, and the question kept continually cropping up in a vexatious manner It was finally settled, though in an unsatisfactory way, by the retirement of Frederick's mother from the Court, and by Elizabeth refusing to pay visits to other Courts

resolution, so I feared you would be too sensible of this, that it had been better to have denied my Lady her place in the beginning, than to retrench it, when she had kept the possession both in his own palace and abroad, that I thought he could no way prejudice himself by honouring his wife, that he might assure himself that your Majesty did desire his increase and not his diminution, having of your good wishes so dear a pledge about him, that my Lady was not to be considered only as the daughter of a King, like the daughters of Fraunce, but did carry in her person the possibility of succession to three crowns, that she had now brought him a delicate child, and was likely to bring him more, and therefore did merit the kindest respect. These motives and others I laid before him in the fairest manner, but in conclusion, seeing him for the present otherwise resolved, I besought him to represent his reasons unto your Majesty by Colonel Schonbergh¹, who, for this and other causes, was determined to pass speedily into your Court, which he said he would do.

And being now fallen upon the mention of that Colonel, I must, both by my own most assured information here from others, and by her Highness' particular and serious commandment, give your Majesty this accompt of him. That he is the only sincere and resolute friend that she hath found since her being here, that without his continual vigilance and power with the Prince, she had been much prejudiced both in her dignity and the rest, not so much by the Prince his own motions, as by the infusions of others, and particularly (as I conceive) of the old Electress², that your Majesty, as her most dear and loving father, is tied for her sake to acknowledge it unto him, that she will express by him so much in her own letters, and he will bring your Majesty sufficient testimony of his own actions in writing, that whereas he hath written a letter unto your Majesty unadvisedly upon a mistaking (with which by your commandment I have acquainted my Lady), she humbly beseecheth your Majesty to attribute it to his error, and not to any want of zeal in your service, whereof she had made so singular proofs. This I must repeat again unto your Majesty, that I write by her special direction. In conclusion, she humbly beseecheth your Majesty in your gracious wisdom, so to handle him at his arrival in your presence, that he may be contented, for the settling of her affairs, to abide some longer time in this Court, though by divers provocations and offence, of the greatest part for her sake, he hath been moved and in himself resolved to be gone. There is another likewise, by name Mons

¹ See *ante*, 11, p. 55

² Louisa Juliana, widow of Frederick IV, and daughter of William of Orange

Plessen¹, who hath been very ready in all good offices towards your Majesty and yours, whereof her Highness beggeth that you will be pleased in your goodness to take notice And thus stand the affairs of this Court at the present, as far as in particular concern your royal service, which I have delivered with the same liberty that I conceive to become your humble and zealous vassal

Touching your Majesty's respect towards your royal daughter, in giving her the choice of one of those whom you shall be pleased to nominate for her conversation, she receiveth it as an argument of your tender affection, and beseecheth your Majesty that she may be furnished with one of no lesser quality than the former², nor much different in age, because otherwise she will be unfit to accompany her in her disports³ abroad, and perhaps likewise be the less plausible at home She also tendereth your Majesty most humble thanks for your gracious care in providing a secretary for her, whom she expecteth at your good pleasure⁴

And so having discharged my duties in this place, I end with my continual prayers to Heaven for the glory and safety of your sacred person and crowns, humbly resting,

Your Majesty's long devoted and faithful servant,

HENRY WOTTON

270 TO JAMES I?

S P Ven, transcript, unsigned, no date, sent with above dispatch

Wotton's attempt to discover the author of the *Corona Regia*

(April 23, 1616)

A RELATION OF THE CAUSE OF MY STAY FOUR DAYS IN COLONIA

At Antwerp, where Mr Trumbal⁵ met me, besides other informations of the common affairs of those provinces, wherein we had both travailed, I received from him an address to one Bilderbeck in Colonia, who is a man of confidence with the Count Palatin and

¹ Volrad de Plessen, one of the councillors of the Elector Palatine On April 22, 1616, De Plessen wrote to Winwood to say that Wotton had departed that morning, his visit having been very acceptable to the Elector and his wife, partly on account of Wotton's '*bonnes et louables qualitez*,' and partly for the good news he brought of the King's health (*S P Ger States*) In 1619 Frederick sent De Plessen on a mission to James I (*Gardiner*, III, p 292)

² Mrs Dudley, Elizabeth's favourite Lady of Honour, married Schönberg, and died in 1615 Lady Harrington, the former guardian of the Princess, was sent at the end of this year to replace her (Mrs Everett Green, *Lives of the Princesses of England*, v, pp 276, 295)

³ 'Disports,' i.e. recreations, arch (*N E D*)

⁴ Albertus Morton, Wotton's nephew, was sent by James I as agent to the Princes of the Protestant Union, with orders to reside principally at Heidelberg and act as secretary to the Princess He remained at Heidelberg till 1619 (*Ibid*, p 295)

⁵ John Trumbull, *ante*, II, p 44

the States, and seemeth to be an instrument of good abilities From him I was to inquire after a certain printer lately fugitive from Louvane, and now inhabitant in that town, by name Christophorus Flavius The scope was to draw from him who had been the author of that base lying pamphlet intituled *Corona Regna*¹ The difficulty was, how in so short a time, being but a passenger, I might work this insinuation About it were spent four days, in which time the said Bilderbeck and myself resolved to address Frederick Gurekfeld my secretary, by nation an High Alleman (as the said printer is likewise), and thereby to gain some confidence with a tale unto him to this substance 'That Monsieur Barclay², at his departure from London, had consigned unto the trust of my said secretary' (who was to pretend much inwardness with him) 'certain satirical observations of his own touching the Court and Church of England, which he was desirous to publish in the same character, and by the same printer who had heretofore printed the works of Puteanus in Lovane' (this was Flavius), 'whom missing there, and understanding from Puteanus of his being in Colonia, he was come thither with those papers to discharge the trust of his friend'

This message was so contrived with mention both of Barclay and Puteanus, the two suspected persons, that Flavius, upon the naming of them, might be drawn to bewray something unto my secretary, if not in his speech, yet at least in his face But he was so far from unlocking of himself, that he fell to a very serious dehortation of my said secretary from meddling in any such matter, which for his own part, he had ever abhorred True it was indeed that he had been slandered to have been the printer of a late book against the King of Great Britannie, but most falsely (said he), as may appear by the very character, which is French, and by the first dispersers thereof in Lovane and Bruxelles, which were certain

¹ Is Casauboni *Corona Regna in lucem edita*, 1615, pro officina Io. Bill Londani Written in the form of a panegyric of James I, and ironically ascribed to Casaubon, the *Corona Regna* was an infamous attack on the King, and one of the most outrageous books ever written It caused great scandal and merriment throughout Europe, and James I was most anxious to discover the author, who was Sciooppius, although this was not known at the time Suspicion fell on Erycius Puteanus, then Professor at Louvain, and as Wotton failed (as described above) in finding out anything from Flavius, the King sent Sir John Bennet as special envoy to the Archdukes, to demand the punishment of Puteanus and Flavius When Bennet was met by delays and evasions, he was finally instructed, in case of further delays, to announce the recall of the English agent, Trumbull, and the rupture of friendly relations between England and the Netherlands (Motley, *Barn*, II, p. 88) The Archduke Albert succeeded, however, in convincing James I that Puteanus was not the author When Wotton returned from Venice in 1623 he passed through Cologne, and made a plan for kidnapping Flavius, and bringing him to England See dispatch of Nov. 5, 1623

² John Barclay (1582-1621), author of *Argenis* (*D N B*)

Frenchmen that sold wafers, and carried some of the copies up and down in boxes on their backs That none could be the author of that book but he that had composed the *Euphormionem*¹, by congruity of the style As for Puteanus, he was too discreet and too modest to put his hand to such things That for his own person, he was not retired to Colonia for fear of that calumniation, having stayed long in Lovane after the complaint was made against him, but he was come to Colonia, where there was more employment of the press than in Brabant By this we may see how this rascal's confessor had sealed and seared his conscience For that Flavius was the printer of the book, we have the testimony of Henry Tailor, Englishman, who did assist him to compose the letters

Now touching the author, Mr Trumbal thinketh Puteanus to have done it with the help of the English Jesuits at Lovane But for my part, I do almost assure myself that it was Barckley, by collection upon these circumstances following First he sold his pension in England at a very small rate, somewhat like a desperate man Then he goes immediately to Rome, and there, before he had been at any inn, speaketh with the Spanish ambassador and the Cardinal Bellarmine By the Cardinal he was the next day brought to the Pope, and hath a lodging on the back side of Belvedere, which is the Pope's palace, and an annual pension of a hundred and fifty pound sterling, or thereabouts These particulars I have from one who was in Rome at his arrival, knew him and observed him well, and got good information of those passages Now upon the whole matter, in a conjectural subject I must confess I cannot conceive (who am well acquainted with the fashion of Rome) how he could be so suddenly reconciled to the Pope, or how he should dare to put himself into his hand without some work against the King of Great Britannie, to counterpoise that which his father² and himself had written before in defence of the temporal authority

271 To SIR RALPH WINWOOD

S P Ven, holograph Wotton's journey to Heidelberg and route to Turin

Written in a village called Grave,
four miles from Heidelbergh,
this 23 of April, 1616

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

What I have treated with the Count Palatine, and how well it hath been tasted by him, will appear unto your Honour out of the

¹ *Euphormionis Lusini Satyricon* (1610), by John Barclay

² William Barclay (1546 or 7-1608), his most important work, *De Regno et Regali Potestate*, was published 1600

enclosed to the King In Colonia I stayed four days, in Heidelbeigh six In the rest of the journey, we made as much haste as our houses would suffer in sandy ways and hot weather, besides some infirmity in ourselves, through which I have left one of my principal servants behind me sick of a dangerous fever, the want of whom, because he was a practised man, hath much incommodated me When I arrive at Basilea, which will be within these four days, I intend to dispatch my secretary and my luggage to Venice by the nearest line, that I may march myself the lighter over the Alps through the Swisssers and the Valesiens We have met with a voice on the way, that Piemont is in new motion ¹ If I find it so when I approach nearer, I shall somewhat doubt what course to take All the news which I know of Germanie is that Clesel ², the negotious ³ Bishop of Vienna, is at last cardinalated, and likely to prove another Madrutz ⁴, if the Emperor give him leave to practise the Roman Court But of these things hereafter, I will now end with my prayers to God for your health and happiness

Your Honour's to do you faithful service,

HENRY WOTTON

I humbly beseech you, Sir, to acquaint my nephew Albertus before his coming, with my letter to the King, which will give him some taste of the Palatine Court I must likewise remember your Honour of your promise to this poor man, who hath taken good pains with me

272 TO SIR RALPH WINWOOD

S P Ven, dictated Wotton's journey over the Alps, and arrival at Turin

From Turino, this 22th of May, 1616 St v

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

You see by the enclosed to his Majesty how opportunely I came hither, and by these I would fain tell you how painfully, but we can scant express it Sure I am that never journey was more lengthened nor more incommodated by accident For till I came to Bassill, I knew not that Bearn and Friburg were infected, which put me to a circuit of two or three days, and passing forward *alla buona*, at last we understand that the plague was dispersed through the whole Valesia, through which we had designed to pass over

¹ Although the war between Savoy and Spain about Montferrat was ostensibly settled by the treaty of Asti in 1615, the Spaniards, mortified at being compelled to treat with the Duke of Savoy as an equal, openly violated the terms of the treaty, and refused to disarm their troops in the Milanese (*Gardiner*, iii, p 49) Actual hostilities did not, however, break out until September in this year

² Melchior Klesel, Cardinal 1615, died 1630

³ 'Negotious,' i e busy, arch

⁴ Ludvig Madrutz, Cardinal 1561, died 1600

⁵ Albertus Morton, appointed secretary to the Electress Palatine

the Mount St Bernado Maggiore This was *una gran sbrigliata*, and much more, when we understood that Geneva itself and the villages about it were also infected, which hindered us to pass the nearest way to Chambery, and forced us to put ourselves and horses at hazard over the Leman lake, and so to traverse Savoy, by such rocks and precipices as I think Hannibal did hardly exceed it when he made his way (as poets tell us) with fire and vinegar.

Now, for public matter, I shall little need to write anything to your Honour from hence. First, because in the enclosed to his Majesty I have delivered all that I can yet say¹. Next, because his Majesty is here served by his ordinary agent² with great sufficiency. The contemplation of whose pains and expenses doth, I protest in very conscience, make me pass farther than his own modesty in wishing that, by your favourable means (upon which we all depend), he may have some increase of his entertainment, or at least some *ayuda de costa*³, as they term it.

It were after this uncharitable to forget myself, and therefore I humbly beseech you, Sir, to be still my noble friend. And so God keep you in His gracious love.

Your Honour's very faithfully,

HENRY WOTTON

I humbly beseech your Honour to acquaint my lord my brother with this letter, having at the present no time to write to any of my friends, which shall be redeemed at Venice.

273 TO SIR RALPH WINWOOD

S P Ven, dictated Wotton's arrival in Venice Affairs of Venice

Dated in Venice, the 7th of June

St vet 1616

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

This is only to give you knowledge that I arrived here on the last of May in our style. Of the impediments on the way through

¹ For Wotton's negotiations at Turin see *ante*, i, p. 146.

² (Sir) Isaac Wake, secretary to Sir Dudley Carleton at Venice, 1610-15 (*ante*, i, p. 501). In 1615 he was appointed to succeed Albertus Morton (on Morton's recommendation) as English agent at Turin, where he remained with occasional absences till he took Wotton's place as ambassador at Venice. Like all James I's envoys, he found it most difficult to get any money from the Exchequer, an extract or two from his dispatches in the Record Office will picture for us the plight of these unfortunate diplomatists. On Dec. 12, 1617, he writes that he can maintain himself no longer, adding, 'besides what his Majesty's service will suffer therein, it will be some dishonour to have a public minister starve in a foreign country.' March 6, 1618, 'I am now enforced to sell the poor stuff that was in my house to buy bread.' June 15, 1618, 'It is now sixteen months since I have received one penny out of the Exchequer. I have lived many months upon my own poor stock, and having sold and pawned all that little which I had, I do not know how to subsist any longer.' (*S P Savoy*).

³ *Ayuda de costa*, a Spanish phrase, meaning a gratification in addition to salary.

businesses and other accidents, I gave his Majesty an accompt from Heidelberg and Turino ¹ Here I find by sundry private congratulations that I am not unwelcome, though I have yet had no public reception ² For the house which Sir Dudley Carleton left me was not fit for me in many respects, and therefore I have spent these few days in preparing and furnishing of another, which done, I must signify, according to the custom of the place, that I will be in some of their little islands at a certain hour, and there they will come to receive me The affairs of Istria ³ stand yet *in ternam crudi*, and the issue invisible, so as the season seemeth very proper to propound the matter which I bring with me touching those outward colligations For believe it, Sir, it is a time to knit knots In my next and so forward weekly, his Majesty shall receive a better reckoning of this part of the world Here I have received your letter of the 9th of April, sent me in the packet of the State by their residents with the Swisssers, by which country I had no possible passage, through the contagion dispersed in sundry of the Helvetian and Valesien villages, which put us to the most troublesome and perilous travel that ever I had before, though this be the eleventh time that I have passed the Alps ⁴ But touching the business of your said letter, I hope you have, before the receipt of this, perceived by my dispatch from Turino, that there the Duke, myself, and the Venetian ambassador, among other serious discourses, spent no small time about the matter of the Grisons, which, though it be a most contemptible and venial State, yet are they surely at the present one of the greatest vexations of this Commonwealth And so, Sir, till my next I leave you in God's blessed love

Your Honour's to serve you,

HENRY WOTTON

¹ On April 12, 1617, a warrant was issued to pay Wotton £740 for transport of 'self, company, and hoises' to Venice by way of Heidelberg and Turin (*Issues Ex*, p 197)

² Wotton's public reception was on June 27 (*Ante*, i, p 147)

³ The Uscock war, 1615-17 (*Ante*, i, p 148)

⁴ Wotton's first crossing the Alps was late in the year 1591 (*ante*, i, p 18), his second in 1593, when he went to Geneva (i, p 22), his third early in 1601, after the fall of Essex (i, p 36), his fourth and fifth, when he went in the summer of 1601 to Scotland, returning in the spring of 1602 (i, pp 40, 43) The sixth crossing was in 1603, when he travelled to Germany (i, p 44), the seventh in 1604, when he went to Venice (i, p 49), the eighth, his return in 1611 (i, p 116), the ninth and tenth, his journey to Turin and back in 1612 (i, pp 120, 123)

⁵ Owing to Spanish and French bribery, the Grison Republics had broken their league with Venice in 1612, and closed their passes to the Venetian troops The Republic was very anxious to renew their alliance, and in 1619 Wotton wrote that some 'very well-affected persons' had proposed to him that by the mediation of James I steps might be taken 'to glue them' together again, 'both for the tempering of Spain, and keeping this State in heart, which otherwise, unless the Grison passage be kept open (and nothing but the former league can do it), will be suffocated for lack of a vent' (*Eton Coll. MS*, April 26, 1619, *Rox Club*, pp 120, 121)

274 To SIR RALPH WINWOOD

S P Ven, holograph Wotton's illness, an Italian bishop
imprisoned, Lord Dingwall

Venice, this 8th of July, 1616, stil novo

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

I must crave pardon to pass over this week likewise with few words, having newly buried one of my company, and four or five of the rest being sick at the present, besides myself who have been since my last, till this very day, for the most part in my bed, and am much weakened with sweats, which are cheap in this air, yet among these domestic distractions I cannot but advertise his Majesty of a piece of news that I have from Rome The Bishop of Civita Nova of the province of Calabria, having in the expedition of a suit received ill satisfaction from the Pope, and lamenting at his own house that he would go serve the King of England, from whom he hoped for more favour, was by some of his servants traduced for these words, and is cast into the prison of the Inquisition You see how proditorious¹ and spiteful that filthy Court is

Here they have appointed to treat with my Lord Dingwall² a senator of the best reputation and of good affections In my next his Majesty shall have a large account of these things And so, Sir, God give you the health that we wish ourselves

Your Honour's faithfully,

HENRY WOTTON

275 To JAMES I

S P Ven, holograph Wotton's illness, Di Manta's plan for a council of Greek bishops Sapi's *History of the Council of Trent* De Dominis going to England

Venice, the 30th of July, 1616
Style of England

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST SACRED MAJESTY,

As I am confident in your Majesty's pardon, though you have hitherto received nothing but the story of our infirmities, so it is now time to yield so gracious a master some fruit of our breathing and being, and of the health that God hath restored us, having in

¹ 'Proditorious, i.e. treacherous, sly.

² Sir Richard Preston, a favourite of James I, created Baron Dingwall, and afterwards Earl of Esmond, with remainder to Lord Feilding, his intended son-in-law Lord Dingwall had come to Venice to offer his services in the Uscoek war On June 29 Wotton presented him to the Doge (*Leop Prin*) The terms offered him were not satisfactory, and were not accepted

the meantime, like the fishermen of these *lagune*, only prepared our nets and our hooks to catch somewhat hereafter, so as I hope your Majesty shall not want intelligence, either from this place of my residence, or from Rome itself, where I have planted some good correspondence, being in truth the centre of all practice. Now it falleth out at this beginning that I must represent unto your Majesty a strange proposition, which Dr Marta¹ hath put into my hand, who, upon the first noise of my arrival at Turin, sent a letter thither to invite me, if I should come by Padua, to lie at his house, which I was willing to attribute rather to his courtesy than vanity, though it seemed unto me the very direct way to make himself unable to do your Majesty any service hereafter, for surely your Majesty can draw little use from open devotion in this country.

When I was here arrived, in the midst of mine own indisposition, and of my company (who were almost all decumbents²), he came hither with much eagerness to speak with me about some important purpose, as he let me know. I admitted him, though at that time by distemper tied to my bed, when among other things he told me that he was desirous to bring unto me two worthy personages, one Zacharias Bernadoviz, elected Bishop of Leopoli³, and one Francesco, Conte of Musek, Captain of Sanoka, whose sister was married to the Emperor of Moscovia, with which men he had treated, and now well digested, a business of marvellous consequence and utility for your Majesty in particular, and in general for all other Christian princes. This was a council of Greek bishops (whereof more than a hundred had already subscribed their names), to be assembled I know not where. But at that assembly was to be concluded the devolution of the Pope's authority to the Patriarch of Constantinople, there was likewise to be examined the whole Canon Law and the Councils of Florence and Trente, where the suffrages were not free, and lastly the new doctrine of deposing of kings, &c. My answer unto him was to this substance, 'that I found myself at the present unfit to think of so great matters, and besides many eyes being upon me here, and many commentaries built in men's fancies upon my return, because I had been here before in time of difference between this State and the Pope, I desired him to pardon me if I did not speak with those persons, and the rather for that a little rumour was, I know not how, whispered in the town that Dr Marta was come to confer some great thing with me.' Hereupon, being a little troubled, he fell to

¹ Dr Marta, see Appendix IV

² 'Decumbents,' i.e. lying in bed through illness. Obs. (N E D)

³ Lemberg in Galicia, the seat of a Greco-Russian bishopric.

tell me, sometimes that those men would then repair unto your Majesty, sometimes that he would go himself, and sometimes that they would join in the journey. Wherein observing him to tumble up and down with inconstancy of judgement, I yielded for the present so far as to think it fitter to be handled in your own royal presence than with me. But yet I wished him first to consult with your wisdom by letter, what it would best please you to have done in it. And in the meanwhile I intended, as I have done, to take the opinions of Maestio Paulo and Fulgentio, both of the man and of the matter. Touching the Doctor himself, they say that besides the ordinary vanity of almost all Neapolitans, he hath his own natural and peculiar part thereof, that he is full of penury and projects, whereof the scope is rather gain than zeal, that he hath been seldom at any time contented with his present condition, that he is a man indeed both of experience and capacity, and applicable enough to some good uses, but small foundation to be made upon his promises, and least of all upon this which he hath now projected, which they esteem a very vast and idle conception, both for the impossibility of collecting those Greek bishops into any one place, and of any fruit that can come of it, being a body of straggling, beggarly and most ignorant men, and altogether unfit to handle propositions even of common knowledge, besides their addiction and contumacy in their own superstitions, as much as the most corrupted part of the Latin Church. Which things considered, they conclude that this proposition of the Doctor is a very chimaera of his own hatching, and that the names of the bishops which, he sayeth, have subscribed, are forged in his brains.

Thus I have delivered plainly unto your Majesty their opinions, and withal I here send the Doctor's letter and the list of his Greeks, to which nation, if your Majesty shall but once open your arm of protection, I must crave the liberty to think that all the colleges and hospitals of your kingdoms will not hold them. The Doctor seemeth extremely desirous of an answer, and pretendeth that he hath sweat in this business these two years, whereof he hath likewise given you some former account by your agent at Turino. I hope by mine own poor invention, or by the advice of your Majesty's confidence, to employ him in some things of more use and possibility. In the meanwhile I do continue unto him your Majesty's bounty, and I have by your appointment given him good liberty to transport what he shall think fit, out of any of his own former writings, to a work that he hath now in hand, which licence he seemeth to have required from your Majesty by Sir Dudley Carleton, and he promiseth some notable thing shortly. This is all that I have to say about the present

subject And so, with my humble prayers committing your sacred person to God's continual protection and love, I rest,

Your Majesty's most faithful and long devoted poor servant,

OTTAVIO BALDI

The book of Maestro Paolo touching the Council of Trent is newly finished It containeth many rare things never discovered before, and surely will be of much benefit to the Christian Church, if it may be published both in Italian and Latin Whereunto the author, upon your Majesty's persuasion, doth well incline, but I have not yet received his full resolution, which peradventure doth somewhat depend upon the resolution which he will take about his own person¹

The Archbishop of Spalatio² is resolved to endure no longer the idolatrous fooleries of this Church, but will within a week on such a matter begin his journey towards your Majesty, of whose favour I have given him fresh assurance, and I think his departure will breed much noise, being a person of such quality, and of singular gravity and knowledge

276 TO SIR RALPH WINWOOD

S P Ven, dictated Signature and postscript in Wotton's hand James I to be cautioned about speaking of Sarpi and Fulgenzio on account of the Pope's spies

From Venice, this 30 of July, st vet, 1616

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

This enclosed³ to the King (whether charged with light or

¹ As I have stated elsewhere (*ante*, 1, p 150), I believe that Paolo Sarpi entertained at this time some thoughts of following (with Fulgenzio in his company) his friend De Dominis to England On Jan 23, 1617, O S, Winwood wrote to Wotton 'In some of your letters written some months since, you have moved that his Majesty would be pleased with his own hand to write you know to whom, which his Majesty is well content to do, and had done before this time, but that he thought it convenient thereof to confer with the Archbishop of Spallatra Now his Majesty having divers and sundry times had conference with him, hath taken this resolution, not to write until he shall understand how those parties stand resolved, either to continue there where now they live, or to repair into England, wherein his Majesty's pleasure is that you carry yourself with that moderation, that neither by your encouragement they be invited, nor allured by your persuasions to undertake that voyage, nor yet disheartened, if out of their own free motion, for the discharge of their consciences, they shall resolve to retire themselves under the safeguard of his Majesty's protection For whensoever they shall come, his Majesty will be pleased to see them furnished with that complete provision which may give them cause of satisfaction, and make them acknowledge themselves perpetually beholding both to his goodness and God's providence' (*S P Ven*) Wotton's letters to which this is an answer have not been preserved, but I do not see to whom Winwood can be referring except Sarpi and Fulgenzio 'The party' in the Venetian correspondence generally means Sarpi, 'those parties' Sarpi and Fulgenzio

² Antonio de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalatro, or Spalato, in Dalmatia (See *Gardiner*, II, p 283, and *D N E*)

³ The previous dispatch

weighty matter) doth need your explication *in transitu* by the cipher which is in Mr Moore's hand I beseech your Honour (as I am moved by those whom it concerneth) to deal with his Majesty in the deepest degree of secrecy that may be about these persons For it is certain that every time that the King doth name them *inter plures*, it is taken up and sent, I know not by what vents and conducts¹, to Rome, and afterwards doth reflect hither This is most true, even in the smallest and inconsiderablest things, and it is easy to be believed, when, according to a precise and curious piece of advertisement which I have from Rome, there are deputed 50,000 crowns yearly out of the Apostolic Chamber, as they call it, for spies at the tables of princes, besides the particular intelligence of Jesuits and their lay adherents, for which the Pope payeth nothing This your Honour receiveth by a son² of Sir Julius Caesar, to whom I have committed it, rather than to the ordinary conveyance, because it seemed unto me a packet of some moment And so wishing his Majesty and all his the more happily health, by the sense of our own infirmities, I humbly rest,

Your Honour's,
HENRY WOTTON

I humbly beseech you, Sir, to grace this young traveller with his Majesty, which you know how to do in the best manner

277 To SIR DUDLEY CARLETON

S P Ven Postscript to letter of Sept 2 Wotton's house in Venice

From Venice, this 2 of September,
1616, at n

MY LORD,

I have given that party upon your accompt already 300 ducats, and will give him the remainder within three or four days, as you shall then better perceive by his acquittance He is indeed a person, as you advised me, to be kept at hard diet, and in my opinion one of the vainest men of the world³

I refused (or rather my secretary before my arrival) your house in Canal Regio, not so much for the greatness of the rent (which the landlord would unconscionably have increased), as for the fairness from the *piazze*, wherein, when I was lodged on the other side by St Hieronimo, I found in truth much inconvenience I am now singularly fitted, having concluded with Signor Gussoni for his

¹ 'Conducts,' old form of conduits (*N E D*)

² <Sir> Charles Caesar (1590-1642), Judge and Master of Chancery (*D N B*)

³ Probably Di Marti

house on the Canal Grande¹, which is one of the finest in Venice, and withal for his villa at Noventa², which I had before I pay 460 ducats for both, the villa finely furnished, and the *castaldo* paid by him. There your Lordship may imagine me towards the end of this month, pressing of my grapes

278 To SIR DUDLEY CARLETON

S P Ven, dictated Wotton's illness, the affairs of Venice,
the Duke of Savoy arming

From Venice, this 9 of September,
1616, st n

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

Although I am glad always of your writings, yet I must confess I should have been much ashamed to receive by this last ordinary so friendly an alarm, if I had not prevented your Lordship with two of mine, for it was my duty to begin, even in the severest court of punctualists, besides that our love and fellowship are not bound to those fantastical laws. I do give your Lordship many thanks both for the vessel and the ballast, having indeed not seen before any report of that great trial³, save in pieces. By your letter I see that as in our reciprocal interchanges of places, and in the beginning of our journeys (for I was repulsed from sea as I heard you were), so we conform together likewise too much in infirmities of body. For I have myself, since my coming, been twice a decumbent, and almost all my family been sick of single and double tertians, or some such thing, whereof I have lost two, an old faithful servant, and a physician, whom I took with me rather for conversation than counsel. For your Lordship knoweth that there is otherwise here both sickness and physic enough. Those that are gone are with God, and we that remain are at His gracious pleasure, running our course honestly, which will be our reward, and is our present comfort among these tricks of State that we every day contemplate.

Some little ease it is to see that politic bodies have their diseases and distempers as well as natural. For in truth, my Lord both this State where I now am and all Italy is at the present very sick. We are afraid here that the Duke of Savoy will make his peace, and we are as

¹ There were at this date two Gussoni palaces on the Grand Canal, the Cavalli Palace (now Palazzo Franchetti) at St Vitale, and the present Grimani della Vida Palace, above the Rialto, opposite St Staè. This latter was Wotton's residence, as Asselinau (a French doctor in Venice) writes on June 8, 1616, that Wotton's secretary has taken a palace on the Grand Canal opposite St Staè, and adjoining the Traghetto della Maddalena (*S P Ven*). The Grimani (formerly Gussoni) Palace is near this *traghetto*, and must be the one Wotton occupied.

² Noventa, on the Canal of the Brenta, a few miles from Padua.

³ The trial of the Earl of Somerset for the murder of Overbury, May 25, 1616.

much afraid that he will make war, and so trouble the whole. There goeth therefore a great deal of skill to keep him with money and other comforts in a mediocrity. But he is gone so forward already, that I do not see how he can well be drawn back or stayed. For sure it is that on the twenty sixth of the last month, he did at Turino *marborare* (as they call it) the general standard, mustered his army to the number of 18,000 foot and 2,500 horse, dispersed 8,000 of them and 500 horse in garrisons, took with him the remainder in the field, and did publicly protest that he would either *uscire di vita o di questa travagli di Spagnuoli*¹. His army likewise increaseth every day with the French, to the wonder of the world how he can feed them. Between which things it were long to tell your Lordship how basely, how spitefully, how scornfully, and (as some add) how heretically he hath received the Pope's extraordinary Nuncio, Arch-bishop of Bologna and Cardinal *in proxima potentia*, being offended (as I collect by his ambassador here) with two things first, that the Pope had let him run on to such expense, even to the point of drawing the sword², next, that he finally sent to compose these differences a person of so abstracted a spirit from worldly matters that he was ignorant of your treaty of Asti³. Here we take in Friuli towns apace⁴, under the shadow of that Duke, which is one of the opportunist diversions that I think hath ever happened. The particulars I will send you the next week of the whole face of our camp how it standeth. We have now the certainty of the young Cardinal of Mantua's marriage to the Princess of Bozzolo, a crafty

¹ The Spaniards refused to carry out the terms of the treaty of Asti. 'The Marquis of Inojosa, by whom the treaty had been signed, was recalled, and Pedro de Toledo, a hot-headed youth, was appointed to succeed him. The new governor had no sooner arrived at Milan, than he openly violated the agreement to which he was bound by the acts of his predecessor. Although a mutual disarmament had been expressly stipulated, Spanish troops were, on various pretexts, kept on foot in the Milanese, and the Duke's demands for the execution of the treaty were met with haughty insolence' (*Gardiner*, III, p. 49). On Sept. 14 war broke out again, and the Spaniards invaded Piedmont (*Romanin*, VII, p. 107).

² In his dispatch of Dec. 9 Wotton said that the Pope, Paul V, was glad enough to see Venice and Savoy in trouble. He 'hath been contented silently to laugh at their expenses and troubles, having not spent so much as a sprinkle of holy water upon the business till they were ready to fight, and then employed an odious instrument in it only *per manier d'aquut*, as they term it' (*S. P. Ven*). The Pope's envoy was Alessandro Ludovisio, Archbishop of Bologna. Cardinal in 1616, and Pope (Gregory XV), 1621-8. His reception at Turin moved even the sober Isaac Wake to wit, who wrote to Carleton Sept. 18, 'his entertainment proved as lean as himself is fat' (*S. P. Savoy*).

³ Sir Dudley Carleton had been largely instrumental in negotiating the treaty of Asti in the previous year, spending several months at Turin for that purpose.

⁴ On Aug. 19 Wotton sent news to Winwood of the recapture of Pontebba in Friuli from the Austrians, on St. Rocco's day, 'upon which here doth run the more jolly discourse, by happening upon the day of that Saint, which this State hath canonized long since, but the Pope not yet' (*S. P. Ven*).

⁵ Vincenzo Gonzaga (1594-1627), Cardinal in 1615, married in 1617 Isabella

widow, or I am deceived, of the house of Gonzaga, who hath three sons living by her former husband, and doth herself (to use the phrase in Don Quixote) bolder upon forty years, a pretty and logical match, if a man mark it. Which accident, though little considerable in itself, is likely to breed much change in the public. For his brother the Duke (whose proper infirmities make him apprehensive) conceiveth it to be done in contemplation of the succession, which is likely to facilitate his reconciliation with Savoy, or to accelerate his own marriage by the direction of Spain somewhere else. And so I kiss your Lordship's hands, with my ever remembered service to my honoured lady your wife.

Your Lordship's in all faithful love to serve you,

HENRY WOTTON

My Lord, I shall by the next ordinary send your Lordship the acquittance of the man you know¹

279 To JAMES I

S P Ven, holograph. Wotton sends the King maps of
Piedmont and Friuli

Venice, this 1st of October, 1616

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

I have offered unto your Majesty's excellent wisdom by Mr Secretary Winwoode, in an express dispatch², divers things to my conceit of great consequence, wherein I humbly expect your good pleasure. There remaineth no more now but to present unto your Majesty two maps which I send, that, upon occasion of any new matter in this broken time, your Majesty may entertain yourself with some view of the places. The one is of Piedmont and the confining provinces, which was drawn (as they tell me) upon the last year's motions, describing and distinguishing the towns of several princes that lie there more confused than I think upon any other part of the globe of the earth. The other is a description of those parts of Friuli which are now in action, where the Venetians

Gonzaga, daughter of Ferdinando, Duke of Bozzolo. He succeeded his brother Ferdinand as Duke of Mantua in 1626.

¹ On Oct 12, 1616, 'D M' (as Dr Marta signed himself) wrote to thank Carleton for money paid him (*S P Ven*).

² This express dispatch was delayed on the journey, and Winwood wrote to Wotton, 'you that are *vieux roturier* so well experienced by so long practice, cannot but know that the safest and speediest conveyance for letters is by the ordinary. Gentlemen that travel for pleasure, take leisure in their journeys, and oftentimes make so slow haste in the delivery of the letters which, for their credit and better countenance, they bring from ambassadors, that they will lie in the town some days after their arrival before they deliver them, and so perhaps hath that gentleman to whom you recommended the charge of these letters, for as yet I have no news of him' (*S P Ven*, Oct 24, O S). The dispatch is not preserved in the Record Office, and probably never arrived.

take almost every week upon the Austrian ground some fort or town, which, though they be not things of great consideration, yet it is worthy of wonder, even among sober marvellers, that such a swelling imperial house cannot keep their own against a single gowned State, so long unacquainted with arms, and environed on all sides with distasted princes, both spiritual and temporal Of these things I have discoursed unto your Majesty in my foresaid letter to Mr Secretary very largely, both the causes and the remedies And so I rest, with continual prayers to our blessed God for His protection of your royal person and estates

Your Majesty's poor servant,

HENRY WOTTON

280 TO SIR RALPH WINWOOD

S P Ven, holograph Undated, sent with letter to James I of Oct 11 by 'Mr Godfrey, a Kentish merchant' Gregorio de Monti, model of a Venetian dreading machine

(Venice, Oct 11, 1616, NS)

Private

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

In my demands for my transportation and other extraordinaries (which will be presented to your favourable hand by Mr Nicolas Pey, one of the clerks of his Majesty's kitchen, who is my attorney), the last sum concerneth Gregorio de' Monti, to whom I have continued the same allowance, wherein I found him invested by Sir Dudley Carleton, of thirty ducats *per mensem*, which amounteth to less by some forty pounds yearly than is allowed Signor Maggio, who hath an entertainment from the French King for the same services here under his ambassadors And I am bound to say in truth that he hath merited it, and more, from his Majesty, not only for ten years' service under Sir Dudley and me, and for those months when he supplied the place alone during Sir Dudley Carleton's absence in Savoye, but likewise for some hazards that he hath run here, besides the spoiling of his fortune for ever in all other places of Italie by this dependence In which considerations I have thought fit to beseech his Majesty to sign a few lines for his better protection to the effect of the enclosed, which will give him security and courage in his service

I sent before, by young M Cesar, the model of that engine which will cleanse our river of the softer matter¹, and I have now

¹ Probably for use in the salt marshes in Sutton and Gedney, Lincolnshire, containing 11,400 acres, which on Aug 23, 1615, were granted to Wotton and Sir Edward Dymock (*Cal S P Dom* 1633-4, p 8) Many allusions are to be found in Ben Jonson and other dramatists to these projects for draining the Lincolnshire fens

directed my solicitor unto your Honour, with a draught of another new invention for the same end, and likewise with the shape of that instrument, both in picture and in paper, wherewith they void the harder clay and gravel

With my solicitor, the merchant, Mr Blunt, will likewise repair unto you, with all due information for the business And so I leave it to your wisdom

I reckon myself to be much interested in your Honour's health, therefore I have sent you by this bearer two pounds of our best Theriaca¹, and three pieces of such an earth, found about Mendovi, as the world yieldeth nothing of more precious use in malign or pestilent fevers, being taken to the weight of a drachm in sorrel or borage-water, which I commend unto you upon great experiences If your Honour, or my Lady your wife², take delight in rare flowers and plants, I will furnish you excellently with seeds and roots and slips And I have procured out of Toscanie some olives for you, which shall be sent by the first opportunity You see, Sir, what my fortune is by these easy presents

I have written to my solicitor to send me one hither whose hand I shall use in copying of some things, whom, if it shall please you to dispatch with a packet in answer of those points that I have now handled, your Honour shall do me a special favour And he shall be brought to receive your pleasure by my said solicitor And so, having worn out my pens and my matter, both public and private, I commit your Honour again to God's dear love

Your Honour's,

HENRY WOTTON

My letter that cometh herewith to the King containeth only two maps, the one of Friuli, the other of Piedmont, which are the stages of our present stirs, whereunto his Majesty may recur upon any new matter, to view the places

281 TO SIR RALPH WINWOOD

S P Ven, holograph News from Rome, the proposed alliance
between Venice and the Protestant Union

The first of November (1616),
in this place

Let me acquaint your Honour with the newest things that I have by secret intelligence from Rome That which the French Queen cannot do with this Pope no creature under heaven can

¹ Triaca

² Elizabeth, daughter of Nicholas Bell of Totnes, and step daughter of Sir Thomas Bodley

do, insomuch as one writeth unto me pleasantly that he thinks he will canonize her while she is living. Certain it is that when the news of the Prince of Condé¹ his imprisonment was delivered unto him by the French ambassador at Frascati, a place of his retirement, he fell down on his knee, and with tears in his eyes cried *Te Deum laudamus*. He hath lately also used the ambassador of this State with extreme kindness in outward forms at his audiences, which is here interpreted a piece of art. For in this place we hold Popes inseparable from Spayne, especially tender and avaricious Popes as the present. Some told him of late (as it was indeed commonly voiced in Rome) that the Duke of Savoy had lost St Germano² by the falsehood of an Englishman, at which there was made much sport in that Court, and some of our fugitives did extremely droop at it, but it is as true as the rest of their catechism. Since Tirone's death³, his widow hath set up the King of Spayne's arms over her door, which were not there in all her husband's time: an argument that the pension is continued unto her. There are lately arrived in Rome thirteen English youths, all received into the College very privately, whereas heretofore in Parsons's time (who made a glory of everything) they were wont to be presented to the Pope and solemnly blessed. These are the latest rhapsodies that I have. And so, humbly committing your Honour to God's blessed favour, I rest ever,

Your Honour's to serve you,

HENRY WOTTON

Sir, touching the Princes of the Union, I beseech you to acquaint his Majesty that if we seek to bind them with this Republic either in league or strait correspondence⁴ (which many times is as

¹ The Prince of Condé (*ante*, II, p. 84) was arrested on Sept. 1, 1616, on account of his intrigues against Concini.

² On Oct. 19 Wake wrote of the fall of St Germano, which surrendered, although it was well provisioned, and the Duke of Savoy was only six miles away (*S. P. Savoy*).

³ The Earl of Tyrone, that 'famous rogue', as Wotton called him, died at Rome in July, 1616. 'It was thereupon,' Wotton wrote, 'the common discourse in Roome that the King would much rejoice at it, of which, being asked here my opinion, I said, "as much as they do at the death of a fly in Apulia," according to our Italian proverb' (*S. P. Ven.*, July 27, 1616).

⁴ On Aug. 1 Wotton had urged on the Venetians the plan of a league with the Protestant powers, telling them that James I, as the head of the Union had already treated with the Dutch, and intended to ask Venice to join with them. He now offered to travel himself to Germany to negotiate, on the part of Venice, about this league, adding that his journey would not cost the Republic much, as he was willing to travel by post. The Republic thanked him for his offer, but said that they had already sent an ambassador, Vincenzo Gussoni, for this purpose (*Leip. Prin.*, Aug. 1, 1616). On Sept. 14 the war between Spain and Savoy broke out again, and at the end of October Wotton had two audiences about the affairs of Savoy. He was requested to inform James of the great preparations of the Spaniards, and the danger of Savoy, and to beg his help for

valuable to all purposes as a league), they must by his Majesty be somewhat mollified, and brought from their national austerities. For hitherto (as far as I conceive) they have not corresponded in any due sort to the demonstrations of this State towards them, not so much as in answering their letters, nor at the Count Palatine's Court in admitting Vincenzo Gussoni, the Venetian ambassador, to his table, which ceremonious circumstances without a good mediator may hinder the substantial

282 TO SIR RALPH WINWOOD

S P Ven, holograph, extract No date (for date see note) The illness of the Pope, the imprisonment of Henry Bertie

(Venice, Jan, 1617 ?)

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

Since the writing of the enclosed, we have news by an extraordinary courier that the Pope this other morning, rising from his devotions, fell into a sudden failing of his feet and spirits, with some distraction of fancy, which bred an opinion in that Court that it grew from the cumber of his mind about the present affairs, although naturally not much troubled with thoughts

I am more sorry for an advertisement brought me by a French gentleman and a merchant this very day, that Mr Henry Bartie¹, brother to my Lord Willoughby, having viewed the Levant, and returning homewards with the Raguzean ambassador by land, when he had safely transported himself with a very fine Turkish horse (which he had bought in Sophia) cross the gulf from Ancona to Ragusa, was there apprehended by the Inquisition, some say for the love of his said horse, to which the Governor had taken much liking, others by the secret accusation of a servant which he had of this religion. Howsoever, I am grieved with this accident, and the more for being unable to help him, through mine own small credit with the Inquisitors with whom perchance my intercession might rather do him harm. Yet I will not fail to use the best oblique means I can, and my hope is that the merchants there (who much storm against it, as a thing likely to disturb commercement), will bring him out. I beseech your Honour to cause my Lord his brother to be acquainted with it

that Prince 'Lastly,' Wotton wrote, 'they besought your Majesty to consider in your wise heart, how vast and boundless the Spanish designs were, and what reflection these present motions might have upon other States and Princes' (*S P Ven*, Nov 1, *Esp Prin*, Oct 26, 29)

¹ Henry Bertie, brother of Robert, twelfth Lord Willoughby de Eresby. He was a cousin of the Earl of Oxford. Wotton again mentions Bertie's imprisonment on Jan 26, 1617, this dispatch must have been written shortly before that date

283 TO SIR RALPH WINWOOD

S P Ven, holograph, extract The dangerous state of the Duke of Savoy's affairs, Scioppius, Henry Bertie, De Dominis

From Venice, the $\frac{1}{26}$ of January, 1617

Of the motions in Piedmont, I am desirous to tell his Majesty with humble freedom my poor opinion I see that the other Princes are content to look on, as if they were beholding the fencers, or some such entertainment in the old Roman theatres, resolving most assuredly not to discover their affections, unless the King of Spayne shall receive some notable blow For that perchance may dissolve the common fear, which is yet stronger than the common interest At which general stillness, and insensibility of the Duke's case, I cannot but much wonder, his subsistence being in all confession most important, and his ruin very probable or (to speak a little more warily) very possible For unless he shall be assisted more than hitherto by the inward Princes with conjunction of arms, I am of opinion that the silent support of moneys sent him from hence (which is likely to last no longer than the cause) will but serve the turn to help him to overthrow himself with his own vigour¹ I wish I may ere in this concert

My friend Scioppius is come to Milan and is so castiglonated, that he hath written a treatise in Spanish *de Admirandis Hispaniae*, which I send his Majesty herewith

Between him and Puteanus there passeth ordinary correspondence of letters, and the said Puteanus hath written unto him (whereof

¹ The affairs of the Duke of Savoy seemed almost in a desperate condition during the winter of 1616-17 In his audience of Dec 7, 1616, a resolution of the Senate was read to Wotton, strongly urging James I to assist the Duke, as his condition was desperate, and there was no hope of peace (*Ven Arch Delib Sen*, Dec 2, *Esp Prin*, Dec 7) On Jan 1 Wotton sent the report of a rumour to the effect that the Pope was forming a league of Italian Princes for the common defence, such a sudden change in the Papal policy was, he said, hard to believe, 'therefore we stand with elevated ears, hearkening what will become of it' (*S P Ven*) 'This is pretty boiling stuff, he wrote on Jan 1, 'wherein I hope the Almighty hath some great intendment to teach this wise nation a higher wisdom than they had before, to purge them of error, and to melt them anew in the furnace of war' (*Ibid*) On Jan 26 he wrote that the Pope had diawn back In February the report was that Venice would make peace on its own terms and abandon Savoy, 'I am bound to believe,' Wotton added, 'that this grave and wise State (seldom varying from their own substantial principles) will not make any scruples about the means of their quietness, if they may be satisfied in the subject Trouble was therefore likely to arise between Savoy and Venice, 'unless charity be grown as well a political as a theological virtue' (*Ibid*, Feb —, Feb 10, 1617) But at the end of Lent, 'in this week when confessors are more busy than ambassadors,' Wotton was summoned to the *Collegio* to hear the report contradicted that Venice would make a separate peace (*Ibid*, March 24, *Esp Prin*, March 22) In April, however, a conference was agreed upon, and peace was finally concluded in September

he is nothing dainty) that one was hurt in Lovan by being mistaken for him. Sure Puteanus did feign it to keep him from thence, because two parasites cannot well live together. Howsoever, this rascal, by aggravating his own fears, becomes of some value among men of none, and gets dinners and suppers by it. He hath written to the Pope for a pension of 700 crowns, and that he may live in Rome securely, whither I could wish him to return, for the accomplishing of that note in Tacitus long since of that place *quo omnia* (saith he) *flagitiosa et pudenda conflunt* ¹

Of Mr. Henry Bartie's imprisonment by the Inquisition at Ancona I have advertised before, and am afraid he will perish in it. I am warned from Rome to keep all my friends thence, for the Pope is extremely nettled with the Archbishop of Spalatio's defection, of whom I must needs say somewhat for his Majesty's entertainment. They know not how to blemish the matter seriously, and therefore I think they study how to make it ridiculous. If my memory do not fail me it is Quintilian's rule, *Quod non potes refutare elude* ². To which purpose they have cast out a voice (spread farther than a man would imagine) that the King intendeth to make him a Pope, and to erect about him a College of Cardinals, with such other stuff of this kind, which by a habit of hearing little truth, they are made apt to believe. And thus is all that I can say to it.

284 TO SIR RALPH WINWOOD

S P Ven, holograph, extract. Lord Oxford and Henry Bartie

From Venice, this 3d of February
(1617), st n

My Lord of Oxford ³, having at Florence heard of the imprisonment of Mr. Henry Barte, his near kinsman, by the Inquisition at Ancona, went the next day in post to Rome, after he had first procured the Great Duke's palace there for his own security, and letters of favour which were to follow him. Since which time Mr. Barte was removed (perchance upon his intercession) to Rome. I pray God it may be as profitable for his friend, and as safe for himself, as it is nobly done. For my part, the best service that

¹ Wotton is quoting the famous account in Tacitus of the spread of Christianity: 'Repressaque in praesens exitiabilis superstitio iuisus erumpebat, non modo per Iudaeam, originem eius mali, sed per urbem etiam, quo cuncta undique atrocitas aut pudenda conflunt celebranturque' (*Ann* xv 44.)

² Quint vi 4 'Neque enim refutanda tantum, quae e contrario dicuntur, sed contemnenda, elevanda, ridenda sunt.'

³ Henry de Vere, eighteenth Earl of Oxford (1593-1625). He was travelling abroad, chiefly in Italy, from 1613 to 1618. He went to serve in the war in the Low Countries, and died at the Hague in 1625. (D N B)

I could do him was to do nothing For though I could heartily wish him free from those tyrants of consciences, yet I should in good faith be much ashamed that I were able to help him Now, having never yet by any intelligence understood the particular cause of his restraint, I will set down what I conjecture upon certain bare circumstances Mr Porie¹, secretary to the ambassador at Constantinople, took pains to translate the King's book against the Cardinal Peiron,² out of French into Italian, upon request of the Venetian ambassador there, who had taken much pleasure at certain passages thereof, which had been told him About this time, when the translation was finished, M^r Barte was in the Levant, whence he came over land with the Raguzean ambassador, whereupon I am fallen into a conceit that M^r Porie did send the said book by him in Italian, and that M^r Barte's man (who was a papist) did bewray it in Ancona To this conjecture I am led by finding in all M^r Porie's letters written hither about that time, a very eager desire to know whether M^r Barte were safely arrived in Venice, which yet perchance may have proceeded from his particular affection If my fancy should be true his case is the very same as M^r Mole's, and then I fear it will go hard with him³

285 TO SIR RALPH WINWOOD

S P Ven, extract Reception of Count John Ernestus of Nassau,
Dutch and English troops at Venice

Venice, this 14th of April, 1617,
still n

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

The Count John Ernestus of Nassau⁴ arrived well here on Saturday last, and Sir John Vere⁵, his Lieutenant General, some two

¹ John Porie (1570 ?-1635), traveller, geographer, and letter-writer, who was in Turkey from 1613 to 1616 as secretary to the English ambassador, Sir Paul Pindar

² *Déclaration du Roy Jacques pour le droit des Rois et indépendance de leurs Couronnes, contre la harangue d'un illustissime Cardinal du Perron, &c*, Londres, 1615

³ On Feb 24 Wotton wrote, 'from Rome my Lord of Oxford is returned to Florence, and riding post, took a fall on the way, which did much endanger his leg, whereof he is yet a little lame His kinsman Mr Henry Barte he could not deliver, but hath left things in some good hope, having wrought some of the English College to favour him, and so came away himself, for his own abode there was both unfruitful and unsafe' (*S P Ven*)

⁴ Count John Ernestus of Nassau (who had served under the Duke of Savoy in 1615) came to Venice in April, 1617, in command of 3,000 Dutch troops to help Venice in the Uscock war He died in Sept 1617 Wotton praised him highly to the Doge, 'If I had to select a Prince of the house of Nassau, he is the one I should choose I have had occasion to know him familiarly, he is brave, good, not rash like some, but prudent and discreet' (*Esp Prin*, Dec 7, 1616)

⁵ Sir John Vere, natural son of Sir Horace Vere's elder brother, John Vere of Kirby Hall He was serjeant-major in Sir Horace Vere's regiment, and was knighted in 1607 (Maikham, *The Fighting Veres*, pp 384, 422) He came to

days after him, and withal came news (as if they had fitted their own steps to the wind) that seven of their ships were anchored at the Cape of Istria. How glad they are of him, they have been willing to bewray by his entertainment in their towns, whereof I will set down a little taste from his own description, who told me that at Brescia (and proportionably in the rest), besides infinite coaches sent out to meet him, volleys of shot, drums beating and trumpets sounding, he was afterwards brought by the Rectors to his lodging, through ten well furnished chambers, and in every one of them different music.

Here (being the seat of the State) his reception was more temperate, as to a general of a brave house, but withal, as an entertained personage

286 TO SIR RALPH WINWOOD

S P Ven, holograph, extract. The Duke of Ossuna's fleet in the Adriatic
The assassination of Concini, Lord Oxford at Venice, Henry Beatie

(Venice, May 5, 1617, NS)

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

I have written before that the fleet of the Viceroy of Naples¹ was entered this Gulf, that his ships were first seen under the Island of Curzuolo, that afterwards two of them had some encounter in the mouth of the harbour of Lesina, with a *galeazza* and three

Venice with Count John of Nassau in command of six hundred English troops. On Oct 2 Wotton recommended Vere for promotion after the death of Count John. 'He is of the house of Vere, a near cousin of the Earl of Oxford, and when I name the house of Vere, I mean one of the most famous of families, which has produced some of the most heroic spirits which have ever made their worth known in the Christian world. He has been for twenty years a captain, and has fought in all the great battles. If this captain draws back from any occasion of fighting, may I be hanged' (*vorrei essere impiccato*) (*Ibid*). The desired promotion was not, however, given to Vere.

A letter from Sir John Vere to Sir Dudley Carleton, dated Sept 17, 1617, and written in a scrawling boyish hand, gives a little glimpse of the gallant but ungrammatical soldier, and his view of affairs. 'The stat here labers harde for a Peace, I hope they will goe better about that biesnes than Warres, for bergening (bargaining) they are harde nouf for any man. They do consume a greatdell of money to letell effect, and if it do continu they are lykly to have a falle, and it is not undeserved, for their wickedness is obomnable. I omble crave your L^{ps} pardon for my faults and for my ill wrintinge. Jho Vere' (*S P Ven*).

¹ The Duke of Ossuna, Viceroy of Sicily, was appointed Viceroy of Naples, where he arrived in July, 1616, and began preparing a fleet to threaten Venice. Wotton first mentioned this fleet in a dispatch of Feb 24, 1617, it was then being prepared under the well-worn old pretext of an attack on the Turks, 'which yet it shall not be very absurd,' he wrote, 'for the nearer Christians to suspect. And in those apprehensions this State is commonly not the dullest.' During this trouble with Ossuna, Wotton, as usual, did all he could to urge on the Venetians to hostile measures. 'They should not,' he told the *Collegio*, 'allow people to say of the Venetian Senate what was formerly said of the Athenian, that it was the most wise Senate in the world, but while the Athenians were deliberating the Lacedaemonians were acting' (*Esp Prin*, Dec 18, 1617).

ordinary galleys of this State, since which time they have been ranging and retiring, sometimes by the places belonging to the Venetians, sometimes under the promontory of Sabioncello, which the Raguzians command. And we yet know not what will be the issue, nor how we shall baptize this action, the civilest sort call it an 'intrusion', the most part an 'invasion'. If it prove ill, it must be excused by the standard of the Duke of Ossuna, if it prosper, the King his master may chance lend it his name. Certain it is that they be here most sensible of the affront, especially falling out at this time of the year, when the Republic, by a long foolish custom, is to marry the sea, for it soundeth as if the Viceroy had sent to forbid the banns.

Now while we stand in expectation what the conference in Spain will breed, in much trouble at the daily increase in charges, in disdain of this affront by sea, in shame of the little success of the Grisons business, in dislike of the present, and in doubt of the future, we are surprised with a courier from France, bringing hither in six days advertisement of the death of the Marquis d'Ancre,¹ killed by the King's commandment, which hath extremely eased our hearts. For upon it we make these consequences. France will be quiet, the Duke of Savoy will want² no help from thence, the Spaniards will be mortified, or at least mollified, the passage of the Grisons will be open. *Et quid non?* Of which things a few days are likely to give us some true judgement. Here, besides the captains and soldiers, are more gentlemen of our nation at the present than have ever been seen before in this place. The chief is my Lord of Oxford,³

¹ Concini, the favourite of Marie de' Medici, killed by Luynes and Vitry, at the command of the young King Louis XIII. 'His death,' Wotton wrote on June 9, 'was universally liked, the foim universally discommended, though by a nation that doth wink at such kind of resolutions, even in private persons' (*S. P. Ven.*)

² 'Want,' i. e. lack.

³ On April 27 Wotton presented the Earl of Oxford to the Doge. 'I have no business to transact with your Serenity,' he said, 'every other occasion to come and pay my respects is welcome. I have brought hither to the Palace a Lord of high rank, one of the greatest noblemen of our country. He is the Earl of Oxford, the head of his house, and he bears the title of Grand Chamberlain, which for a long time has been hereditary in his family. In other ages his ancestors have rendered great services, and to day the general of the forces in the Low Countries is of the same family, as well as a colonel under Count Ernest of Nassau. This Lord has spent some time at Florence, to learn the language, and practise equestrian exercises, and now, in this time of noise, he has come to this city, wishing to visit the army, and also to take his sword in hand for the service of your Excellencies. Your Serenity will oblige me, if he may be allowed to enter and kiss your hands, and then may visit the beauties of Venice, to see which, beyond their universal fame, which is an incentive to every one, he has an especial motive in the example of his father, who in former times came to Italy, and when he arrived in Venice, took no trouble to see the rest of the country, but stopped here, and even built himself a house' (*Exp. Prin.*, April 27, 1647).

come newly from the Court of Tuscany, a gentleman who hath added much abroad both to his stature and judgement, and kept his religion very sound, which, with his other civil abilities, make me hope that he will prove a brave instrument for the honour and service of his country His kinsman, Mr Baite, is at Rome, free from the Inquisition, and hath scope to walk about, but is still restrained from departure In Padua is lately dead old Mr Willoughbie¹, an infectious Papist, of a still and dangerous temper, in that place where our gentlemen make commonly some abode He hath left his movables to the seminaries at Rome, Rhems, and Doway, his body to the Theatini, with one hundred of these *lue* for as many masses to be sung for his soul And is not this a conscionable religion, where a man may go to heaven so cheaply? With which question I will end, committing your Honour to God's continual love, and resting,

Your humble servant,

HENRY WOTTON

Written the morning after the solemnity of the Ascension,² which hath this year been celebrated here with a very poor show of *gondole*, by reason of a decree in Senate against the courtesans, that none of them shall be rowed *con due remi*, a decree made at the suit of all the gentlewomen, who before were indistinguishable abroad from those baggages³

287 TO THE LORDS OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL

S P Ven, holograph Duplicate in possession of Miss Alfred Morrison of Fonthill, privately printed in *Collection of Autograph Letters, &c., formed by Alfred Morrison*, vol vi, pp 435-6 Wotton sends to England Tommaso Ceronio, *Praepositus* of the Jesuit College at Milan

From Venice, this 30th of May, 1617

Style of the place

I do address this dispatch to your Lordships for two respects, first, for the height and importance of the subject thereof, which doth give it a more bold access unto your wisdoms, than it could otherwise receive from any ability of the writer

Next, for that in a business of such a nature, as neither greater

¹ Richard Willoughby, who was Councillor and Elector for the English nation at the University of Padua, 1592-3 (*Andrich*, p 48) He entertained Corjat at Padua in 1608 (*Orudithes*, p 156)

² May 4, 1617, N S

³ In another dispatch of this date Wotton explains that the courtesans refused to attend this solemnity (the marriage of the Doge to the sea) in gondolas rowed with one oar 'So proud are those baggages,' he adds

nor stranger (all considered) hath ever befallen any public minister. It shall be an ease, and, as I may term it, a *quæta est*, unto my own conscience, to give up an account of my proceedings into the trustiest hands, even before the event can appeal unto his Majesty.

Your Lordships may therefore be pleased to understand that, by the means of the Caponi, a principal Florentine family trading in this bourse, I received the first letter of the three from Milan (whereof I now send the very originals, with their several endorsements), fourteen days after the date thereof, importing, as your Lordships see, no less in the very front, than the certain death of the King and subversion of the whole State, and requiring from me some gentleman of trust and secrecy, with competent provision, to conduct the discoverer (under the name of Stanislaus, a Polonian knight¹) unto his Majesty, which said knight was, by his own direction, to be found with the *Pater Præpositus Sancti Fidelis Iesuitarum* at Milan, *apud quem hospitor* (saith he), which I repeat the more curiously, being indeed the most staggering circumstance of the whole letter. For though that society be the very true shop where such practices are forged, and consequently the ablest to open their proper wares, yet they are commonly sure enough of their own guests and disciples. But finding it unfit for me in such a case to dispute umbrages with myself, I dispatched thither by post my secretary, Richard Seamer² (being little known out of Venice), with the first of my three letters, whose copies are adjoined, providing him both of present moneys, and of credit for one hundred pounds in Milan or Basil, and as much in Antwerp or more, if he should need, and I added to attend him a German courier, of language and experience in the ways, the rather that by his company my secretary might somewhat shadow³ his own nation.

My said secretary, repairing to the assigned place, finds the Polonian knight converted into the *Pater Præpositus* himself of St Fidelis there, who had couched the foresaid letter, and did now assume the whole business, showing my secretary, for his better assurance, the seal which he had set upon the said letter, which was nothing but a bare circle and a centre, without any arms or other figure. What passed between them at two or three meetings (which was little other than dilatory discourse), my said secretary will relate.

¹ On April 17, 1617, Isaac Baigrave wrote to the Earl of Suffolk that Wotton had received 'a grave serious letter' from one Stanislaus, a Polish knight, giving information about a plot of immanent danger to the King's life, and threatening the ruin of the whole land (*Hist MSS Com, Montague House MS* p. 198).

² Richard Seymer, see Appendix III.

³ 'Shadow,' i.e. conceal.

out of his own memorials, when he shall arrive with your Lordships. Always upon the transformation of the person, and because there was time enough interjected, he did resolve (though with cold opinion of the matter) to return thence in post to me for new counsel, as having no instruction to treat with a Jesuit, and less with one of their principals, but only with a Polonian knight. He brought with him, from this man (if such sportful notes may be imported into so weighty matter), the measure of his body for a suit of apparel, which he ordered to be made in Milan, after the French fashion, prescribing some light stuff *di colore fiatesco*. I cannot deny unto your Lordships but that, after conference with my secretary, I was much distracted at the dismasking of the person, whereupon I immediately sent to a close and confident correspondent, which I have in Rome, to inform me speedily (for thence it was to be fetched) of the name, of the quality, and of the merits and humours of the foresaid *Pater Praepositus*, intending in the meanwhile to sound by writing what farther life or truth there might be in the business.

While I stood in this suspension, I was prevented by the second letter from Milan, sent by an express messenger (a Polonian youth) who had order, so pressingly did he proceed, to take a note from me of the receipt. Hereupon I resolved to write my second letter (endorsed 'the second to Milan'),¹ which, both for expedition and congruity, I sent likewise by another express courier, and not by the former which I had employed with my secretary, because I would not deal by known faces. This courier had a sudden re-dispatch, and brought me back a few resolute words (as they stand in appearance), endorsed among my papers 'the third from Milan'. Now, my most honoured Lords, the very day before the last courier's return, I received likewise an answer from my friend at Rome, to the purpose before mentioned, which in truth did bring me some amazement. I will, therefore, word by word, translate his intelligence out of the Italian.

'The Superior of the Jesuits of the St Fidele at Milan is not called a rector, but a *Praepositus*, for they call rectors such as are superiors of their seminaries and houses of probation or novitiates; but those who govern their houses of profession (as that is of St Fidele) are called *Praepositi*, whereof there are not commonly above one or two, at the most, in a province. The said *Praepositus* at Milan is by name called *il Padre* Tomaso Cerronio by birth a Milanois, a man of good literature, having heretofore professed

¹ The letters of the Jesuit Father, and copies of Wotton's answers are now in the Record Office (*S P Ven*, vol xxii). They are all in Latin, and Wotton's are signed 'Ottavius Baldus'.

philosophy in Milan¹ About a year since he was here at Rome, in the Roman College confessor of the students, which charge is not given but to persons of the best accompt, and in time past the Cardinal Bellarmino had the same place He was afterwards sent rector to Genoa, and thence removed to St Fidele in Milan This was my friend's information from Rome, and I must say again I was much confounded with comparing his merits and the charges he hath borne, and doth bear, with the present employment and use of his person, which he offereth so voluntarily, being a great leap from a confessor to a discoverer, wherein yet the very same consideration, which doth make it most improbable (namely, the person's quality), did withal bind me most to believe it Such a riddling business it is, for though I am far (I thank God) from flattering myself in the estimation of my own judgement, yet why should he rate my simplicity so low (being unknown to him) as to think I would believe a man of his robe and place, unless he knew his own meaning to deserve it? And on the other side, what pleasure could he take in playing with so high matters? And what glory or benefit can he build on my deception? For to make me spend a few miserable crowns in such a case, or to disquiet a post or two, were, I must profess unto your Lordships, in my opinion a very lean and barren piece of malice

These things considered, and withal, that it is the part of no vassal (as I am) in any case that may concern the dear life of his sovereign, and the safety of his country, to provide for the reputation of his own belief, I have, according to the foresaid third letter from Milan, sent my forenamed secretary to be at Basil within the assigned day—namely, the last of this month—with due provision and instruction to conduct the said person, if he shall appear, down the Rhine, and to let him order his own ways, if he shall suggest in his discourse and fashion no notable occasion of distrust, otherwise to carry him, either ignorantly—being unskilful, as I suppose, of the ways—or at the worst forcibly to the Palatine Court, thence to be conveyed to his Majesty by the power and direction of that Prince (whom I shall in the meantime prepare with some general notice thereof), which was Baldwin's² case Now, because it might well fall

¹ In the Fonthill duplicate is added here, 'To my secretary he denied his right name, and said he would be called on the way Barnabino' Isaac Wake describes him as 'Tomaso Ceironio, by birth a Genovese, a man of active spirit, and esteemed in these parts to have very singular intellectual parts, and very pernicious moral' (*S P Savoy*, Turin, Nov 7, 1617)

² Wm Baldwin (1563-1632), a Jesuit, he was accused of being accessory to the Gunpowder Plot, but being out of England, James I was for some time unable to capture him Finally he was caught near the territory of the Elector Palatine, by the orders of that Prince, and sent to England, guarded by twelve

out that my said secretary should need some help on the way, I have adjoined unto him Mr Arthur Terringham¹ in the present employment, who was otherwise within a while returning homewards, a sworn servant to his Majesty, and a gentleman of known discretion unto your Lordships. They have instructions (the business proceeding) to acquaint your Lordships with their observations on the way, and to bring the person unto you at their arrival, for, though the party be likely to speak only in his Majesty's ear, yet peradventure your Lordships may, upon the general notice of some machination against the King and the land, conceive some things fit to be provisionally done before it can come to his royal knowledge.

This is the account from step to step of the present business, which I beseech your Lordships to represent unto his Majesty as it shall seem best unto your wisdoms.

I will end likewise by humbly beseeching your Lordships not to value me by my services, but by my prayers for the common, and your particular, prosperities.

Your good Lordships, in all humble
devotion and service,
HENRY WOTTON²

288 To —

Reliquiae, 1st ed., p. 436, 3rd ed., p. 345. Unsigned, without date or address, sent to one of the Privy Council with the above dispatch about Cerrione. Wotton sends his correspondent some products of Venice.

(Venice, May 30, 1617)

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

Master Nicholas Pey (through whose hands all my businesses did pass, both in my former employments here, and now) hath betrayed your Honour unto me in some things that you would desire out of this country, which if he had not done he had betrayed me. For I have long wished nothing more than some occasion to serve you, and though this be a kind of intrusion, to insert myself in this manner into your desires, yet I hope it will please you to soldiers, and bound with a chain 'twice as long as would have been required to secure an African lion.' Nothing was proved against him, but he was kept in the Tower till 1618, when he was released at the intercession of Gondomar (D. N. B.)

¹ Arthur Terringham, see Appendix III.

² The above dispatch, sent not as usual to the Secretary of State, or the King, but to the whole Council, caused great wonder in England. 'The world is much confused,' Sir Dudley Carleton wrote to Chamberlain from the Hague on July 17, 'in conjecture at Fabritio's late dispatches, which strangers write hither out of his letters to his friends, are matters of the greatest moment that ever legatus peregre missus, &c., sent to his Prince' (*C. & F. Jas. I.*, ii, p. 15, see also p. 22). Albertus Morton, hearing of the affair from Wotton, hurried to Scotland from Heidelberg to see the King about it (*Ibid.*, p. 14).

excuse it, because I do it not only with willingness, but in truth with pleasure for it falleth out that I have a little skill, or at least an interest of affection in the things that you wish from hence, and therefore even mine own nature doth lead me to serve you, besides my duty I have begun with a very poor present of stings for your music, whereof I will provide hereafter better store, and, if it be possible, of better quality By the first ship your Honour shall receive some lutes of Sconvelt and Mango,¹ and withal a chest of glasses of mine own choosing at Murano, wherein I do somewhat pretend, and those artificers are well acquainted with me Thus much in private, for the public I have made by this bearer² a dispatch unto the whole body of his Majesty's most honourable Council, wherein your worthy person is comprehended, and therefore I hope that writing twice to your Honour now at once, it may serve (by your favour) for some redemption of my former silence The subject of my dispatch is as high as ever befell any foreign minister, wherein, though mine own conscience (I thank God) doth set me at rest, yet I shall be glad of your honourable approbation if it will please you to afford it me, and so I humbly commit your Honour to God's blessed love, remaining,

At your commandments

289 TO SIR RALPH WINWOOD

S P Ven, dictated, extract No date, written after Wotton's audience of June 10, 1617 The Earl of Oxford wishes to raise troops for the Venetian service

<Venice, June, 1617>

My Lord of Oxford intendeth to employ the intercession of his friends at home, that he may have leave to contract with them here, and to transport unto them some voluntary troops,³ wherein (as I conceive it), the King shall but leave his subjects in their natural liberty, and yet much oblige this State unto him, without any charge of his own, or so much as any direct engagement of himself in the cause My Lord himself is grown a goodly gentleman, of great ability for his years, both of body and judgement,

¹ Mango, an Indian tree (*Fennell*)

² The bearer was Daniel de Montafian, of French birth, but educated in England (Wotton to Winwood, May 30, 1617, *S P Ven*)

³ The Earl of Oxford planned with Sir Edward Herbert (Lord Herbert of Cherbury) to raise two regiments in England for the Venetian service (*Lord Herbert*, p 183) But Herbert was sent ambassador to Paris, and Lord Oxford's offers were not accepted On July 5th Chamberlain wrote to Caileton, 'the Earl of Oxford hath written from Venice for leave to raise men here for that State How he shall speed I know not yet, but no doubt the Lord Dingwall will cross it all he can with the King, for the discontent he took in that business' (*C & T Jas I*, II, p 17)

and hath already taken a way to make both his affection and his resolution well known to them here, by going in a very noble manner, both himself and his followers, to the siege of Gradisca, as the public voice leadeth him And of this I shall need to say no more, because he proposeth to write himself unto your Honour, upon whose friendship he maketh much foundation, as he telleth me And in truth, Sir, you run everywhere at the rate of a good friend

290 TO SIR RALPH WINWOOD

S P Ven, dictated, extract The journey of the *Proepositus*, and Wotton's speculations about him The dangerous situation of Venice

Dated the 14th of July, 1617, stil n

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

Upon the knowledge that I have received (though somewhat slowly) from Basile and Heidelberg, of the party's passage toward England in their company whom I appointed to conduct him, I am diversely distracted in mine own conceit touching the event Some times I am ready to think that, upon the discovery of I know not what foreign or inward practice, he will build a suit for the freedom of religion Sometimes I conceive that he may have a secret purpose, and perhaps commission, to try if he can revoke the Arch bishop of Spalato (whose desertion the Jesuits take much to the heart), for the working whereof, if that were his scope, it were necessary by some device to procure first his own security—and what more plausible than matter of discovery? Another while I am, methinks, in all reason bound to imagine, that either some notable discontentment (of which there is no apparent cause in his fortune, being come to a great degree in his own ways) or some inward feeling of the Truth, hath carried him out of this country, of which he seemeth to have given me some light in his last from Milan, the day before his departure, whereof I sent the original by the ordinary post unto the Lords, as I have done the rest by a special messenger, doubting of your being in London And yet this last conceit is crossed by a letter from my secretary, who informeth me from Heidelberg that he did stiffly persevere in his own religion—unless perhaps he would not open himself to them till the end of his journey These things I must leave to his Majesty's wisdom, to whose presence he tendeth, and is not likely till then to show the bottom For though his natural judgement be (as I hear) not very deep, yet perhaps his own counsels may be low enough in him For myself, and those that I have employed, I hope, by your favourable

presenting of my zeal and then pains, we shall merit his Majesty's approbation

Now, touching the present affairs of these parts, the more I consider them, the more in truth I wonder to see this sober country grown at least wild, if not mad, with passion, and a Republic, that both by their form of government, by the lasciviousness of their youth, by the wariness of their aged men, by their long custom of ease, and distaste of arms, and consequently by their ignorance in the management thereof,¹ lastly by the impossibility, or at least great difficulty, of receiving help (the avenues being stopped) should, I say, by all these reasons abhor war, is notwithstanding I know not how engaged, by all appearance, in an endless quarrel or shameful conclusion. Wherein if the merit of the cause (being against a nest of thieves) do not procure them help from heaven beyond the discourse of man, I know not what will become of them.²

291 TO SIR THOMAS LAKE

Eton MS, holograph. The first of sixty five dispatches and letters of Sir Henry Wotton's, written in the years 1617-20, and preserved at Eton College, with a number of other documents concerning Wotton's negotiations during these years. In 1850 all these letters and documents were printed by the Roxburghe Club. In this letter Wotton begins his official correspondence with the new secretary, Sir Thomas Lake.

Venice, this 11th of August, 1617

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

The enclosed is the answer unto his Majesty's letter of the 4th of July from Falkeland

¹ 'I have noted by long observation,' Wotton wrote on Dec 27, 1616, 'that no prince in the world can proceed with more caution than this State in the management of the public issues, but I have noted withal that no prince of the world is more deceived' (*S P Ven*)

² Wotton took a gloomy view at this time of the state of affairs in Italy. The Uscock war was not ended, the Duke of Ossuna kept threatening Venice with his fleet, the treasures of the Republic were becoming exhausted, and in Savoy the siege of Vercelli would soon end in the surrender of that fortress, the French and the Guisards were bribed by Spain not to help Savoy, and finally there was the danger that Savoy would come to terms with Spain and abandon Venice. Vercelli fell on July 26, but the Duke of Savoy did not desert Venice, and as Philip III, or rather his favourite Lerma, was extremely anxious for peace, negotiations were begun, which resulted in the treaty of Madrid (Sept 26, 1617), by which the Savoy and Uscock wars were practically ended on terms favourable to Savoy and Venice, although the actual terms of peace between the Republic and the Archduke Ferdinand were not settled until February, 1618.

³ On Jan 3, 1616, Sir Thomas Lake, a confidant of the Howards, and a pensioner of Spain, was appointed secretary to balance Winwood, who was a bitter enemy of Spain (*Gardiner*, II, p 369). For Lake's attempt to discredit Wotton with the Venetians, see *ante*, I, p 158. Lake was soon involved in the fall of the Howards, and in the disgrace of his daughter, Lady Roos, and in

How much I think myself obliged unto you for those friendly lines, which your own pen did bestow upon me from so remote a place, I cannot show with serving you, and therefore I will show it hereafter with troubling you

You have toiled off the mask of silence from my face, and given my papers a confident access unto you. And the next week I will begin. This is only to render you most humble thanks for your said letter, and to pass the enclosed¹ unto his Majesty through your favourable hand, wherein is as much as I can discourse of the present time, and so, Sir, committing you to God's blessed love, I rest,

Your Honour's to be commanded,

HENRY WOTTON

292 TO JAMES I

S P Ven, holograph, extract The Jesuit *Praepositus*

From Venice, this 8th of September, 1617

Style of the place

Your Majesty hath now with you not only a Jesuit, but a *Preposito*,^o of a professed College of Jesuits in one of the most

Feb 1619, he was forced to resign his secretaryship. In October of this year Winwood died. 'I have lost a friend,' Wotton wrote to Lake, 'whereof a single loss is much unto me, that have but few' (*S P Ven*, Dec 1619). For three months the seals remained in Buckingham's hands, and James tried to act as his own secretary, making over the foreign correspondence to Lake. But James and Buckingham soon got tired of this, and on Jan 8, 1618, Sir Robert Naunton was appointed secretary (*Gardiner*, III, p 101). There was some talk, however, after Winwood's death, of Wotton being appointed his successor (*C & T Jas I*, II, p 45). Sir Thomas Wentworth (Strafford) wrote to Wotton on Nov 8 thanking him for some books Wotton had sent him, and expressing his hopes that Wotton, 'whose deserts are by all men best approved,' might be recalled to succeed Winwood (*Stafford Pp*, I, p 8).

¹ A long dispatch to the King, describing Wotton's audience of Aug 5. The Venetians before this had asked James I to make an open declaration in their favour against Spain, which he naturally refused to do, as the Venetians themselves were not formally at war with that power. Wotton, however, was instructed to declare again the friendship of the English King for the Republic, and to say that James had ordered his ambassador in Spain to remonstrate with Philip III for his conduct towards Savoy and Venice, and to exhort him to peace. The Doge in reply begged the ambassador to give James, 'then high and constant friend and patron, *giustissime, realissime et abundantissime grazie*. And if, Wotton adds, 'there had been more superlatives in the language, your Majesty had surely had them all'. In this audience Wotton was informed of the peace negotiations, and the determination of the Venetians not to abandon Savoy (*Rox Club*, pp 2-6, *Esp Prim*, Aug 5, 1617).

² The *Praepositus* was successfully conducted to England by Richard Seymer and Arthur Terringham, but when he arrived there the King was in Scotland, and he at first refused to reveal his secret to any one else. On July 16 Winwood wrote to Wotton that he was living at Lambeth, engaged in studying Calvin's *Institution*. On Aug 14 he wrote, 'I know not well what to say of that Italian gentleman who accompanied your secretary Mr Seymer into England. He beginneth to lose all patience, having so long attended here, notwithstanding that he is honourably treated, and entertained with all kindness and courtesy'. He was then sent to Cambridge, and then to Oxford, to pass the time, while Arthur Terringham rode to Scotland to consult the King about him.

famous cities of Europe, conveyed into your kingdom by my direction, who am otherwise no ordinary transporter of such kind of merchandise. I wish the fruit may be as great as the noise, and that being the weakest myself of your creatures, I may by this and other endeavours be worthy, if not of your Majesty's grace, yet at least of some part of the Pope's displeasure. In the meanwhile, whatsoever the event shall be, and what interpretation soever shall follow it, I am always sure of this comfort, that those who shall condemn my judgement will absolve my conscience. And so with my continual prayers committing your dear and sacred person to God's high preserving hand, I ever rest,

Your Majesty's most faithful and
long devoted servant,
HENRY WOTTON

293 To SIR DUDLEY CARLETON¹

S P Ven, holograph, postscript Relationship between
Wotton and Carleton

From Venice, this 29th of September, 1617

MY LORD,

I cannot omit a private thing that is now under my pen, fallen into my memory. I have been told by good searchers of

He was at last induced to write what he had to say in a letter to Buckingham, but it turned out to be so 'senseless and sleeveless a tale' that all were astonished at a man of his learning travelling so far to tell it. He was found to be a man of by no means a respectable life, and the English authorities, who regarded him more as a fool than as a wilful deceiver, were glad to get rid of him by giving him £100 and sending him out of the country. (Winwood to Wotton, *S P Ven*, July 16, Aug. 14, Sept. 19.) Winwood commended Wotton's action, and praised his zeal, such affairs were not to be judged by their results, and any one would have been deceived by a man of such importance and position. (Sept. 19.) To this Wotton replied, 'I am singularly comforted by your assurance that his Majesty doth graciously conceive of my poor endeavours, whereof now the greatest fruit is this, that we know what kind of men are the presidents over those societies' (Oct. 26.) Chamberlain and Carleton naturally took a more hostile view of the affair. On Aug. 9 Chamberlain wrote to Carleton that Winwood had told him he did not believe there was any information of importance to be got from Cerronio. 'So that I doubt,' he adds, 'this *legatus peregre missus* will make good his *mentiendi causa*.' On Oct. 11 he wrote that the tales Cerronio told were not 'worth the whistling, being certain strange chimeras and far fetched imaginations of plots and dangers not worth the knowing, much less the relating. Whereupon it was thought good to dispatch him away, the rather for that he grew scandalously debauched. And here is the end of that play, to the small honour of the author' (*C & T Jas I*, II, pp. 27, 37, 38.) At his leaving England Cerronio's £100 in gold were taken from him (under the law forbidding the export of gold), and the authorities did not know where to send it to him (*Ibid*, p. 38.) On Oct. 28, 1617, Seymour was paid £275 for the expense of bringing him to England (*Issues Ec*, p. 208.) Cerronio evidently returned to Italy, for on March 15, 1619 Wotton wrote from Venice, 'Of Cerronio I have heard nothing since his transitory visitation of me here, but I conjecture him to be either retired, or confined into Polonia, about which I will better inform myself' (*Rox Club*, p. 111.)

¹ On Oct. 12 (before receiving this letter) Carleton wrote to Chamberlain,

pedigrees that your Lordship and I are very near kinsmen by the Gaynsfords¹ Though the title of friend be the highest that even our Saviour did ever give, yet let me not lose this other hold of you Therefore I pray your Lordship to give me some little instruction of your interest in the foresaid name, and in the meanwhile to remember my humble service to your honoured Lady

294 To SIR THOMAS LAKE

Eton MS, holograph, *Rox Club*, p 9 Postscript to dispatch of this date Italian converts, Scioppius

Venice, this 10th of November, 1617
Style of the place

It may please you, Sir, to acquaint his Majesty that I have been here very closely dealt withal in the behalf of an Italian bishop, and of another person of great learning (as yet both unnominated), who as they say, *di puro zelo* and *di certa scienza*, are resolved to leave this Church, and would retire into his Majesty's protection I will add to this for entertainment that my friend Schioppius² (guarded always with a brace of *bravi*) hath lately, as I hear, written and intendeth to print at Rome a *Centuria Censurarum*, but about what subject I yet know not

295 To SIR DUDLEY CARLETON

S P Ven, holograph, extract Rumour of James I's leniency to Catholics
Nov $\frac{1}{4}$ (1617)

Sir John Vere is gone to take his leave at the camp My Lord of Oxford <is> in a little course of physic at Padova, against a kind of vertiginousness that doth at some times assail him, and so hath done for long time, but the fits are slight

I will end with telling your Lordship that all the *Gazettanti* here of this week have, in their idle leaves, scattered a report that the King hath lately much enlarged the liberties of the Papists in England, with I know not what hope of farther grants unto them Whereupon I did privately (because the matter is tender) confer

'Fabritio's correspondence and mine is at present at a stand, for he puts me still in expectation of his next, and, in answer, I have referred him to my last, which I mean shall be my last to him, without greater occasion be offered' (*C & T Jas I*, ii, p 39)

¹ Sir Henry Wotton's maternal grandmother, Catherine Finch, was the daughter of Sir John Gainsford Her brother, Elias Gainsford, married Jane Carleton, Sir Dudley Carleton's aunt (*Surrey Arch Collections*, iii p 60)

² On Aug 25 Wotton wrote that Scioppius had recently gone to Rome from Milan 'We shall shortly hear,' he adds, 'somewhat more of his venerable person' (*S P Ven*)

with two of them from what ground they had it They both agree that it is come in letters from Flanders, and written hithe *gaglian damente* I have not yet had time to trace the originals, but in the meantime I mark by it with how many arts the King is besieged Sometimes they preach against his persecutions, some times they vaunt of his lenities, being enough to put me in mind of that which I have read in a Schoolman that *Diabolus solus suadet contraria*

296 TO SIR THOMAS LAKE

S P Ven, dictated, extract No date, endorsed '1 Jan, 1617' (i e 1618)
A fire in Wotton's house, Mole in the Inquisition

(Venice, Jan 1, 1618)

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

I have expressly dispatched this young gentleman for some causes that I shall set down, when I have first acquainted his Majesty with an unhappy accident fallen here upon my habitation by mischance of fire, which being kindled first (we know not how) in a ground room under my kitchen (where certain boards and other old dry materials were locked up by the landlord) and increasing while we were all asleep, took such fury before we could get fit things or help to quench it, that it hath consumed all the roofs and whole timber works in the best part of my house, the neighbours and such assistance as came (though late) to help us, more labouring on each side to keep the fire from ranging farther, than to save any part of that which was actually in peril In the course of which unfortunate story, nothing befell us of more confusion than this, that the key of the street door below, having been left upon a table in the kitchen next his own chamber that made my provisions (who commonly went first abroad) was swallowed in the flames, which rising with very violent eruption from the close room before named, took first hold of the kitchen rafters, by which mishap we could neither get out ourselves to the channel nor let in others, till by main force we had broken the bars of the gate Whereupon some that saw not our perplexity, have formed a malicious voice that we would not open the door in time, for fear our stuff should be stolen, whereas in truth the missing of the key did put the whole in hazard, while we were forced to neglect the fire and set all our hands to the gate The particular circumstances I leave to the relation of this bearer¹

¹ In his audience of Feb 10 Wotton related to the Doge the story of this fire 'I have, however,' he concluded, 'this consolation in my loss, that it all happened by no fault of my own, and that the harm was not contagious, as it did not reach to the neighbouring houses, nor further than to three rooms

The loss which I have sustained myself falls heavy upon so poor a man, but it is eased with this comfort, that I serve a gracious and compassionate master. As for the rest, in this and all other accidents, His supreme will be done, whom earth, and air, and seas, and flames must obey, of whose indulgent mercy we want no arguments, even in the midst of this mishap, as that it fell not out in the depths of the night, which had been with more horror, but some hour before morning, likewise that there was no breath of wind to diffuse it, and lastly that no hurt hath befallen any man's person, save to a boy, that had only his head broken with a piece of the ruins.

Now Sir, lest his Majesty should think me wholly distracted by mine own damages from all other duty, I will pass through your hands to his pious consideration two motions worthy of your own charitable remembrance. The one about a place of sepulture¹ here, the other touching a gentleman who hath been long nothing else but a living sepulture himself. I mean poor Mr Mole.

Touching Mr Mole, I protest before God, that it wounds my heart to think of him. The poor gentleman hath lain long in the dungeon of the Roman Inquisitors. He hath constantly maintained his faith against all kind of trials by argument, by promises, by threatenings. He hath (as I am particularly informed) often desired public death, and they have hitherto denied him the glory of it, having set their last hope upon a certain French abbot, whom they hold to have a great power of conversion. I take it that Baldwyn the Jesuit² is yet in the Tower, and I remember I heard his Majesty once let fall out of his royal and Christian heart, that he would be content to deliver him for Mr Mole, in compassion of his miseries, though the cases be very unequal. This was long since, when Zuniga³ the Spanish ambassador did beg some priests.

Now, if Baldwyn be living, and that it shall please the King to let me work upon that exchange, I will hope to handle it so by oblique

in my own house. And then Christian philosophy teaches us that all the four elements are governed by the will of heaven, and therefore we must acquiesce in its decrees' (*Esp. Priv.*, Feb. 10, 1618.)

¹ Wotton wrote that he thought the time had now come when the Venetians should be asked to give the English Protestants a burial place of their own, with the right of Protestant burial—a privilege they had granted even to the Jews. Formerly, when Protestantism was new and strange to the Venetians, this request would have excited alarm, but they were more familiar with it now, and just at the present there were a great many Englishmen in Venice, drawn thither by the war, 'for whom, being Christian and mortal creatures,' it was right that some place should be given them in which they could be buried.

² Baldwyn, *ante*, II, p. 117.

³ Pedro de Zuñiga was resident Spanish ambassador in England after the accession of James I. In July, 1612, he came to England on a special embassy to propose a marriage between Philip III and the Princess Elizabeth (*Gardiner*, II, p. 151.)

means, without appearing therein myself, that the Jesuits themselves shall be made the suitors unto the Pope for it, which is the only imaginable way to do this pious deed *cum decore publico*. If Baldwyn be not living, there may be some other exchange of priests made, as valuable by the number, though not in the quality. For the form of doing it I conceive small difficulty, because the one may be consigned to some ambassador in London, and the other in Rome, which, though I have often taken into my thoughts, yet did it never appear so seasonable as now, my Lord Rosse¹ (who was the occasion of his first captivity) being settled there, to whom by a third person (whom I will prepare) the business may be presented as his glory, and by him to the Jesuits as their benefit. Neither do I see in truth what better use may be now made of him, and so I leave it to his Majesty's most indubitable goodness.

297 TO SIR THOMAS LAKE

S P Ven, holograph, extract The story of Leonardo Mocenigo

Venice, this 2nd of February, 1617(8)

Style of the place

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

I shall herein represent unto his Majesty an image of this Government in a strange example which this week hath produced, wherein we have seen a gentleman of singular merit and integrity, absolutely ruined by the greatest honour which his country, under the principedom, could lay upon him.

This man is by name Leonardo Mocenigo,² whom in my dispatch by John Georges³ I called (as I might well do) the Cato of this State, of age above threescore years, in dignity already one of the *Procuratori di St Marco*, which is the seminary of their dukes. Otherwise of small means, because that was never his study. Standing thus, he was chosen against his own desire *Capitano Generale del Mare*, which, as I have formerly written, is a kind of dictatorship in that element, never given but in very urgent times, and to personages of eminent trust, who commonly afterwards prove dukes, as the present⁴ did, that bore the same charge in the time of the

¹ Lord Roos (*ante*, i, p 429). In 1616 he was sent on a special embassy to Spain, and on his return in 1617 he quarrelled with his wife (Sir Thomas Lake's daughter), and being finally driven to desperation, he fled to Rome and declared himself a convert. He died shortly afterwards at Naples, and it was rumoured that he had been poisoned (*Gardiner*, iii, pp 190, 192).

² Author of '*Philosophicus Peripateticus*, a Leonardo Mocenico patritio Veneto publicae discussioni propositus, Romae 1615' (*Cicogna* iv, p 502).

³ John Georges, see Appendix III.

⁴ Giovanni Bembo, who died on March 16, 1618.

Pope's Interdict Notwithstanding which reputation at the present, and hope in the future, he made as much suit to be rid of it as others would have done to have it, and three several days (as the custom is) did propound his excuses, which having not been accepted, he took this resolution, rather to undergo the public censure and penalty of the law, than to assume this charge. Whereupon he hath been first amerced one thousand crowns, secondly, excluded for the term of two years from all secret councils, thirdly, banished for the same time from any residence save only *di passaggio* within the compass of the Quarnero, which is on the farther side of Istria, and the river of Menzo, towards the confines of Lombardy, and lastly, having petitioned that by way of grace his relegation might be converted into the territory of Padova, where his brother hath a villa, wherein he might entertain himself, that also hath been denied him, nothing remaining for him to walk in, but the cheerful garden of his own conscience.

The outward reason that he alleged to free himself from the foresaid charge was that his constitution did not comport with the sea, but the inward motive of his refusal by narrow searches is found to be this, that having while he was Inquisitor of State (which is here a terrible office proceeding by secret process) offended divers with his conscientious carriage, and in particular one of the Badovari¹ (who was sometime ambassador in France, now by his means in banishment) and one of the Calbi (who died in imprisonment), and knowing these irreconcilable families, with all their alliances (which spread far in this body) to watch continually over him, and to have contributed their balls even to the dignifying of him with this slippery employment, he thought it impossible in so jealous a time as the present,² and upon so unstable an element as the sea, especially with his own inexperience in that service, so to carry himself, but that his enemies at home would not find some way to cut his throat. This is the story, and these were the inducements of this poor gentleman's case, which I cannot but much bewail for two respects. First, because he was a great instrument in the time of the variance with Rome to maintain the public cause, and to banish the Jesuits, who will now triumph at his disgrace. Secondly, because I foresee, or at least, I much fear by the working of the present humours, that this State will more and

¹ Angelo Badoer was the Venetian ambassador in France in 1603.

² The fleet of the Duke of Ossuna was still cruising about in the Adriatic Gulf, and although peace had been agreed upon by the treaty of Madrid, the Spaniards showed great reluctance in carrying out the terms of the treaty. On Jan. 8 Wotton wrote that it was reported that the negotiations which were being carried on for this purpose had been broken off, and that a renewal of war was likely to ensue. 'If upon it,' he added (referring to the fire in his house), 'shall ensue an eruption of flames while Italy was in a kind of slumber, it will hold some resemblance with mine own case, and I shall be a poor model of the public evils' (*S P Ven*).

more fall back to a stricter correspondence with the Pope the good patriots being by this man's fall much disjointed This last consideration hath made me the longer in setting down his misfortune

298 TO SIR THOMAS LAKE

Eton MS, holograph, extract, *Rox Club*, p 16 Captain Henry Bell,
Wotton's desire to return home

Venice, this 4th of May, 1618

This beare¹, Captain Henry Bell¹, was recommended to the State by his Majesty's letters, and to me by yours He hath here increased rather his observation than his fortune I leave the report of my endeavours for him to himself Surely he is a man of great skill and experience in the military way and of a right honest composition in the civil, but such is the iniquity of fortune, that such a state as this will make a 'Wassenhoven' a Colonel (who was before but a tune of virginals) and refuse the offers of an able man I have here made with him domestical acquaintance, and found his temper so fan and discreet that I am bound, Sir, to revert these commendations that you sent by him hither unto yourself, whose love may more avail him

He bringeth a letter from me to the King, wherein I have taken the boldness to beseech his Majesty to grant me leave to return to wards this next winter,² by which time I hope this country will be at ease, and action cease, which is the subject of pens I shall then have been nine years his Majesty's servant in this place, if I reckon from my beginning, and three, if I reckon from my last commission, so as in respect of the time it is no irregular request I humbly beseech you, Sir, that your favourable mediation may make it every way good I have in truth here this last time been, though not often in the state of decumbent, yet seldom in cheerful health, through distillations from my head into my breast, to which I am naturally subject, and have found it now more increased by this vaporous air than before, perchance because I have less vigour to resist it Besides, though my fortune be of so small compass that I can allege

¹ Captain Bell, see Appendix III

² Giovan Seghens de Yeghem, Lord of Wassenhoven There is a copy of his commission in the *S P Ven* (May 28, 1616) In a letter of May 4, 1617, Wotton described him as 'a very contemptible person, even when he is sober' He mentions his death in a letter of Nov 17, 1617 (*Ibid*)

³ There was some talk of Court preferment for Wotton at home Thomas Lorkin in a newsletter to Sir Thomas Puckering (Dec 15, 1618) writes 'Sir Henry Wotton, some say, shall be called home this spring, and perhaps succeed Sir Henry Carey in the Comptrollership of the Kings house, who is like to make way for him, by his remove to the Mastership of the Wards.' (*C & T Jas-L*, II, p 112, see also p 119)

not many private occasions, yet there be some of my friends who do wish me at home And peradventure, I may light upon a widow that will take pity of me ¹ In conclusion, I shall be much bound to your Honour for your intercession with the King in my behalf And so I rest,

With honest desire to serve you,
HENRY WOTTON

299 TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM

Reliq., 3rd ed, p 485 Unsigned, no address, dated 1618, plainly to Buckingham, and no doubt written at the same time as the above letter to Lake A leave of absence from Venice requested

(Venice, May 4?) 1618

MY MOST HONOURFD LORD AND PATRON,

My humble suit unto your Lordship is this

It is his Majesty's usual grace to yield his foreign servants the comfort of his gracious sight once in three years, as this Republic doth likewise recall their ministers, which term by my privy seal will end on the first day of February next

I do therefore humbly beg that by your Lordship's intercession I may have leave to return home for a month or six weeks, concurring two urgent occasions

The one, for the pursuit of a business depending on a patent long since granted to Sir Edward Dymock and me,² whereunto I am summoned by his Majesty's attorney, as will appear unto your Lordship by the copy of the said attorney's letter (coming herewith) written to my brother Sir James Wotton, my feoffee in trust, wherein my presence is necessary, by reason of some differences between the said Sir Edward Dymock and me And this is a case wherein we are to maintain his Majesty's title as hath been endeavoured with our own moneys hitherto unfruitfully spent

The other, for the re ordering of my exchanges, which have been much incommodated by the failing of Signor Builamachie's credit here (though it stand well in other places) by a trick that was played him

While I shall be at home I will challenge nothing from his Majesty's exchequer, though perchance I shall bring some observations not altogether unprofitable as a public instrument I will likewise neither trouble his Majesty as the fountain, nor your Lordship as the means, with any private suit in the way of mine own fortune

¹ Marrying a rich widow was a recognized method for courtiers and politicians to repair their fortunes (see Ben Jonson, *Epigram* xix, &c)

² The salt marshes in Lincolnshire, see *ante*, II, p 105

For by his royal goodness and by your favourable mediation I am already abundantly satisfied in some expectatives¹ (as marks of his grace and of your patronage) which have not only exceeded my merits, but even quieted mine appetites. Only thus much I humbly crave, that by his Majesty's toleration of my weaknesses I may still retain this charge, and live upon his service, without farther burden unto him, because I see no man hasty at home to die for my benefit

300 TO SIR THOMAS LAKE

Eton MS, dictated, *Rox Club*, p 18 The Plot of 1618

From Venice, this 25th of May, 1618

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

I gave you in my last some light of a French conspiracy discovered here against this State, in due time, though not long before the day appointed for the execution thereof. I must require eight days more to make the King a perfect accompt of it, for it hath not yet been fully communicated even with the Senate itself, the process having only passed through the Council of Ten and the three Inquisitors of State, which are here our black magistrates. It is the foulest and fearfulest thing that hath come to light since the foundation of the city. Hitherto only two and twenty have been strangled in prison,² whereof the first two were hanged all day upon St Mark's Place, at public view, between the two fatal pillars. The bodies of the rest have been drowned by the hangman in the *Canal degli Orfani*, one of their deepest channels, in the silence of the night. Eight more, as we hear, have been hanged out upon the walls of Marano in Friuli, and two are executed by the General Barbarigo at sea in his own vessel, upon special order from the Council of Ten. All these were French, without mixture of other nation. Many other that fled upon the first noise (whereof some left their clothes behind them) are apprehended in Brescia, Bergamo, Verona, and other towns of this State lying towards Lombardie, which are likely to run the same fortune, and all this hath been done in the vacancy of the principedom. By the next post I will hope to deliver the whole order of the plot, the extent of their malice, the counsellors and the commanders, with all other remarkable circumstances.

¹ The reversion to a moiety of a Six Clerk's place, granted in 1611, and perhaps the reversion to the Mastership of the Rolls formally promised in 1620 (*ante*, i, p 167)

² The number of executions was greatly exaggerated in public report, Regnault and the two Bouleaux were strangled in Venice, Jacques Pierre and his secretary Rossetti were hanged at sea, there were two other executions at Venice later in the year, but beyond this (if the secret papers of the Council of the Ten are to be trusted) the victims of the plot did not amount to more than eight or at the utmost twelve (*Romanin*, vii, p 141)

I shall not need now to touch other things, for this, and the Duke's introduction (which will be on Sunday with great royalty) is enough for the present to distract us. Therefore wishing his Majesty all blessings at home, I humbly rest,

At your Honour's command,

HENRY WOTTON

301 TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM (?)

Letters to B, p 45 No address, probably to Buckingham Printed in the *Reliq*, 3rd ed, p 258 'An Epistle dedicatory of the following Discourse'

Venice, this 25 of May, 1618

RIGHT HONOURABLE AND MY VERY GOOD LORD,

HAVING here lately seen the deaths of two and the elections of two other Dukes within the compass of six weeks, I have been bold to entertain your Lordship with a little story of these changes and competitions, though with small presumption that you can take any pleasure in my simple report thereof, unless it win some favour by the freshness of the freedom. For the rest, the whole town is here at the present in horror and confusion, upon the discovering of a foul and fearful conspiracy of the French against this State, whereof no less than thirty have already suffered very condign punishment, between men strangled in prison, drowned in the silence of the night, and hanged in public view, and yet the bottom is invisible.

* If God's mercy had not prevented it, I think I might for mine own particular have spared my late supplication to the King about my return home towards next winter for I cannot hope that in the common massacre public ministers would have been distinguished from other men, nay, rather we might perchance have had the honour to have our houses thought worthiest the rifling. I shall give your Lordship a better account of this in my next, having now troubled you beyond excuse with my poor papers. Our blessed God keep your Lordship in His love.

Your Lordship's with all true devotion,

HENRY WOTTON

302 TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM (?)

Reliq, 1st ed, p 175, 3rd ed, p 154, really 254 'The Election of the new Duke of Venice after the death of Giovanni Bembo' No date, but sent with above letter

Venice, May 25, 1618, NS

On Friday, being the 16th of March, in this year 1618, about an hour before sun setting, Giovanni Bembo, the ninety first Duke of

Venice,¹ ended his days in the 75th year of his age ² his disease was a fever, occasioned by some obstruction in his reins, that stopped the course of his water Whether the physicians did hasten his end, by taking from him more blood than his years could spare, is now too late a question His name is one of the ancientest among them His father was a gentleman almost of the lowest poverty, till he matched with a wealthy citizen's daughter, who afterwards proved the heir of her father, leaving issue male this Duke Giovanni and Philippo his brother Philippo (who only was married, being not the custom of Venice for more brothers than one to take wife) died some few months before the Duke, in greater reputation than degree, for then laws do suppress the brothers of then Dukes The Duke himself did arise by employments at sea, his first action of note was in the battle of Lepanto, where, besides some wounds that he received for his own share, the success of that great day, in such trepidation of the State, made every man meritorious He was lastly (to omit his middle steps) while the republic stood under excommunication by this Pope (the King of Spain likewise then aiming) made General of their maritime forces This is the solemnest title they can confer under the principedom, being indeed a kind of dictatorship, to which they have no charge equivalent on the land, having been content (as it seems) in honour of then situation to give the prerogative of trust to that element To the principedom he was chosen, being none of the competitors then in voice, who unable to make themselves, and unwilling to make then concurrents (as the fashion is), agreed in a third He held the place two years, three months, and twelve days, with general good liking, though indeed his praises were rather moral than intellectual as more consisting in goodness of disposition than any other eminent ability For he was neither eloquent, profound, nor learned, only notable in his splendour and economical magnificence beyond ordinary example, and perchance in another nature beyond permission, for these popularities among them are somewhat hazardous To ambassadors he gave small satisfaction, save with his eyes, which were very gracious and kind In his countenance otherwise there was an invincible weakness, always blushing while he spoke, and glad when he had done Whereby his

¹ Bembo was the ninety second Doge of Venice, according to the usual reckoning

² On March 18 Wotton expressed in the *Collegio* his condolences on the death of Bembo, 'a Prince of great power and goodness, and the best of patriots, for such was his worthy character But as human fragility carries within itself from birth this necessary misfortune, so the form of this Serene Government is seated in a lasting place, not subject to the changes and mishaps of the life of any single man I pray that heaven may ever preserve it from the plots of its enemies, and cause it to prosper to the highest degree of which its merits make it worthy' (*Esp. Prin.*, March 18, 1618.)

answers were the more scant and meagre. But this did imitate wisdom, for a duke of Venice that opens himself much will be chidden. To conclude, he was in his civil course a good patriot, and in his natural a good man. They that are willing to censure him further think his whole composition fitter for the quality of the State than the times. Now being thus passed away, the first public care was to order his funeral, till when, the custom doth not suffer that a new can be chosen. This was done the Thursday following with all due solemnity, and in the meantime was made five Correctors and three Inquisitors. The Correctors are to consider what laws be fit to be added or amended touching the future election, or in the form of the Duke's oath, which they gently call his promise¹. The Inquisitors are upon complaint (and not otherwise) against the deceased Prince, especially in matter of extortion, to inquire of the truth, and accordingly to punish his heirs. Which office doth continue in authority the term of a year. The Correctors at this time presented four new laws.

1 That the brothers and children of the Prince shall take place in public processions, after the principal magistrates, namely, next to the censors.

2 That immediately after the choice of any new duke in the next Grand Council shall be openly rehearsed all former decrees against defrauders of the public chests. This they call in their dialect *intaccamento di casse*, as unpardonable here as treason.

*The other two merit no memory, being only about little increase of provision for the Duke's attendants, and some enlargement of time for the Correctors' office, which heretofore did determine as soon as the election began.

These new orders thus made and approved by the Grand Council (from whence all authority floweth), they proceeded on Friday² morning to the election.

About which time were discovered four competitors, Antonio Priuli, Giaconimo Giustiniano, Augustino Nani, and Nicolo Donato. The three first all *procuratori di St Marco*, who are in number nine, in degree the second personages of the State, and commonly the seminary of their princes, though not of necessity, as well appeareth by the fourth concurrent, who was yet no more than a senator of the Wide Sleeve³, a vesture of eminent gravity and place in their councils. Of these Priuli and Giustiniano, having before been

¹ *La Promissione Ducale*. Note in margin.

² March 23.

³ *A manche large*, worn by *savi*, councillors, ambassadors, and cavaliers (*Romanin*, vii, p. 286).

chosen commissioners in the business of the *Uscocchi*,¹ were by a new warning and penalty in the Senate on Friday before (the Prince then languishing) commanded to be gone. But this did not prejudice their hopes, for I have noted one singular property in the composition of this State, that no man's fortunes, without other demerits, are hindered by their absence.

Now it shall be fit to set down with what foundations, and with what oppositions, they entered the list.

Priuli had passed through all the principal charges of the State in the civil way, and had lastly in the military been *Generalissimo* (till sickness sent him home) in the Austrian action. His own family numerous, his alliance strong, himself a man of moderate nature, of pleasant and popular conversation, rather free than sour and reserved, of good extemporal judgement and discourse for the satisfying of public ministers, which is the Duke's proper part. Lastly, threescore and ten years old (for that must not be forgotten among his helps). But he suffered two objections, though both rather within his fortune than his nature. The one that he was the father of a cardinal², which might distract his affection between the State and the Church. The other that he was poor and somewhat behind hand. Of which objection on the other side his favourers made up part of his merit, as having indebted himself in the public service.

Giustiniano³ was a gentleman that had likewise passed through the best places at home, of excellent gravity and judgement, and of most unquestionable integrity, not violent, not ambitious, singularly beloved of the people, to whose satisfaction in a time of this nature it was perhaps meet to yield somewhat. He was besides one year older than Priuli, but his old age did not help him so much, as he was hindered by the antiquity of his name. For the principedom having been for the two last successions in the old families,⁴ it was likely the new would now strive to bring it back again among their own blood.

¹ Commissioners to carry out the terms of the treaty of peace with the Archduke Ferdinand.

² Cardinal Mateo Priuli. 'He works out his own fortunes bravely,' Wotton wrote of Antonio Priuli on Jan. 26, 1617, 'being a man of most cheerful humours, and most bountiful and popular nature' (*S. P. Ven.*)

³ Giacomo Giustinian, *Procuratore* of the Venetian galleys, 1604 (*Cal. S. P. Ven.*, x, p. 144).

⁴ In 1450 a conspiracy was formed by sixteen of the 'new' families to keep out any members of the twenty-four 'old' families (*ante*, i, p. 434) from the principedom. This conspiracy was successful until 1612, when Memmo was elected, the first of the *case vecchie* who was Doge since Michael Morosini in 1382. The sixteen new families were Barbarigo, Doria, Foscarini, Gritti, Lando, Loredan, Malipiero, Marcello, Mocenigo, Moro, Priuli, Tiepolo, Tron, Vendramin, Veneri, (*Romanin*, iv, p. 420 n.)

Nani¹ had carried himself meritoriously in foreign employments, particularly against this Pope in the time of the interdict, which held up his credit among the good patriots. And having been near the supreme place at the last election, he re-entered now with the more hope. Besides being by nature stiff and sensitive, his cunning friends did mould that to his advantage, the time seeming to need such a man. But two wild rumours did much oppress him. The one with the better sort, that he had purchased by close gifts certain of the poor gentlemen's favours, the other with the people, that he had of late been author of some hard decrees, his age besides was but 63 years, and his complexion durable.

Donato² (surnamed Testolina, for the littleness of his head) had been long time conversant in the gravest consultations, was reputed one of the wealthiest gentlemen of the whole city, of good natural capacity, and above the rest adorned with erudition. Besides, he had the commendation of fourscore years, and of a weak body. But it was thought somewhat presumptuous that he should contend with persons of higher rank, whereupon some conceived his end, only to gain a friend by his voices and to make himself Procurator in the room of him that should be Prince.

With these hopes and with these objections they entered the field, after they had laboured their friends one whole week, namely, from the Friday night of the Duke's death to the Friday morning following, and perhaps a good while before. Within which time, at the place of their *broglia*³ (as they term it) where the concuents sue for voices, Nani, the youngest of the four, was noted by some vacant searching wits to tread softly, to walk stoopingly, and to raise himself from benches where he sat, with laborious and painful gesture, as arguments of no lasting man. Such a counterfeiting thing sometimes is ambition. To come now to the election.

The election of the Duke of Venice is one of the most intricate and curious forms in the world, consisting of ten several precedent ballottations. Whereupon occurreth a pretty question, what need there was of such a deal of solicitude in choosing a Prince of such limited authority? And it is the stranger, for having been long in use, the ancient forms being commonly the most simple. To which doubt this answer may serve the turn, that it was (as the tradition runneth) a monk's invention of the Benedictine order. And in truth the whole

¹ Agostino Nani, ambassador to Savoy 1587, to Spain 1595, to Constantinople 1600, to Rome 1605, to France 1612, *Procuratore di S. Marco* 1612 (*Cicogna*, v, pp. 241, 394).

² Niccolò Donato, Doge xciii.

³ The *broglia* was the side of the Piazzetta, under the Doge's palace, where only the nobles were allowed to walk, and where canvassing was carried on.

mysterious frame therein doth much savour of the cloister For first a boy must be snatched up below, and this child must draw the balls, and not themselves, as in all other elections, then is it strangely intermingled, half with chance, and half with choice, so as fortune, as well as judgement or affection, hath her part in it, and perhaps the greater One point (as now and then happeneth, even in the most curious webs of this nature) seemeth somewhat unequal Namely, that the forty-one (who are the last immediate electors of the Duke) must be all of several families, and of them twenty five at least concur to his nomination For hereby the old names (which are but twenty four) cannot make a Duke without help from some one of the new And that is not easily gotten through emulation between them, as strong perhaps as any public respect So as the two last Dukes, Memo and Bembo, both of the ancient blood, may upon the whole matter be accounted irregularitives¹ of fortune, who hath likewise her *anomala*

Now to set down the variations of chance in every step of these scrutines were tedious Sure it is that at the enclosing of the forty one (for those must be shut up like our jurors of inquest, but that they are better fed) Donato had fifteen sure balls, Nam twelve, Giustiniano ten, and Priuli but four So as no one of them had voices enough to exclude the other three from making a Duke, for to this privative power are required seventeen balls at least Nor any two of them, except Donato and Nam, had reciprocally an inclusive power to advance each other by joining, for though Donato might have made Giustiniano, yet he could not be made by him, because their united strength was but precisely twenty five, which number indeed would have served the turn, but that one of them on Donato's part (himself being of the number) must be abated For contrary to the form of election in the Empire, no man here can bestow his ball upon his own person So as upon the matter doth arise a kind of riddle, that Donato was the weaker by his presence

Thus they stood in their several strengths when they were shut up, with a guard about the palace, where during this election all inferior tribunals cease, only the College of the Preconsultors (as they term it) is daily open for the hearing of ambassadors, the Senate likewise and the High Council of Ten in their ordinary vigour They remained close twelve full days, in which time divers false voices were vented But none of the competitors arriving to a sufficient number of balls, they fell (as the fashion is) to ballot some others that did not concur Among whom nothing was so memorable as the

¹ 'Irregularitives,' not in *N E D*

ballotation of Lorenzo Vimeio,¹ who having in the late fight at sea with the Neapolitan fleet² preserved his honour, when the rest were nearer shame, had now eighteen balls for the supreme place of his country, though otherwise as yet of but small rank himself. At last these forty one electors, tired with trials, Nani unable to make himself, not inclining to Giustiniano, as being of an old house, with Priuli privately distasted, and generally wishing him best, that was unlikelyst to live long, on Thursday morning, being the 5th of April, declared unto his friends that he would join with Donato, which the rest understanding, they owed though not to him, yet to themselves more good will, than not to favour that which they could not hinder. And so Niccolo Donato was made Duke, with thirty nine balls, his own exempted (as I have said) by law, and some one of the rest shrinking, I know not how, *per capriccio* perhaps rather than despite. This is the sixth man under the degree of a procurator that hath been made Duke since the foundation of the city, which makes Nani the more odious among his own colleagues for advancing an inferior order, which perchance hereafter upon the example may grow more familiar. He was published with slight applause and with more approbation (as it seems) of the stars than of men.³ For it is vulgarly reported from his own mouth, and here strongly believed, that an astrologer some years since in Padoua having cast his nativity, told him he should die in *carcere nobili*, which they now apply to so restrained a principedom, helping it with conceit, as commonly those kind of predictions do need.

The Election of the following Duke after the death of Niccolo Donato

On Tuesday, the 8th of May, Niccolo Donato died, about two hours of the night, as near as the moment could be known, which his nephews and servants did conceal, and is never hastily published by the State. His disease was an apoplexy, wherewith being surprised after a gentle fit or two of an ague, he had no leisure or no mind to alter a former will, made while he was but a senator, so miserably, as if he had meant to be frugal even after his death. For therein he left but twenty five ducats to all his servants, and only twenty to the nuns of Santa Chiara at Murano, where he disposed his body to be laid. The short time of his principedom (having been but a month

¹ Lorenzo Venier 1552-1625, *Procuratore di S. Marco*, May 30, 1618 (*Cicogna*, iv, p. 441.)

² An indecisive and inglorious engagement, near the port of Spalato, on July 13, 1617, in which Lorenzo Venier distinguished himself (*Vittorio Sall, Memorie Recondite*, 1677, iv, pp. 152-4.)

³ The election of Donato was unpopular, and when he was carried about the Piazza in the usual way after his election the populace cheered the names of his competitors, and refused to pick up the money he threw to them.

and two days) did yield little matter of observation. One thing was notable, that entering with small applause of the common men, he suddenly got their favours upon a false concert. For a decree having passed in his predecessor's time about the reformation of bakers (who made scant loaves), and being conceived to be his deed, the plebeyty¹ (whose supreme object is bread) cried in all corners, *viva Donato*. In his nature there was a strange conjunction of two things rarely seen together, love of learning and love of money. And this is all that can be said of him.

Now being gone, the following election was likely to be short, the same concurrence appearing as before, and the affections having been so newly sounded and prepared. Therefore (not to extend discourse) the Duke's funeral rites being performed the Monday after his death, the Thursday morning following Antonio Priuli was made Duke with all balls. For Giustiniano having but eight voices among the last one and forty electors, and Nam (by strange and almost prodigious fortune) none, the foresaid eight friends of Giustiniano, unprofitable for him whom they loved best, did immediately concur with Priuli's thirty three voices. And so a solemn ambassage is preparing out of the body of the Senate to determine his commission in Friuli, and to recall him to the supreme honour of his country, when at the very same time, or little difference, one of the two Austrian commissioners on the other side is dead in the midst of the treaty. So various are human fortunes and conditions.

303 TO SIR THOMAS LAKE

Eton MS, dictated, *Rox Club*, p. 20. The new Doge, the Spanish Plot, Ferdinand King of Hungary, &c.

From Venice, this 1th of June, 1616

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

This week hath been spent in the pompous introduction of our new duke, Antonio Priuli, matter of little edification. Of his election I have given an account before. On Tuesday morning, when he was borne in a(n) open litter upon men's shoulders, and showed (as the ma(nner) is) to the people, he is said to have thrown away among them in gold and silver 4,000 crowns, being by nature no admirer of money, and in truth a wonderful beloved man. The next day he fell sick of the gout, which at times doth take him, so as yet he hath not been congratulated withal by the public ministers. But I have performed that office with him in his bed by my secretary, for no ambassadors can here personally visit the Prince in private,

¹ 'Plebeyty,' obs for plebs (N E D)

without mor(e) jealousy than the estimation of a compliment will amo(unt) unto In his oration to the people he was as short (as) he was laige in his munificence, concluding with a very remarkable exhortation of them, to a vigilant zeal towards then country, 'by which,' said he, 'we shall frustrate the insidious malice of our adversaries'—a manifest allusion to the late conspiracy He (is) likely to live long enough (though seventy year old) to receive the honour of a congratulatory letter from his Majesty, as is of course, and therefore (I pray) you, Sir, to hasten it hither, for though he h(ave) a cardinal to his son, and thereby falleth within (thè) rank of those here which we call *Papalini*, in counter division to the *Patrioti*, yet he is a wise, moderate man, and doth both well understand and celebrate his Majesty's merits

Of the French complot (for which so many have suffered death) I can yet send no full report, for to this day the Council of Ten and the Inquisitors of State (which are our black magistrates) have withheld the process from the Senate, with which body when it shall be communicated, we shall catch a clearer knowledge of all circumstances For the rest, we continue in the same fluctuation of discourse, Veicelli not yet rendered, Ossuna not slackening his provisions, and these discovered practices arguing bad affections Ferdinando hath now made himself King of Hungary by denying nothing,¹ and will assuredly by the same means be King of the Romans For the voice that hath run of the Duke of Bavaria (not a little helped by the Count Palatine's visiting of him) sounds like a dream And although by one of your letters unto me, you seem to have been informed of some difficulties that may lie in his way, I must crave pardon to think otherwise, for I have been bled some years in Germany, and I am too well acquainted with the Almane princes, to believe that they will venture a civil war upon the matter Therefore here we contemplate him already as Emperor *in semine*, and his resident having within these two days pressed the State to re-establish their commission in Friuli (which by the death of one of the other side, and revocation of one of theirs to the principedom, hath been disturbed) the instance, as you may imagine, was grateful I cannot end without relating one of the noblest things, newly done by this State, that I have ever before seen among them—and yet subject, as all things are, to diversity of interpretations The thing is this as they made Antonio Priuli duke in his absence, so into his place of *Procuratore* (thereby vacant) they have chosen Lorenzo Veniero, likewise absent, who in the fight with the Ossunian fleet, as we call it, did behave

¹ Ferdinand, Duke of Styria 1590, King of Bohemia 1617, of Hungary 1618, elected Emperor in succession to Matthias, Aug 18, 1619

himself as bravely as the rest infamously, so as the State, in his advancement, hath plain enough affected the disgrace of his companions. And this maketh the matter the *<more>* notable, because he had thirty one balls above any concurrent, and two hundred more than some of otherwise great *<esti>*mation, notwithstanding the silent opposition against him of those families who had of their friends in *<the>* foresaid fight. But this only doth overcharge him *<m>* with envy, that he hath borne it from a competi*<tor>* of the house of Balbi, who hath more than twenty scars remaining on his body from wounds received *<at>* the battle of Lepanto—so as in this there was a conflict betwixt greatness and freshness of merit.

From Rome they write me that my Lord Rosse doth live so close, shifting often his lodgings, as it seemeth that none of my correspondents can particularly say to have seen him of late. And so, Sir, for this week I commit you to God's love. Resting ever,

At your Honour's command,

HENRY WOTTON

Posts*<cript>*—I have newly received from Don Maita such assurance of some good services, which he intendeth, as hath made me resolve to comfort him with moneys, of both which I will give his Majesty an account by the next post, I mean both of his use and his satisfaction.

304 TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON

S P Ven, dictated. No date, endorsed by Carleton 'June 1618'. The Venetian elections, the Spanish Plot, &c

<Venice, June 1618>

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

I have this week received your Lordship's on the eighth of May, which hath brought me the ill news of your late sickness, wherein I have not altogether unsympathized with you, having myself been, though I thank God not a decumbent, yet often times troubled with my familiar evil of distillations from my head, which I have more found in this vaporous air, since my last coming hither than before, as being less able to resist it than when I had more youth. This hath made me (to show your Lordship how confraternal we are in all our motions) supplicate his Majesty for my return towards next winter, before which time I hope our noise here (the unhappy subject of ambassadors' pens) will cease. Now since my last unto your Lordship what have we done? We have buried two Dukes and chosen two other. We have seen fortune stronger than reason, for the

Procurator Nani (who in the whole mass had provided most voices) had among the last forty one not so much as one. We have seen of the four commissioners in Friuli one of the Venetian recalled to a principedom, and at the same time one of the other side called to heaven.

We have seen Lorenzo Viniero, in hate of the Spaniards, against whom he fought well, preferred before concurrents of greater place and age to the vacant procuratorship of the now Duke, and Nicolo Contarini¹ made commissioner in the said Duke's room before the Procurator Nani. We have seen our Cato Leonardo Mocenigo, banished for refusing the generalship at sea, and this week restored again by the benefit of a *bando*, which he bought from the community of Salo. We have dismissed one Chaus, that hovered here a good while wrangling for money, and yesternight received another, I know not yet upon what errand, but your Lordship knows well what unwelcome guests they are hither. Lastly we have seen some spectacles of horror between these fatal pillars, by justice done upon those French conspirators, whereof no doubt the noise hath already filled every corner of Europe. Some thirty (according to my list) have already ended their lives, some drowned at sea, some strangled in prison and then buried in the *Canal degli Orfani* by night. Three hanged by the heels in public view, but likewise first strangled, which secret justice upon a foreign nation will force the State to give some public account of it, when the process shall be finished, which yet dependeth at the Tribunal of Ten, our black magistrates, and it hath hung so long since the first discovery, that some begin to doubt (I mean of these malicious commentors) that we are loth to search too deep. Strange it is that hitherto there is no open appearance of either outward or inward intelligence, nor no nation but merely French intermingled in it. Yet we hold it in public voice to have been forged at Naples, which impression the Spanish ambassador here hath thought fit to allay with some speech in College. I shall give your Lordship before your leaving of the Hague (which I heartily wish may be with your full contentment) some clearer knowledge of these things. And for the present I leave you in God's blessed love, ever resting your Lordship's faithful poor friend and brother, as I must needs call you after so many conformities in our fortunes.

HENRY WOTTON

Among these jealousies cast upon the French, he that served your Lordship has tasted his part, having been two or three days

¹ Nicolo Contarini, Doge 1605-11, 1630-1

restituted by the magistrate *Sopra la Brastema*¹ but freed again, though with *bando* to be gone within eight days

305 TO JAMES I

Eton MS, holograph, *Rox Club*, p 26 Letter sent with Isaac Bargrave

From Venice, the 4th of July, 1618

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST SACRED MAJESTY,

The bearer hereof is Mr Isaac Burgrave², my late chaplain in this place, of whose discretion and zeal having taken good experience abroad, I have now been bold to address him unto your Majesty, by your favourable admittance, with a business not unworthy (as I may confidently say) both of your goodness and of your greatness, appearing in *ipso semine* of singular consequence to the Christian world, as some well-affected persons here do esteem it The subject itself, the motives and the fruit will be presented unto your Majesty in a few notes that come herewith And so leaving it to your high wisdom, I ever humbly rest,

Your Majesty's faithful poor vassal,

HENRY WOTTON

306 TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON

Eton MS, holograph, extract, *Rox Club*, p 28 Wotton writes to Naunton (appointed Secretary, Jan 8, 1618, in place of Winwood) of Leet's imprisonment, of Sir Henry Peyton, and of a plan for robbing the posts at Augsburg

From Venice, this 5th of July, 1618

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

I have newly received, by one Mr Keire, a Scottish gentleman, your letters written by his Majesty's direction more than two months since in behalf of Sir Henry Peyton³ Whereunto, before I make my humble answer, it shall be fit to acquaint his Majesty with divers things, both touching the state of this country, and some other inter-venient matter, wherein I will begin first of all with a late accident, which did keep me some days even from congratulating with this new Duke, albeit that office had been performed, not only by all other public ministers here resident, but likewise by one extraordinary ambassador, expressly sent to that purpose from the Duke of Urbine

¹ The *Quattro Esecutori alla Bestemmia*, whose duty it was to keep a watch on suspected foreigners, gambling-houses, and the sale of prohibited books (*Romanum*, vii, p 285)

² Isaac Bargrave, see Appendix III

³ Sir Henry Peyton, see below, p 146 n

And therefore you may imagine that the cause of my forbearance was very sensible, whereof this is the story

I sent my steward¹ to invite my Lord of Oxforde and my Lord Graie to dine the next day with me, who, returning somewhat late home in my Lord of Oxford's gondola, was, not far from the arsenal, stayed by a ruffianlike fellow, that calls himself *per buffonina* the Conte Piero, and was at that time captain of the watch, though otherwise by profession a shipwright, and therein of so singular use to the State, that they are now and then contented to wink at his mad humours. This man, accompanied with a suitable train, takes my steward then alone and unarmed (after information fairly given him whose he was, and whither he was going) out of my Lord's gondola, carries him to the arsenal, handles the matter so that he is kept all night in a filthy room, under guard as a prisoner, returns to him again in the morning, and then, besides other contemptuous usage, tells him in very distinct language, 'that if he had not the night before said he did belong to the ambassador of the King of England, he would have let him go, which words he repeated three several times, even after warning to take heed what he said

This being of itself intolerable, was made much worse by coincidence with a time wherein a foreign conspiracy having been so newly detected, and the process thereof as yet unfinished, my man's retention, and the ensuing words of such pregnant consequence began to breed some voice that our nation had a hand in those foul businesses, and there could not want here fomentors of this conceit, some for hate of our religion, some for diversion from others, and some even upon sportful malice. All which having considered, after the dismissal of my servant by wiser folks than those that took him, I made my complaint to the High Council of Ten, who immediately gave such order that the fellow was snatched up in the open place of St Mark's, and thence carried to close prison. After this I demanded sentence against him proportionable to his offence, both for violating the immunity of my family, and especially for his opprobrious words whereby the King's honour was touched, and scandal put upon our nation. The Council of Ten considering my complaint to enfold respect of State, and their tribunal to be rather judicatory, did remit the matter to the Senate, which made me recur by my secretary to the Duke for a speedy and congruous sentence, protesting that notwithstanding my master's affection, and mine own particular zeal to this State,

¹ Will Leete, steward (see Appendix III), arrested on this occasion, wrote to Isaac Bargrave an account of his adventure, which is among the Eton College MSS. (*Rox Club*, p 37) He says that Lord Oxford sent him his 'gundelo' to bring him to supper, and that he was arrested on his way thither.

I could appeare no more in the seat of ambassadors (which is at the right hand of the Duke) after such an indignity and violation, without some public judgement to satisfy the world¹ To be short after the hearing of my servant's report, the fellow was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, *senza luce*, never to be freed without my assent and desire, and then to make a confession of his fault, and submission of himself at my house Hereupon I did instantly deliver him, as not delighting in his misery, though justly incensed with his error For in truth an error it was, having mistaken his commission, which (as I afterwards heard) was to stop the servants of some other public person, if they should fall within his walk Thus all parties are satisfied, the State, to whom I have restored an useful man, the representatives of other Princes, who were scandalized with the example, our nation likewise, that might have come into some obloquy, and lastly the fellow himself is perchance not the least contented² It remaineth that his Majesty, by your opportune remembrance, will be pleased to take notice hereof to the Venetian ambassador, for the respect which, upon this occasion, hath been here showed towards his sacred name

I have now visited the Prince, who used me with singular kind-

¹ On June 10 Wotton sent Gregorio de' Monti to the *Collegio* with a letter to the Doge Priuli, signed 'Arrigo Wottoni' giving an account of Leete's arrest On June 18 de' Monti, with Leete, appeared in the *Collegio* with a letter from Wotton demanding a suitable punishment for the offender 'Concludo,' the letter ends, 'col supplicar la Serenità Vostria di non meravigliarsi ch' io non vengo personalmente a riverirla, come fo di cuore, perche come privato non posso, e se dopo una tale violazione della Maesta del mio Re, e delle immunità della mia casa, senza congruo riparo, io debbo farlo come Ambasciadore, lo rimetto alla gravissima prudenza della Serenità Vostria Della Serenità Vostria devotissimo servidore, Arrigo Wottoni' (*Esp Prin filza*, June 18, 1618)

² Leete writes July 9, 1618 'I may tell you, whether for affection to me, or for the cause itself, aggravated much by the troublesomeness of the time, I never knew him (Wotton) carry business so stoutly and so valiantly, in all my days, which hath gained him a great deal of respect of all parts, as well of the Italians as of his own This benefit I receive by it, in recompense of my retention, to have seen the Prince and Senate, with their principall courts and offices, *senza pagar niente*,' Eton MS (*Rox Club*, p 38) It was the College, not the Senate, that Leete saw Wotton afterwards told the Doge good-naturedly, that the accident had been caused, 'not by want of good will, but of good wine' (*Esp Prin*, June 26)

³ Wotton congratulated the new Doge on his election in the audience of June 26 He feared, he said, that all the figures of speech had been used up and deflowered (*verginate*) by the other ambassadors, but still he would try to say something He praised the prudence of the Venetian government as superior to that of others, and even to that of the Roman Republic, where *absentium ratio non habetur* 'But here the contrary was the custom For the services of his Serenity, though absent, have been remembered, the merits of his valour, the nobility of his soul, which he had shown by sparing neither his life nor his purse on all occasions' He enlarged on Priuli's praises with great fullness, and said that his elevation was universally pleasing to men of all conditions He wished him long life and long enjoyment of this supreme rank with peace and quiet, adding that the surrender of Vercelli (which the Spaniards, according to the terms of the treaty, had at last given up to the Duke of Savoy, after long

ness, whereof he hath the true art, and did his Majesty much right in calling him the most intelligent prince on the earth, and *la via anchora di questa Republica nelle occasioni turbulente*. Of our nation he spake honourably, 'though from some others,' said he 'we have received small satisfaction'. Whether he meant the French or the Flemish, I dare not affirm. Of the late practices his discourse was very tender, giving me only thus much light, that they were well informed of the fountain, and willing that I should rather conceive it to come from the Spanish side (though the French were the instruments) than he say so. This was all that I then drew from him.

Now touching his Majesty's directions in behalf of Sir Henry Peyton¹, so effectually set down by your pen.

I must first profess that he is my particular friend, and therefore, besides my duty even in private respect, I shall be glad to press his advantage, but having sent me a form of his commission and contract, I find it so deficient, that I wonder in good faith so judicious a gentleman could love himself so little. I hold that opinion of bargains with States that Aristotle doth of laws, of which as you well know, those in his judgement are the best that leave least to the judge. And surely those contracts are likewise the wisest which leave least to favour, which I fear this worthy knight will find here, especially coming when the officers peradventure begin to

delays) might be esteemed as a sure argument of future repose (*Lsp Prin*, June 26, 1618).

¹ Sir Henry Peyton, son of Thomas Peyton of Bury St Edmunds. Knighted 1606, governor of Brill in 1613. He married a daughter of the Protector Somerset (*DNB*). He was a favourite officer of Sir Horace Vere, and was engaged by the Venetian ambassador in England instead of Sir Henry Mainwaring, who had been first chosen to command the troops engaged for the Venetian service (*Corbett*, pp 62, 86). The terms of his engagement are printed by Duffus Hardy. He was to have the title of major, and for pay for himself, and his company of 200 men, 1,350 Venetian ducats a month, the two other companies of 150 men each were to be paid 980 ducats (*Duffus Hardy*, pp 84, 85). The seven English ships arrived in the Adriatic in July, 1618. A letter from Peyton, dated Curzola, May 17, 1619, is in the *SP 100*, as well as a number of other letters written in the years 1619 and 1620. Another of his letters is at Eton (*Rox Club*, p 95). On Aug 20, 1618, Wotton recommended Peyton to the Doge, describing him as a person of importance in England, married to a lady of perhaps the greatest English family after the Royal family. He was much beloved by the King, the ambassador said, and had come to serve Venice with seven ships, in which there were 500 men, including sixty of 'noble' (i.e. gentlemen's) families. On Dec 15 Wotton presented Peyton to the Doge (*Lsp Prin*). As Wotton anticipated, Peyton was dissatisfied with his pay, and petitioned for compensation for his losses owing to the rate of exchange (*Ibid* Sept 22). In the meantime some of his soldiers, finding their pay was less than that of the Englishmen in Sir John Vere's regiment, mutinied, and were severely punished by the Venetian general (See below, pp 152-4). Sir Henry Peyton remained in the Venetian service till his death on Oct 13, 1623. He 'seems to be more lamented', Bantworth wrote, 'after his death, than well rewarded for his service while he lived, for he hath left a great many debts, and little to pay them' (*SP 100*, Oct 20).

sound Not to trouble you with all particulars, there is in his contract one unfortunate word '*di moneta corrente*', which will immediately prejudice him at least 8 per 100 in his receipts This I speak by way of provision, that no want be imputed to me, if he miss his contentment, which others have not altogether had, even when they might challenge it And of mine own endeavours for him when he arriveth (of which we wonder not yet to have heard) I will render the King, as you require, a particular accompt

There doth remain for the last part of this dispatch a business or two of secret and important quality, which have made me commit it to an honest merchant, and to impose haste upon him For the first, it may please his Majesty to understand that there is in Augusta one Philip Hainhofer, a *Patricius* of that small community This man holds correspondence with divers Princes, and doth much desire to have some relation towards the King In plainer language, a pension of about one hundred pounds yearly, promising to entertain his Majesty with many curious things I have not with him any acquaintance by sight, but I find him by his letters and by report easy to be moulded as we list, whereupon I have lately conceived a notable use of him for the King's service Augusta (his natural seat) is the place where all the letters and packets do weekly concentrate, and there they be first severed in the common *valigia*, and thence distributed to and fio into sundry parts Now the thing that I would wish done is the intercepting of the Jesuits' packets, and particularly those that pass *ultra citraque* between the English priests in England and Rome, and the intermediate places of Rhemes, Doway, St Omer, and other This can be done nowhere so featly as in Augusta, nor by none so easily as himself, who commands there the master of the posts, and by his correspondence from divers parts, haunts him weekly So that he hath great opportunity to do this thing, and may transport them continually to his Majesty through your hands under a new cover If therefore it may please the King to give me authority to handle this business with him, and to promise him his gracious favour upon such a piece of meritorious curiosity, I will tentatively propound it unto him in my return homewards that way,¹ and be provided in the meanwhile, by a friend I have in Rome, to instruct him under which seals and names those intelligences pass, and with some other circumstances belonging to this matter, wherewith I was well acquainted in my first ambassage, when the Jesuits were here, and held their weekly intercourse with

¹ Wotton received the necessary instructions, and wrote to Naunton (Aug 21, 1618) 'Touching Philip Hainhofer, I make no doubt, in my passage by Augusta, to settle the matter well in his hands, and to fit him with all due instructions and preparatives' (*Acc. Club*, p 54)

Rome Captain Henry Bell (who is ere this time arrived in England) was solicited by this man in his late passage by Augusta to represent his devotion to the King, from whom (if it please you) you may take some farther description than I can give of him, without any mention of this project, which I humbly commit to your closest cabinet — since the life of it is the secrecy

The other business is of greater consequence, and worthy of the King's wise and Christian care, which I have now committed to Mr Isaac Bargrave, my late chaplain, with whom I spent much conference about it here. He hath order from me to repair unto you, and I hope well, by your favour, to be introduced to his Majesty, when the matter shall first have passed the file of your own judgement. Now, a word touching myself, and so I will humbly take my leave.

I besought his Majesty by the forenamed Captain Bell to grant mine own return unto his comfortable sight towards next winter. Since when I have considered that the summer spends apace, and, besides, I would fain see a full end of our noise, which being not likely to be before the cold weather, I shall be cast into a very incommodious passage. Therefore Sir, I humbly beseech you that, by your favourable intercession, I may return towards the beginning of next March, and in the meantime be furnished with his Majesty's letters of revocation, and with his farther commands about the propositions now made.

And in all this, or anything else that may help my poor fortune, I do heartily beg your love, as I do unenviously wish your prosperity, having been long acquainted with your worthiness.

Your Honour's, with true devotion,

HENRY WOTTON

307 TO ISAAC BARGRAVE

Eton MS, dictated, signature and postscript holograph, *Rox Club*, p. 61, addressed 'To Mr Isaac Bargrave, my late chaplain and ever loving friend'. Undated, but plainly the 'business' referred to in above dispatch of July 5. The proposed Protestant Seminaries.

< Venice, July 5, 1618 >

INFORMATION TOUCHING THE PROJECT OF ORTHODOXAL SEMINARIES TO BE ERECTED IN FIT PLACES

This project, his Majesty will remember to have been at the time of my first ambassage conceived here by some well affected persons, and afterwards among other things, represented unto him by an

express messenger, namely Sig Francesco Biondi¹, esteeming it glorious for the King, in the present and future ages, to be the author of this work, and promover thereof with other religious Princes and States

The final scope was to institute many well-chosen spirits for the instruction and conversion of others, to which end they were afterwards to be diversely distributed, especially in the Italian provinces, thereby (through God's blessing) to give the Pope in time as much business at home, as Gregory XIII hath done to other Princes with his emissaries. And because it were ignominious that the instruments of darkness should be more diligent than those of truth, it was hoped that not only zeal, but even shame itself, would advance this good intent.² Towards which, no place was conceived fitter for a beginning, than to plant a seminary in some of the reformed Churches confining with Italy, particularly in the community of the Grisons.

This part was preferred before other in two respects: first, for the advantage of vicinity; next, for that they all for the most part speak Italian in which language it was necessary that they should be nourished, who were afterwards to practise that nation.

Among the first approvers and debaters of this project was the Cavalier Hercole de Salice, as then ambassador from the Grisons to this Republic, a gentleman of singular piety and experience.

From this Cavalier I was (as you know) advertised the last summer by two special messengers, of a purpose renewed by himself and some other good men, to propound at the next general assembly of the Rhaetian communities, the erecting of a college or seminary in Sunda, the principal seat of the Valtolina, bordering the Dukedom of Milan. And after the said assembly, he sent me another messenger, with information that the said decree had passed, though somewhat different from the first conception, for of six classes it was appointed that four should be of the Reformed Religion, and two of the Roman. 'To which' (said he) 'we were forced to yield for some satisfaction of the contrary side, who began to suspect the issue, contenting ourselves with the greater part, and that the President should always be of the Reformed Church.'

Hereupon I made an objection, that the commixture of opposite religions would both hinder the final scope (because the wise would

¹ *Ante*, i, pp 94, 447

² In another letter about these seminaries (Jan 18, 1619, N S) Wotton wrote that he could find, in his 'own poor discourse' only one objection to the plan. 'It will be, and may well be said, that the truth hath been always accompanied with a kind of natural simplicity and security, which will so disadvantage us, that we shall not find out such plenty of proper instruments, as the author of all untruth doth mould in his own colleges.' But the objection ought rather, he thought, 'to awake our spirits, than allay our hopes' (*Rox Club*, p 100)

serve for spies over the better) and likewise it would cool the charities of the Princes and States, who had no reason to contribute to such a medley

I sent therefore the party back with two cautions the one to provide by some means that the college might be entire Secondly, that we might be sure of the missions (which is the point that must excite Princes) lest it should resolve into private use

The party returned back, and the business so remained in silence, till the receipt of a letter annexed hereunto, bearing date the 11th of June,¹ which I received from the forenamed *Gualtero de Salice* in answer of my opposition, whereby will appear that the business is now in good state, and capable of further advancement

In the said letter, you find required my poor advice whether I think it expedient (as they incline) to depute their *Gymnasarcha*, accompanied with some ecclesiastical persons of quality, to inform the King my master of their intents In which journey they might likewise deal with the Count Palatine and other Princes Whereunto I have answered I have thought it my duty about that point, to consult by an express messenger with his Majesty's wisdom and goodness² For though it may be carried so, as if it were only to move a charitable collection for those reformed Churches (concealing the main scope), yet I apprehend some doubt that such an open deputation of persons may perchance raise more noise than at first was fit Besides I conceive that it will pass with less rumour, and greater honour for his Majesty, if it shall please him to let me handle this business (about which I have bestowed some study) in his royal name with the German Princes of the Union in my way as I return homewards, and to let me signify so much in the meanwhile to the Grisons, that so is his pleasure, for the prevention of their pains

¹ Now among the *Eton MS* (Printed, with translation, in *Rox Club*, pp 22-6)

² The King's answer was that, for the *Gymnasarcha* to come to England would 'raise more noise than were fit', and that Wotton himself should consult the German Princes about the plan on his way homeward, James promising in the meantime to prepare the Archbishop of Canterbury and 'some other good bishops for giving furtherance to such collections as shall be made for the setting forward of that good work' (*Eton MS*, *Rox Club*, pp 35, 36) Naunton wrote to Wotton on Aug 5 to say that the King fervently embraced this project of Protestant seminaries, and thereupon the ambassador sent his secretary Richard Seymer to visit his correspondents among the Grisons 'For it Salust (as we read) did transport himself into Africa for the better description of some places whereof he was to speak in the Jugurthine war, I thought it my duty, being fixed here myself, to take at least by one of mine (whose judgement I dare trust) a sight of that seat which may perchance hereafter breed a better story, especially my gracious master requiring so fervently all zeal and care from me in this business' (Nov 19, NS, 1618, *Eton MS*, *Rox Club*, p 75) Seymer reported that the conditions were favourable to the project, and on his return home in 1619 Wotton laid the proposal before the Protestant Princes of the Union (See below, p 179)

In which case I must be furnished from the King with a general, or with particular letters of credit, to the said Princes and States united

This business I have committed to your representation, both because by often conference with you here about it, you are already well seasoned therein, and for that the experience which I have taken of your zeal and judgement, doth make me confident, that you will carry it effectually And so wishing it may prove that mustard seed wherein the birds of heaven did afterwards build their nest, I ever rest,

Your affectionate poor friend,

HENRY WOTTON

SIR,

I pray you to represent this business as only an essay and groundwork laid, which must be seconded and prosecuted in other places And although at first it appear but slight, yet let us remember how ourselves have been troubled with those contemptible beginnings at Rhemes Who dreamed of a fourth monarchy when those two outcast babes did suck the wolf?¹

308 TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON

Eton MS, dictated, extract, *Rox Club*, p 42 The Spanish Conspiracy, first news of the mutiny in the Venetian fleet

26 July, 1618

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

If before Friday next (which is the day of our ordinary dispatches) this State shall publish no declaration touching the French conspiracy, which hath been these two months weekly expected, I will then deliver unto his Majesty mine own private discourse about it with all humble freedom Whereof I have hitherto suspended the full accompt (though I advertised the thing itself long since) for fear of wronging in so close a business, either the nation that is under obloquy, or the Government²

¹ A pun on Remus and Rhemes (Rheims), whither the Jesuit Seminary founded at Douai in 1568 was removed in 1578

² The Frenchmen in Venice kept demanding that their national character should be cleared in regard to the plot, and Wotton wrote that the whole process ought to be published for 'the satisfaction of the ill speaking world' (*Rox Club*, p 184) At last Wotton himself asked that an account of the plot should be sent to the King of England, James I had sent the news of his Powder Plot to Venice, showing thereby his confidence in the Republic, and his affection for it Why should not the Republic do the same to the King in similar circumstances? But the Doge replied that 'Venice was governed in a different manner from other States, some things could be revealed, but it was important to keep others secret, they carried on their trials according to the rules of the councils, and the proper laws of the Republic The crime is proved, the plot was against this and certain other cities of our dominion, the criminals have been identified, and have themselves confessed their guilt' (*Esp Prim*, Aug 20, 1618) On Aug 21 Wotton wrote to James I about the plot 'I am well assured that no public minister resident upon this lake doth

Let me now only acquaint his Majesty, with more certainty than in my last, that Sir Henry Peyton is, with seven English ships, arrived in the Gulf, and hath lost many men on the way by sickness, so as his troops are weak and I think it were a good piece of counsel to compose the remainder of the English which came out of Holland, and these new ones into one body, if both sides could agree upon the matter. At his first arrival if we be rightly intelligenced, he hath seen a severe example, for part of the foresaid Hollanders having found in the territory of the Raguseans, where they went on shore, a tenable head of land, and being full of discontentment, did fortify themselves against the General, till by fair persuasions he drew them into his power again, and so hanged half a dozen of the principal mutineers.

309 TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON

Eton MS, dictated, *Rox Club*, p. 41¹ Further news of the English mutiny
From Venice, this 26th of July, 1618

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

Under this date I write two letters unto you, whereof the present is the latter, and is written to correct the former. For whereas in the same I advertised that an execution had been done upon certain mutinous persons of the Holland troops, that had fortified themselves against the General on the shore of Dalmatia (which I took from the first voice) there is now (though I am sorry to express it) fresher advice come from the *amata* that those mutineers were English, and of the late arrived under Sir Henry Peyton's conduct, to the number of some 150, who demanded the same pay that the foresaid Hollanders had, and made that the subject of their division. To which the General made answer, that he would stand to the contract concluded between the ambassador of this State and their conductor in England, and therefore wished them to be quiet, which they refusing, he landed 200 Albanesi to reduce them by force, against whom the English turned their pikes and

know more of it than myself, and yet mine own light is so confused that I have hitherto forborne to give your Majesty more than a general notice thereof' (*Rox Club*, p. 58). His account was finally sent off in October to Sir Robert Naunton (*ibid* p. 84), and although he sent a duplicate to Sir Thomas Lake (owing to the jealousy of these two secretaries he had to send copies of his dispatches to each) both these reports seem to be lost.

¹ The transcripts of Wotton's dispatches and papers at Eton, printed by the Roxburghe Club, are not always (it is perhaps worth noting) printed in their correct chronological order. This letter is printed before the above letter, though written later on the same day, the project for the Protestant seminaries, belonging to the letters of July 5, is placed among the September dispatches (p. 61), and a dispatch undated, but belonging to July, 1618, is printed after a letter of June 7, 1619 (p. 182). So also letter on p. 55 belongs before letter on p. 49, and the dispatch on p. 113 belongs to the year 1618, not 1619, where it is placed.

then shot, which the General perceiving, he laid the prows of two of his galleys against them, and so they yielded. Barbarigo upon this forming their process, did hang eight of them, who are said to be captains, lieutenants, and corporals, and that three of these did die in the Roman faith. Then names I yet know not, which shall be advertised in my next. God send the success fairer than the beginning.¹

To this I must add that by the letters of Milan arrived at this moment, is intimated a secret conjunction between Fraunce and Savoy against the Genovese, which, if it proceed, will inflame this whole country. These be resolutions proper for the canicular days, which are newly begun with us. And so, Sir, wishing us the continuance of blessed peace at home, I humbly rest,

At your commandments,

HENRY WOTTON

310 TO ANTONIO PRIULI, DOGE OF VENICE

Exp. Prim. filza, July 30, holograph. No date, but presented on July 30, and probably written a day or two before. Wotton writes to the Doge to complain of the severe punishment of the English mutineers.

Di Padova (July 29 (?), 1618)

SERENISSIMO PRENCIPE,

Se qualch' indisposizione ch' al presente patisco non m' havebbe levato le forze, Io sarei venuto in persona alla Serenità Vostria sopra

¹ A full account of this mutiny, written by Mr Southake, the English chaplain who came from England with Sir Henry Peyton, is among the Eton MS, and is printed in the volume of the Roxburghe Club (pp 78-81). On July 9 (N.S.) the seven English ships arrived at Cortesela on the Dalmatian coast, where they found the Venetian general, Piero Barbarigo. On July 14 the company of 150 men, commanded by Capt Billingsley, went on shore, where they met some of the Englishmen of Sir John Vere's company, then in the service of Venice with the Holland troops (*ante*, II, p 112n). Hearing these men boast that their pay was higher than that of the new arrivals, Capt Billingsley's men mutinied, and refused to return to their ship unless their pay was made equal to that of the others. First Capt Billingsley, and then Sir Henry Peyton, tried to quell the mutiny, but without success. Finally, however, their own officers, Lieut Harwell and Ancient Herbert, induced them to lay down their arms. Barbarigo did not, however, allow the men to return to their ship, but distributed them in batches of ten among his own galleys, and arrested the officers, putting them in chains in his own vessel. The next morning the officers were examined, with a Dutch pirate, who could speak only about twenty words of English, for interpreter, and were condemned to be hanged the morning following. By some good fortune Ancient Herbert was saved and banished from the fleet, but the others, Lieut Harwell, Sergeant French, 'Captain' Stroude, Corporals Fuller and Watchorne, Percival Lumley, Marmaduke Morgan, and John Clotworthy, were all tied to a crossbar, and hanged together, 'during which execution,' says Southake, 'the general very inhumanly lay upon his pavilion, laughing at that cruel spectacle.' When some of them begged to see the chaplain 'for comfort and resolution before death', Barbarigo not only denied their request, but 'with scornful gesture putting out his tongue' asked if they would like to have 'their preacher hanged with them for complicity?'

la notizia di quel sinistro accidente occorso alli nostri nel' Armata sua Et saiei venuto per due fini Primo, per esprimere quel gran dispiacere che ho sentito ch' un Rappresentante della Serenità Vostra fosse in qualsivoglia modo offeso da alcun Inglese, nazione al resto tanto dovuta al servizio di lei Poi, per limentarmi inchoia (perio con ogni debito rispetto) dell' attrocità estrema usata dall' Eccellentissimo Signor Pietro Barbarigo contra li sudditi d' un Re così bene merito della Serenissima Republica nelle presenti e nelle passate occasioni, dove che un caso simile di fiesca memoria, commesso eziandio alla vista della città capitale, et continuato piu tempo, et da piu persone, sia piu passato con magiori clemenza¹ Non voglio due che ci sia stata qualche passione particolare contra la Nazione nostra, se ben trattata certo infin de lei prima giunta nel Golfo inhumanissimamente in tutte le circostanze Ma ben mi fo credere che, se al detto signor Generale Bubeigo fosse compiaciuto di non stimare così vile il sangue Inglese, ma di convertire il supremo supplicio almeno in quello delle Galee, haverebbe forse fatto cosa et di piu servizio alla Serenissima Republica e di manco gusto e giubelo agli avversarii d' essa Io mi reservo di parlare piu alla Serenità Vostra quando Dio vorrà Quel ch' e fatto e delle cose inecvocabili registrate nel libro di Fato

Resta piu hora che io supplichi la Serenità Vostra di tanto piu favorire quelli che ne rimangono, e di scancellare l' immoderato rigore d' un suo Ministro con la benignità propria, ascoltando graziosamente le domande che le saranno rappresentate dal mio Segretario Gregorio de' Monti, a nome del Signor Colonello Peyton² et delli altri

Della Serenità Vostra

devotissimo servidore

ARRIGO WOTTONI

¹ A mutiny in the Dutch fleet in March of this year, instigated by a dependent of Bedmar (*Romanin*, vii, p. 128)

² Sir Henry Peyton's requests were that the English soldiers might be allowed to buy food from the land with their own money, that the sick should be sent on shore, and that the 'nobles' (i.e. men of gentlemen's families), of whom there were sixty, might be shown special favour, as they were worth twenty times more than the base-born. In reply to Wotton's letter the Doge said 'My Lord ambassador knows what it is to govern armies and fleets, and how great is the care and responsibility of the commanders to prevent the seditions and scandals which may disorganize them. We know our captain general is of such great prudence and goodness, and that he would not have acted without great consideration, and for a just cause, not from any private passion against the English nation' (*Essex*, July 30, 1618). Wotton afterwards wrote that Sir Henry Peyton was being well treated by Barbarigo and that the Venetians had given him a salary of 200 ducats a month (about £50) with which he was completely satisfied (*Rox. Club*, p. 76)

311 TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON

Eton MS, dictated, *Rox Club*, p 55 Undated, but written after Saturday, Aug 12, and before Thursday the 17th, on which day Wotton wrote 'M Southack, the Preacher departed hence this week homewards' (*Ibid*, p 49) The execution of the English mutineers

(Venice, Aug —, 1618)

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

As I was ready by the last courier to have given his Majesty, with mine own pen, a particular accompt of the unhappy ends of eight of his subjects, which was executed in the Venetian Armata, this bearer, Mr Southake, who came with Sir Henry Peyton as preacher to those troops by my Lord of Canterbury's good approbation, and was present at this black disaster, did acquaint me with his intent of speedy return home I have therefore committed unto him this whole report, being the person from whom myself here took best information thereof It is surely in all circumstances a most inhuman piece of justice, and worthy, in my poor opinion, to be there expostulated with the Venetian ambassador at the council table, if the King be absent, especially the point of the General's looking on, and feeding his eyes with the blood of our men, which would scant have become any of Caligula's generals But having spent his youth most infamously in the highest degree, and being by nature weak and base, he seeketh to redeem himself from contempt by these austerities, standing not by any virtue of his own, but by his father's merit, who died in the battle of Lepanto, being then a commander of note This is the character of his manners and of his fortune, to which I must add, that there is not a more superstitious man in the whole State So as we may not unreasonably suspect him in this action, under the countenance of justice, to have spent some of his spite against our Religion ¹

¹ The Venetian General showed his opinion of Protestantism when he came to inspect the English ships 'Who is that?' he asked, seeing Southake, and when a common soldier replied that he was the preacher for the whole English regiment, 'what a pope have we to do with preachers?' he said, furiously, and ordered him to be thrown overboard, adding, however, to the scribe who was writing the names of the soldiers 'It makes no matter, write his name, he shall serve St Mark' 'To whom I replied,' Southake says, 'that I was an English preacher, and subject to a religious King, defender of the ancient Catholic and Apostolic Faith, and that for my part, I would never serve St Mark, Peter, nor Paul, but only my God and my King, the King of England, neither would I take one penny allowance of that State' (*Rox Club*, p 78) In spite of the spirit he showed on this occasion, Southake left the fleet and returned to England, for which, Wotton wrote, he was much blamed, as his presence was never more needed (*Rox Club*, p 44) On his arrival in England with his own and Wotton's account of the execution, the Venetian ambassador there invited him to dinner, and tried to bribe him to silence Others apparently were bribed, and Southake found it most difficult to bring his story to the notice of the English government (*Ibid*, p 81)

I shall here urge the immane¹ proceeding upon the subjects of so well deserving a King, in that sort as becometh my duty and my natural compassion. But unless it be sensibly prosecuted at home, my words will be written in the air. And so, leaving it first to your examination, and then to your better delivery thereof to his Majesty and to the Lord, I humbly rest,

At your Honour's commandment,

HENRY WOTTON

312 TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON

Eton MS, dictated, extract, *Rox Club*, p. 55. Affairs in Italy, the imprisonment of Cardinal Klesel, &c

Venice, this 21th of August, 1618
Style of England

The new Governor of Milan² continues still in full humour, and I think the wais of Genova will prove but a fit of jealousy. Of Ossuna we still stand in doubt. I have much to add unto that which I wrote before, about the Cardinal Klesel³, which hath bred, to our no small recreation here, a kind of schism between the Italian and Spanish cardinals, and between the Pope's own creatures and the elder *Purpurati*. But my present disability of spirit and remainder of weakness will not permit me to entertain his Majesty with these things till the next week. Howsoever, I cannot end without rendering you very hearty and humble thanks for those traces of favour and love, which appear in your lines unto me, and whereof before my secretary, Richard Seymour, brought me a very sensible assurance. I protest, sir, before God, you do me right, I mean not in esteeming me, but in loving me, for there was none that did more sincerely rejoice in your promotion, having been tied unto you, not only by long acquaintance, but by a kind of consociation in our contemplative course, wherein I must confess is the highest pleasure, that I conceive in this world. And so, wishing

¹ 'Immane,' arch for monstrous, savage (*N E D*)

² The Duke of Feria, who succeeded Don Pietro di Toledo. His mother was an Englishwoman, the famous Duchess of Feria (Jane Dormer, 1538-1612), daughter of Sir William Dormer (*D N B*). Wotton told the Duke that he could promise for the good inclinations of the Duke of Feria, 'at least for half of him, for he is half English' (*Esp. Prin.*, Aug 20, 1618)

³ Cardinal Klesel (*ante*, ii, p. 94), minister and favourite of the Emperor Matthias, who was in favour of dealing mildly with the rebellious Protestants of Bohemia. The Archduke Ferdinand had him seized and imprisoned in the Tyrol, and forced Matthias to go to war with the Bohemians. On Aug 17 the news had reached Venice, and Wotton wrote that the 'whole city was full of marvel and discourse about it' (*Rox Club*, p. 50)

you long and constant health, because at the present I can wish it very feelingly, I rest,

At your Honour's commandment,

HENRY WOTTON

313 TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON

S P Ven, dictated An expedition to Vicenza, news in Venice, the Bohemian revolution, the English mutiny, &c

From Padua $\frac{1}{11}$ of October, 1618

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

I have lately received from your Lordship a large and friendly report of those affairs. Your said letter I found in Padova at my return from Vicenza,¹ whither, it shall be some entertainment to tell you what occasion drew me. The Conte Paolo Poita (a family as you know dependent on the crown of France) being this year prince there of the Olympian Academy, and withal concurring his marriage with a fair damsel of the house of Tieni, took a fancy to solemnize this concurrence with some representation on that famous theatre, built by Palladio, *all' antica*, which I suppose your Lordship hath seen. To this he invited the French ambassador, who accepted the invitation, and before his going would needs capitulate with the Signory for precedence before the rectors of that place, which if he had gone without demanding, it had been yielded him *per cortesia*, as hath been before to like representants, and as I hear even to himself, passing that way at other times. But now *de rigore*, it was denied him, the State alleging (though with what reason I do not yet see) that the rectors of their towns are not *rappresentanti* (for then the representant of the better must have had the better place) but *il Principe stesso*. Howsoever it was signified that he might go, and order should be taken for the avoidance of any affront to his

¹ On Sept. 20, Will Leete wrote to Isaac Bargrave "To-morrow his Lordship is going to Noventa with the Duke of Holsteyne (who remains in the house continually) and also my Lord Gray, and my cousin Gouldesburroughs. There we are likely to spend ten or twelve days in bowling and baloon (at which we profess ourselves masters), and so from thence to Vicenza to see the theatre illuminated upon the occasion of a play (whether comedy or tragedy I know not) in honour of a certain marriage, where I heartily wish you, from thence we return to Padoua, and it is not the least of our business to make choice of excellent wines for our provisions, and so to send them to Venice (*Rox Club*, p. 65). The Duke Joachim Ernest of Holstein (1595-1671) was son of John Duke of Sonderburg, and grandson of Christian III of Denmark, and cousin therefore of the Queen of England. He came to Venice wishing to serve in the Venetian army, but his offer was not accepted. He lived for nearly a year in Wotton's house, and travelled with him to Germany. On Jan. 21, 1619, Wotton presented him to the Doge. The Lord Gray mentioned above must have been Andrew Gray, seventh Lord Gray, who succeeded to the title in 1612 became a popish recusant, and died in 1663 (*D N B*).

person, about which sending to be more clearly informed, he had answer, that he should sit among the ladies on the right hand of the rectors, in the principal view before the stage. Upon this he went, and being there neither received nor visited by the rectors, and besides understanding that though he should sit somewhat on the right hand of them, yet it was in *per primo*, a great way under them, he took all this together so distastefully, that he was resolved to be gone without hearing his own praises from the mouth of Hercules (the patron of the academy) in the prologue, had not the *sposa*, accompanied with divers other choice pieces, made it their suit to stay him. Who could deny such creatures (whom even kings obey) the remission of a ceremony or two? So he stayed, and in truth, it was a sight of much contentment. The subject was the tragedy of Toresmondo, composed by Torquato Tasso,¹ full of royal personages of both sexes, and all represented with several attendants, in so majestical form, as made us think, that there is a wisdom even in the well ordering of follies.

We have been troubled of late at Venice with other ceremonious contentions, about the first visitation between the regal representatives and the extraordinary ambassadors of Tuscany and Mantova, who demanding also that point of right, which perhaps they had had otherwise of courtesy, did return to their masters without being visited, or visiting any save the Nuncio, with whom they did not stick who should begin. A thing ill taken, not only by myself (who consider the Pope very abstractly), but even by the French ambassador, who well urged that in point of honour there was no more due to him than to his own master, though in point of reverence, when that should be the question, he knew his duty.

I have thus entertained your Lordship with these strifes about ceremonies, as if our substances were at an end. The truth is the motions in Bohemia give us leave to be wanton, about which although *modus non placet*, I mean the throwing of councillois out of windows, and other circumstances of popular sollevation, yet considering upon what just causes, and pernicious discoveries it began, I am sorry the remedies were so violent, that were so necessary.³

We have here peace in Friuli, and the *armata* is in all points so royally furnished, that we need fear nothing in that Gulf, unless the General be as cowardly as he is cruel, things commonly consociated. I speak this with just sensibility upon the inhuman execution of

¹ *Torresmondo*, printed at Bergamo 1587.

² Albizzi, *ante*, 1, p. 52 n.

³ The famous 'Defenestration' at Prague on May 23, 1618, when Matthias and Slavata and Fabricius were thrown out of the window, and the Thirty Years' War began.

eight of Sir Henry Peyton's men, without distinction of gentry or baseness, even in his own galley, himself looking on. Wherein, to make the best use of black chances, was wonderfully remarkable how the divine justice, in a casual picking out of the foresaid number, from a 150 tumultuary men, did direct the man employed about this choice to such, whereof the greatest number should have been hanged at home, and the rest were by all information the principal instruments of that disorder. This I do not allege to excuse the General, who as I have said did little consider the qualities of the men. Since this fact and my round complaint in it, which I hope will be seconded at home, he hath been very kind to the remainder, of whom perchance there may be some use, for we hear that the Duke of Ossuna resolves to return into the port of Bindisi. If he do so *rebus sic stantibus*, he shall by my consent be called no more *il matto*, but *il bravo Vicere*. For, believe me, my Lord, it is the powerfullest armada that hath ever yet been seen within the Straits of Gibraltar. The Pope secretly comforteth the Viceroy in that business, and here we vex him with the execution of friars, and processing of fugitive bishops,¹ whereof I shall give your Lordship better knowledge in my next. And for the present, with many thanks for your kind letters, I wish you all happiness. Remaining,

Your Lordship's with faithful affection to serve you,

HENRY WOTTON

314 TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON

Eton MS, holograph, *Rox Club*, p. 72 Wotton's return home

9th of October, 1618

Style of England

SIR,

I take presumption, upon the assured promise of your love, to write unto you herein a few private lines about myself, whereof the scope is this, to beseech you that, as you have obtained leave for my return home the next spring, to the comfortable sight of my gracious master, so you will be pleased likewise to deal with his Majesty in my behalf, that none may be appointed to succeed me here till my arrival, because, when I have settled some of my peculiar

¹ *Fra Honorio*, executed for clipping money, and the Bishop of Lesina, who quarrelled with the Venetian authorities and fled to Zara. The Republic ordered the Governor of Zara to arrest him and send him to Venice. 'What will follow upon these proceedings, Wotton wrote on Oct. 29, "I cannot affirm, but I incline to believe that the Pope will revenge himself rather by secret animating the Viceroy of Naples in the maritime action, than by his own spiritual sword, of which the edge is extremely dulled' (*Rox Club*, p. 76)

occasions, I shall rather wish to come hither back again, than to be onerous to his Majesty at home, for without his bounty I cannot live. In the meanwhile, my Italian secretary, Gregorio de' Monti (who supplied the place all the while that Sir Dudley Catelet was at Turino, and afterwards till my coming), will discharge it with fidelity and discretion, being a person of much sufficiency, and of twelve years' appovement in the King's service. This is my most humble and hearty request unto you, about which I have by letter prayed Mr Baigrave to intercede with you for me. But having not heard from him, I thought fit provisionally to move it by mine own pen, having with no man else living communicated these thoughts, about which I shall languish to receive a line or two from you. And so, again,

SIR, I am yours,
HENRY WOTTON

315 TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON

Eton MS, dictated, extract, *Rox Club*, p 91. Wotton's reflections on the comet of 1618

From Venice, this 27 of November
Style of England, 1618

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

I must crave pardon to be short this week, having taken a very troublesome cold with the observation of a new comet¹, appearing in this horizon somewhat after midnight, amongst the famous constellations nearest Aicturus, but with some little variety of motion. It is far greater than the last in 1607, but almost both in the very same place. When it first began, by reason of the untimely hour of the apparition, is uncertain, but it was first noted by one of mine, the 27th of November², coming that night from Padova, at which time the blaze was so great, and of such extension, as could not be obscured by the moon, nor a good while after the light of the day. This, concurring in a time of such motion in Bohemia, distraction of opinion in the Low Provinces, divisions in the Court of France, and no firm estate yet of Italie, will perchance breed here the more discourse, though a country in general not much inclined to presagement, but rather every man busy about himself³. Only

¹ The famous comet of 1618, which some thought to presage the death of the Queen of England, some to be a warning against the Spanish match, while others believed it to be connected with the fall of Barneveldt. ² 1 e NS

³ Paolo Sarpi says in one of his letters that there was not much superstition in Venice, because there no one attained greatness but by the ordinary and customary steps, and could have no ground for entertaining hopes above or beyond his condition. But in Rome, where sudden transitions from the lowest to the highest rank were common, divination was held in great credit. (*Letters*, 1, p 270)

the Pope is likely to be much troubled at it, having in the whole time, both of his regiment, and private life, been tormented by astrologers, and such kind of people, no less than the poets feign of some that were agitated by Furies. I will now, Sir, trouble you no further at the present, being here otherwise little alteration of State, and intending within short time to send home one of mine own with all that shall concern our main business¹ which you know, or mine own employment homewards, being in the meantime, upon receipt of those precious though short lines which came yesterday from you to my hands, bound to render his Majesty most humble thanks for reserving this charge unsupplied till my return, and leaving it so graciously to mine own thoughts, which doth extremely comfort me, because I hope the world will construe it as a silent approbation—though I cannot say of any merit—yet at least of my zeal. And so, Sir, for your own friendly mediation therein, and affectionate care otherwise of me, I rest ever bound unto you, and remain,

At your command,

HENRY WOTTON

316 To LORD ZOUCHE

S P Ven, holograph, no address, but plainly to Lord Zouche. Wotton's life since his student days, news of Italy, Sir Henry Mainwaring

Venice, this 3rd of February, 1619
Style of the place²

RIGHT HONOURABLE AND MY VERY GOOD LORD,

I am very glad of this opportunity, that by the hand of a gentleman³ who doth so entirely honour you, both in his continual speech and in his soul, I may revive also with your Lordship mine own long devotion, even since the time that I did first contemplate your noble virtues, when I was a poor student at Altorph, which were my happiest days. For what have (I) since observed in my employments but a few maxims of State too high for my capacity, and too subtle for my nature, which was cast in a plainer mould? Is then at least my fortune mended? Alas, my dear Lord, let me not think of that. For when I consider how all those of my rank have been dignified and benefited at home, while I have been

¹ The 'Orthodoxal' seminaries

² Really style of Rome, as on February 3, 1619, according to the Venetian calendar (i.e. 1620) Wotton was in England

³ Sir Henry Mainwaring, see Appendix III. He had come to Venice to offer his services to the Republic

gathering of cockles upon this lake, I am in good faith impatient, more of the shame, than of the sense of want. Yet this is my comfort, that my gracious Master (as it hath pleased him to let me know) doth love me. And for the rest, philosophy shall be my reward, which, though it cannot keep me from need, yet it will teach me not to envy those that abound.

It was not my meaning when I took this leaf to make myself the subject of my letter unto your Lordship, though the remembrance of your ancient favours hath, I know not how, made my pen so familiar.

For the public affairs, we stand here yet very ambiguously. The land was long since quiet, but the sea, as the more movable element, is still in agitation, and we are artificially kept at excessive charge by a mad Viceroy and a winking Pope, while the King of Spayne, in the meanwhile, standeth at the benefit of time and fortune, ready to authorize or disavow the event according to the success, which I take to be the sum of our case. But these things will be more particularly delivered to your Lordship by this 'redeemed Neptune', as I have baptized him, for they here think him more than a man that knows so much more than themselves. And in truth, if any place had been vacant worthy of his sufficiency, there wanted no desire to hold him, as they have expressed by offers to himself, and declared in their letters by him to their ambassador, and most of all in the confident communication of their affairs and desires with him, which likewise include some hope of their having him again, as your Lordship will perceive by the subject of my dispatch to the King, which he carrieth.

I must add hereunto for mine own part that I have been glad of this occasion which hath given me a better taste of him, and of his fair and clear dispositions, than I could take at a transitory view when I passed my last duty with your Lordship in Canterbury, and I am likewise almost not sorry that I have yet not seen a letter which he tells me your Lordship wrote by him unto me. For it would have made me the more ashamed to have done him so little service here, that had brought me such a favour, though I am otherwise not poor of your Lordship's gracious lines, whereof I preserve to this hour a great roll, and especially one, which I long for some hour to show your Lordship, because I know in your nobleness you cannot deny it, though in my meanness I could never deserve it. And here I will end your Lordship's trouble with my prayers to our loving God for your happiness. Ever remaining,

Your Lordship's with an honest heart to serve you,

HENRY WOTTON

317 To JAMES I

S P Ven, dictated, printed, Gardiner, *Letters*, pp 48-51 The Republic's thanks for James I's offer to send ships to the coast of Spain
Proposals for a nearer connexion between Venice and the German Princes, Wotton chosen as ambassador to the Emperor

From Venice, this 5th of March 1618(9)
Style of England

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

I have good occasion to address the present unto your Majesty's own royal hands It may therefore please your Majesty to understand that I was yesterday called here to the palace, where, by order of the Senate, was read unto me (as their fashion is, when they will speak determinately) such a serious fervent acknowledgement of their obligations to your Majesty, as I have never before heard any thing couched in so sensible and so abundant terms, grounded upon advice from their own ambassador, that your Majesty had at his instance (as I conceive them to take it) resolved to send out some sufficient number of your own ships, as likewise other vessels belonging to the merchants of your kingdom, towards the coast of Spaine to invigilate for the common safety over the preparations and designs of that King, who will thereby, as they well imagine, be so injealous, as may, peradventure, keep him from molesting these nearer seas, which consequently will redound (say they) not only to the quiet of Italie, but likewise to much advantage of the German affairs, as meaning that without some such distraction of the Spanish power, an attempt perchance might be made to transport soldiers by the Gulf to Treiste in succour of the house of Austria against the Bohemians, whom the United Princes do favour And therefore for the foresaid resolution in your Majesty, implying directly or obliquely the good of so many of your friends, they held themselves eternally obliged, desiring me likewise in terms of more than ordinary vehemency to concur with their ambassador in representing to your Majesty how tenderly and how sensibly they take this great argument of your love and of your care toward their estate, and what a deep impression it hath made in the hearts of them all This was the substance, but I must humbly confess unto your Majesty mine own weakness in the delivery thereof

Now having newly received an express command from your Majesty to intercede with this State in your name, about the breeding of a nearer correspondency between them and the German Princes¹ by reciprocal instruments on each side, and observing by

In Nov 1618, Wotton, by permission of the Venetian government, was allowed to visit Antonio Foscarini, who had been ambassador in England from

what they said yesterday unto me what a feeling they had taken of your Majesty's late kindness, it moved me this very morning to return upon mine own demand again to the palace, where, after I had discharged your Majesty's counsel and desire, I concluded, that nothing in mine opinion could ever happen more seasonably, for having but the day before professed unto me how royal and how true a friend they found in your Majesty in this time of their doubts, there was now a fair opportunity offered unto them to show likewise on their parts how much they respected your Majesty's propositions, and the friendship of your confederates

The Duke in his answer, after he had again very solemnly protested their obligations to your Majesty, and their general inclination to that which I had propounded in your name, fell to ask me what warrant I had of the like desire in those Princes. I replied with beseeching him to consider that this motion came not only from your Majesty as you were King of Great Brittain, or particular friend to this State (which were individual considerations), but rather as you stood in a community of affection toward them with others, and as you were head of the said German Union, so as your Majesty in that qualification could not be supposed to have made a proposition of this kind, without a well informed foreknowledge how the whole body did incline, which you had good opportunity to understand by a late ambassador sent unto your Court, namely, the Baron of Danaberg¹ from the Elector Palatine, your son in law, director of the foresaid Union. Hereupon the Duke told me that it should be put into speedy consultation, and such care he had of it, as is due to all your Majesty's wise and Christian motions. Now touching this matter, to speak with humble freedom mine own poor conceit, I find by the Count Palatine's letters unto me a good disposition there, and the like here, by sundry answers from the

1611 to 1615, and now, after a period of disgrace, was enjoying a brief period of public favour, which ended with his imprisonment and death in 1622. Wotton visited Foscarini in his own house, who told him that Venice was very favourably inclined to enter into nearer relations with the Protestant Princes. Wotton sent this news to the Count Palatine by his friend and former guest, the Duke of Holstein, who was then travelling to Germany (*Roc Club*, pp 100-2). The Duke of Holstein soon returned to Venice with a letter from Frederick to Wotton, dated Nov 24, 1618, in which he expressed his strong desire to forward this plan, but begged the negotiations might be kept secret (*Ibid.*, p 90). In Wotton's audience of Jan 25, 1619, NS, a resolution of the Senate was read to him, expressing 'all reciprocal propension' on the part of the Venetian government to enter into more friendly relations with the German Protestants. Wotton, as he states, brought up the subject in a special audience of March 15, and again on April 20 and April 23. The object was not, he said, a formal union or league, but the reciprocal sending of ministers to treat of their mutual affairs (*Exp Prin*).

¹ Baron Christopher von Dohna, who arrived in England in January, 1619, on a special mission from the Elector Palatine (*Gardiner*, III, p 285).

Senate, but I doubt it will stick upon who shall begin, both parties would be wooed for reputation's sake, and the German Princes, as being many, seem to expect the first offer from a single Commonwealth. On the other side they would perchance be glad of such a civil excuse (if the Pope or the King of Spain should be angry or jealous at this foreign amity) to be able to say that they were not the seekers. Between which ceremonious respects the substantial are drowned, both public and spiritual, I mean, as I know your Majesty doth as well, the advancement of conscience as of state. Only now my hope is that your Majesty's intercession will impart a priority, and so cease¹ that scruple, which I will here attend and pursue in the best manner I can.

I must end with mine own most humble and hearty thanks unto your Majesty about myself, that it hath pleased you (for so Mr Secretary Naunton hath given me knowledge) to design me to treat in your royal name between the Emperor and the Bohemians,² wherein besides my zeal to your Majesty and to your own glory, I have likewise a zeal to the cause, which I hope will be some veil to mine other infirmities. I do therefore with all submission expect the honour of your Majesty's commandments and instructions, both in this, and the rest of your good pleasure, according to the long devoted faith and duty of

Your Majesty's humble poor vassal,

HENRY WOTTON

318 TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON

Tanner MS 74, f 198, holograph, extract Wotton hears of
Doncaster's appointment

The 11th of March 1618(9)

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

I am in Padua, hither retired for a few days to take some change of air, having been troubled with a little shortness of respiration.

Here I have this day received your letter bearing date the 16th of February, which revoked his Majesty's first pleasure about mine employment in the Bohemian cause. And it came in one respect very seasonably, as I was ready, upon your first provisional directions, to send an express person about those matters to Piage, which I had a while suspended upon a voice that ran very strongly with

¹ 'Cease,' i.e. to put a stop to. Obs. in this use (N.E.D.)

² In September, 1618, the Spanish government asked James I to mediate in the Bohemian revolution. James agreed to do so, and early in 1619 decided to send Wotton, but this appointment was almost immediately cancelled in favour of Doncaster (*Gardiner*, III, pp 279, 289)

us of the Emperour's death or of his approachment unto it, which in some sort doth yet continue¹ Only in the meantime I have made some preparations for my journey of more charge than ordinary, but therein my Master's goodness will heal me when I come home I hope, amongst some of them that his royal hand shall touch

For the rest, never was there a better charge, for the public service will be discharged with more judgement and dignity by so unexceptionable a personage (as in truth you justly call my Lord of Doncaster) and on the other side I am fitter for business of more simplicity

319 TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON

Eton MS, holograph, *Rox Club*, p 112 Without address, but almost certainly to Naunton Sir Thomas Lake was forced to resign his office as Secretary in February, 1619 Naunton appears to have tried to get Wotton appointed as Lake's successor, and to have written explaining why he had failed Wotton sends him thanks The post was given to Sir George Calvert

From Padova, the 21 of March, 1619

SIR,

That you meant me, at such a distance from your sight in place, and from your memory in merit, so great an honour, was a nobler piece of love than I shall ever be able to acknowledge with due thankfulness And yet it is more, both in itself and in mine own feeling of it, that you are pleased in your last unto me to express some solicitousness about the satisfying of me why I missed it For both which I humbly beseech you to receive the private profession of myself to be,

Ever yours,

HENRY WOTTON

320 TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON

Eton MS, holograph, *Rox Club*, p 115 The death of Queen Anne of Denmark

(April 12, 1619)

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

Being returned hither from Padova, where I took some physic for a kind of sciatical defluxion, I find here your letter of the 4th of March, touching the Queen's death,² which, according to your

¹ The Emperour Matthias died March 20, 1619, NS, the day before the above was written

² March 2, 1619 In August a warrant was issued to pay Wotton £150 for the 'provision of black for the funeral of the late Queen Anne, by order from Secretary Calvert' (*Docquet Book*, vi)

directions, shall be signified to the State within three or four days, when I have in the meantime put myself and my family into mourning weeds, and altered likewise the furniture of my house for public congruity, because I expect that the Senate will depute some principal personages (as is their form in such cases) to condole with me

And this is all that I shall need to say at the present, being to write largely by a gentleman who will prevent the courier of this 12th of April, 1619¹

Your Honour's—*quid plura?*

HENRY WOTTON

Sir, if by chance a voice of the Pope's death should be flown unto you—which even here had gotten suddenly some credit—let me assure you by my private intelligence that at the date hereof it was false, though the reason of that hasty dispersion will be worthy of his Majesty's hearing—which I shall deliver in the rest that is intended

321 To Sir George Calvert²

S P Ven, holograph Wotton's congratulation with Calvert, on his appointment to the secretaryship in succession to Sir Thomas Lake

Venice, the 25 of April, 1619

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

My congratulation with you (which I have deferred till the dispatch of this gentleman) will I hope appear like some rivers which run slowly, though their channels be full For I can very truly say that the news of your advancement did fill my heart with gladness, not in good faith out of any reflection upon myself (though I am the stronger by the strength of my friend), but from that simple and just delight which every honest mind should take in the lustre and fortunes of virtuous men, whereunto our long acquaintance hath added likewise a peculiar and private contentment, for the other was rather public Let therefore Sir, these poor lines discharge this duty, and receive them not only from my hand, but from the best affections of my heart, that do move it I am preparing as you know homewards, and I shall

¹ In the margin is written 'I hear of no such gentleman yet'

² The new secretary 'An industrious, modest man, who might be trusted, like Naunton, to do his work silently and well, and who, in former times, had been one of Salisbury's secretaries (*Gardiner*, iii, p 194) He became a Roman Catholic, and in 1625 resigned his office Shortly afterwards he was created Lord Baltimore His successor as secretary was Wotton's nephew Sir Albertus Morton (*Ibid*, v, pp 309, 310)

come the more willingly, that you may see the truth of these professions even in mine eyes Till when, our dear Saviour bless you

Your long devoted poor friend to serve you,

HENRY WOTTON

Sir, this gentleman, Mr John Downich¹, nephew to my Lord Carle, hath desired me to recommend him unto your favour, which I am bold to do, being well acquainted with his worthy abilities and honest nature

322 TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON

Eton MS, holograph, extract, *Rox Club*, p 117 The Pope and the imperial election A report from Rome about the conversion of a Cambridge professor

From Venice, this 26 of April, 1619

Before I pass to a new section, I will a little resume the consideration of Germany, whose troubles we here contemplate at our ease for the present

The main question is whether a new Emperor will be made by the sword, or by election, in which business, because the Pope is considerable, it shall be my duty to tell his Majesty how he standeth affected, for I reckon Rome part of my charge In the postscript of my last, I told you of a voice which had here suddenly gotten some credit that the Pope was dead, which grew thus Upon Friday was fortnight, as he was newly set down at dinner, came to him the news of the Emperor's death, whereupon he rose from the table, retired himself to his close chamber, spent that afternoon in deep silence, and often laid his hand cross his forehead over his eyes. which seems to have bled that false dispersion, as if he had been touched with some apoplectical fit Now, if it be asked whence might spring so profound a feeling in him upon the news, I am provided by my intelligencers to satisfy that point, that it came from a distraction in his affections, on the one side being ill-concerted of Ferdinando, and all the cardinals wiser than himself, for the business of Klesel², and yet on the other side extremely doubting that the Empire may pass from the House of Austria For he useth often to say, that the See of Rome was never better than since the Empire was lodged in that blood, and can hardly endure to hear of Bavaria for Ludovicus the last Bavarian Emperor's sake³

¹ John Downish, see Appendix III

² To succeed Matthias

³ The imprisonment of Cardinal Klesel (*ante*, II, p 156)

⁴ Louis V, 1282-1347

If it be true, which is freshly written unto me from Nuremberg, that Saxonic inclineth to the Bohemians, it may perchance spoil the Pope's digestion of another dinner. Here we wish well to any but the Austrians, and though we hear that the King of Spayne hath for this year dismissed his African plots, yet is not the State without reasonable jealousy that he may attempt the sending of aids by this Gulf.

Lastly I must give the King knowledge of some private things which I have by close and fresh intelligence from Rome, whence one doth write unto me that which followeth in cipher, translated from the Italian *ad verbum*.

'Baldwin' hath made great instance to the Pope to assign an honourable provision for an Englishman made Catholic. This is a very learned person, as they say, especial² in studies of humanity, Greek and Latin. He abideth in the University of Cambridge, and is called (if I do not fail in memory) *Dunio*³. He hath published somewhat upon Demosthenes, and they make much reckoning of his quality, but he refuseth to come to Rome without some certain assignation. The Pope hath answered the foresaid Baldwin, "let him come, let him come, and he shall be well used." But he is not yet, for aught we hear, on the way. Here we expect from England a book, composed by the King, upon the Lord's Prayer, dedicated to his favourite. The Pope hath given orders to the Jesuits that it be immediately sent hither, and because the Cardinal Bellarmine hath printed one to the same purpose, the Pope told him that he had in his spiritual works, as he heard, a noble concurrent, namely the King of Great Britannie. Whereunto Bellarmine replied "that the soil indeed was good, but the seed ill that had been sown in it. Yet who knows," said he, "but that as the tears of Santa Monica did gain St Augustine to the Church, so the tears of the King's mother may one day bring her son under the obedience of your Holiness?"

Thus much I have verbally translated from my correspondent's letter, wherein two things are strange unto me. First, that they should have at Rome news of the King's *Meditations*⁴, and of his purpose in the dedication thereof, before it was known, perchance unless to very few at home, and to none of us here, though we

¹ William Baldwin (*ante*, II, p. 117), released from the Tower in 1618, went to Rome, where he was received with great favour. Wotton wrote to Naunton on Feb. 22, 1619, 'Baldwine is in so great opinion both with Pope and cardinals, that he wanteth but 10,000 crowns to be a cardinal himself, for the market goes no lower at this time' (*Rox Club*, p. 110).

² 'Especial,' i. e. pre-eminent. Obs. (*N E D*).

³ 'Surely he meaneth Mr. Downes,' note of Wotton's in margin.

⁴ *A Meditation upon the Lord's Prayer, written by the King's Majesty, &c.*, 1619.

have since received some copies of that sweet labour. Which point I thought myself bound in duty to note, because, though it be not material in this particular, yet the searching of such divulgations may perchance trench deeper than doth yet appear. Secondly, I much wonder to retrace in the cipher the name of *Dunio*, which by the local description and other circumstances must needs be the Greek Professor, Mr Downes¹, a man of my knowledge contented with a little, and of age unfit to change countries, and unsuspected in his religion. But he is poor, and it may be they have been working to gain him, because he had his hand in the reformed translation of the Bible. Howsoever, for my part, I should be sorry by my private intelligence to cast any blemish upon him, but having discharged my part, I leave the inquiry to his Majesty's wisdom. And so commit you, Sir, to God's dear and blessed love, ever remaining truly,

At your devotion

HENRY WOTTON

323 To SIR ROBERT NAUNTON

Eton MS, holograph, *Rox Club*, p 123. The requested loan of ships.
A pamphlet against De Dominis

From Venice, the 2d of May, 1619
Style of the place

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

I have, before my departure, out of your last, by my secretary, acquainted this State with those reasons which made his Majesty find it both inconvenient and unnecessary to lend them any of his own vessels inconvenient in point of honour, unnecessary for that our gracious Master had received new assurances from the King of Spayne that his intents lay not this way, besides those

¹ Andrew Downes (1549?-1628), Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge, was one of the translators of the Apocrypha for the 'Authorized Version'. In 1621 he published his *Praelectiones in Philippicam de Pace Demosthenis* (D N B).

² In the resolution of the Senate read to Wotton on Jun 25, 1619, NS, the Venetian government not only expressed their desire for closer relations with the German Protestant Princes (*ante*, II, p 164), but also requested James I to lend them four ships from his navy to help in their defence. They stated that the intentions of Spain toward Venice were growing more and more questionable, and hinted the same of the Pope. Great fleets, they said, were preparing at Naples and in Spain for the purpose, it was believed, of attacking Venice, the Spaniards were beginning to question the dominion claimed by Venice over the Adriatic Gulf, and had demanded a passage across it to Trieste, for troops to be sent to aid the Archduke Ferdinand in the Bohemian troubles. Venice, therefore, asked James I for the loan of these ships for purposes of self defence, and to prevent the passage of the troops across the Adriatic Gulf (*Esp Prin*, Wotton's dispatch, Jan 22, OS, *Rox Club*, pp 108-7). James was not unwilling to grant their request, but owing to his vigorous action the Spanish designs against Venice (if they had entertained such designs) were given up. Wotton

ships which were in preparation with us to be sent out, from whose hovering in the Spanish seas this Republic would obliquely receive no small benefit, as themselves did confess unto me, when they required me with such vehemency to represent (as I have formerly done) their infinite thanks unto the King for that purpose

I had answered that the Republic was not only content with the foresaid reasons, but *posso ben due* (says the Duke) *contentissima*, especially having understood from their own ambassador withal, as from myself, the continued profession of his Majesty's dear love towards them. And he added that upon the Spanish promises made to so great a King, and so much their friend, they would ground some better hopes than they had done hitherto, though there was still an apparent contrariety between the speeches and the effects, or at least between the master and his ministers, the Duke of Ossuna leaving nothing undone that may any way tend to their molestation. And here he took occasion largely to discourse unto me, with desire that his Majesty at my arrival might be particularly informed thereof, that all the capitulations accorded both in the French Court, and in Friuli, had likewise on their parts been duly executed, and no one thing to this hour had been done as it should be, either on the Imperial or Spanish side. I reserve these particulars till mine own coming, or at least I shall insert them in a compendious report (which I am framing) of the most considerable points in matter of State and religion within the compass of Italie, as I now leave it, whereinto will enter the discourses that are made upon the publication here of their defensive league with Savoye,¹ a thing generally condemned. I mean not the league itself, but the publication. This is all that I need say at the present, having my head homewards. Only let me entertain his Majesty with a leaf or two touching the Archbishop of Spalato, newly published here by a foolish friar, among a catalogue of 'Heretics' as he calleth them. Whereof I had knowledge before hand, and did acquaint therewith some well affected persons², but finding it to contain the praises of his former life and only

told the Doge on April 30 that the King of Spain, 'swearing by his Crowns and his Faith, had assured James I that the fleet then preparing was not designed to attack Venice' (*Esp. Prin.*)

¹ This league was signed March 14, 1619 (*Romanin*, vii, p. 245). Wotton was informed of it on April 23, 1619. He assured the Doge that James I would be delighted, 'and all men who loved the good. The angels themselves are delighted to see union among men'. But the league, Wotton said, should be larger, and he urged again his plan of closer relations, and the reciprocal sending of ministers, between Venice and the Protestant Princes (*Esp. Prin.*, April 23).

² Probably Sarpi and Fulgenzio, to whom the phrase 'well affected persons' in Wotton's letters generally refers.

the dispraise of his present belief, I was not only willing but glad to let it pass, and perchance the author for the first part may be whipped by the Pope Now, let me commit you, Sir, to Gods blessed love, who ever keep you

At your commands,
HENRY WOTTON

324 TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON

Eton MS, dictated, *Rox Club*, p 124 Wotton about to depart
from Venice

From Venice, this 10th of May
Style of the place, 1619

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

This is only to signify unto his Majesty that by God's favour, within two or three days after the date thereof, we shall depart from hence,¹ so as my next will be from Augusta, where there is, as you know, a feat to be done, for which the party is well prepared I leave here (as Sir Dudley Carleton did during the whole time of his negotiation in Piedmont) Gregorio de' Monti, to supply the service by continual advertisements, upon which point I gave a touch, at my leave taking to the Prince, desiring him to esteem it as an argument of clear and disumbrageous² friendship that we serve ourselves even of his own subjects, for Gregorio is a natural Venetian, though now many years as it were Englished, with singular approvement both of his fidelity, diligence, and discretion Whereof he hath likewise a testimony from his Majesty, under his royal hand, sent him in the time of Sir Ralph Winwoode, for his better encouragement, after my predecessor and myself had represented his good deservings

Now to return to myself I carry in my breast, besides that honest business³ which you know, some important commissions from this State⁴ which have a silent reflection (though not meant by

¹ For Wotton's farewell audience on May 5 see *ante*, i, p 163 On May 3 the Senate voted the customary sums of 1,000 scudi for a gold chain for the ambassador, and 200 scudi for his secretary (*Delib Senato*)

² 'Disumbrageous,' not in *NED*

³ The 'feat to be done' at Augusta, the 'honest business', about which Wotton writes with such zest, was, of course, arranging with Hunkoffer to rob the posts, *ante*, ii, p 147

⁴ Wotton was empowered by the Venetian government to suggest to the German Protestant Princes closer terms of friendship between them and Venice The 'main end' was the Protestant seminaries On Jan 22 he wrote to James I, 'It seemeth probable, nay, almost I may say necessary, that this State must be depend upon a strong party abroad, and so by degrees, with your Majesty's cherishment, and with the co-operation of other princes and their instruments, they may perchance be led into a better light than they yet mean themselves' (*Rox Club*, p 106)

them) upon our main end These I shall particularize in my letter from Augusta; and will end the present with mine humble thanks to Almighty God for the happy news, which we have had this week, of his Majesty's escape from a painful infirmity The same good God yield him long unto us and to the Christian world

And so I rest,

At your Honour's commandment,

HENRY WOTTON

325 TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON

Eton MS, holograph, *Rox Club*, p 130 Wotton left Venice on May 16 for Padua, and after visiting Munich, arrived at Augsburg about June 1, whence he wrote the following letter to Naunton

Augusta, the 4th of June 1619, stil novo

SIR,

Being by the next post to write at large unto his Majesty, let me only by this acquaint you that I have been these four or five days in Augusta where I took language¹ that the Princes of the Union and representatives of the cities were to assemble at Heilbrunn about the 10th of this month, which opportunity seemeth to have dropped out of heaven upon me For hereby I shall both shorten my journey and discharge my errand to the whole body, and receive a more absolute answer, which otherwise, if I had treated with them in severalty, would have been relative to their next meeting About this I have provisionally from hence dispatched my secretary to the Elector Palatine, with order likewise to provide me some commodity at Heilbrunn, where I hope to be on Monday next² at night God bless our good King and his good intents

Your servant,

HENRY WOTTON

By this place is passed five days since, in post, the ambassador Donato³, which diligence should argue innocence God send him a cheerful arrival at home, whereof I forecast some doubt, for the Savoy ambassadors, with whom I spake before my departure, make the business very foul

¹ 'Language,' i.e. talk, report Obs (*N E D*)

² June 10, N S

³ Antonio Donato, nephew of the Doge Niccolo Donato Antonio Donato was ambassador at Turin in 1616 and 1617, and the moneys paid by Venice to Charles Emmanuel to aid in the war against Spain passed through his hands In 1618 he went as ambassador to England, but being accused of embezzlement while at Turin he was now returning home to be tried Being convicted, he escaped from Venice in disguise and fled to England

326 TO JAMES I

Reliq, 3rd ed, p 486 'A Report of my negotiation in Germany and of some particularities occurring in my journey' Unsigned, dated 1619, and written before Wotton's return to England at the end of July perhaps in June, after the meeting of the Union at Heilbronn

(June? 1619)

TO MY MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN AND MASTER,

I came to Munichen, the Court of Bavaria, in the evening¹ before the Feast of Corpus Christi, and in my company the Duke Joachimus Ernestus of Holstein, who since the ceasing of arms in Friuli had lived with me at Venice, which I mention as a duty, having been recommended unto me, and to that State, by your Majesty's special letters, and in truth likewise by his own worthy dispositions. Here we thought only to have stolen a sight, in some private window, of the procession the next day where we were told the Princes and whole Court would be, but in the morning we were prevented by the Duke Maximilian², who, having gotten knowledge of our qualities, sent a Baron of his Bedchamber with coaches to conduct us to the Court, which gracious surprisal we could not civilly resist. At the Court we were placed, by the Duke's own appointment, in a gallery, where [when] we saw a more solemn and sober procession than I had beheld even at Rome, under the Pope's eyes, as perhaps all superstition is loosest at the fountain. In this procession, a little after the Duke and his brother Albertus went two young sons of one of them that were thrown out of the window at Piage, who since then have been fostered in Bavaria, and from hence we took our first judgement of the affections of that Court. I cannot omit that at this solemnity were two Jesuits, who otherwise in Italy do studiously decline the familiarity of such public appearances, for preservation of respect. At which, when I did express some wonder, I was told between jest and earnest that indeed the greater Fathers were more reserved of their presence, but these were only like ushers over the seminary boys, to keep them in awe at this show.

This done, the Duke of Holstein and myself were led and lodged in several quarters of the Palace, and before dinner the Duke Maximilian (though tired with walking) sent singly for me, and passed with me more than an hour in private and free discourse falling into it with as serious protestation as mine ears ever heard, that though he was bred in the Roman Faith, yet no Prince living did more honour and reverence the great virtues and eminent wisdom

¹ May 29, N S

² Maximilian I, Duke of Bavaria 1596-1623

of the King my master, to whom he had the honour to be allied, both by marriage and by his own descent, and therefore should have thought it a disgrace for him to let me go that way without offering me, after I had passed the Alpes, a little commodity of repose in that poor house, as he was pleased to term it, being otherwise one of the most capable, magnificent, and regular fabrics of Christendom, and all of his own device and erection in five years¹ He told me besides how sensible he was of the honour which the Count Palatine had done him with a personal surprisal,² and how ashamed that the times had not yet permitted him to revenge that favour, which he had vowed to do with the first opportunity, and the rather that he might invite your Majesty's most virtuous daughter (who hath filled these countries with her excellent fame) to come and take possession in Bavaria of her woods and fields, and to kill all there that had either wings or feet This was the complimentary part of his speech In the rest, he bewailed the present appearance of unquietness in the Empire, he lamented likewise the situation of his own State, which made it hard for him to preserve himself neutral, though he had studied it He spoke of Ferdinando's person kindly, of his fortune doubtfully, of the Bohemians with a cool temper, rather censuring the form of their proceeding than the cause, of himself with singular moderation, and without the least discovery of any ambitious affections, though we found his countenances warm enough in their hopes

After dinner he sent for the Duke of Holstein, and then came himself with his whole train to visit me on that side where I was placed (an honour done seldom before, as I heard, to any ambassador), where he spent with me about half an hour, with new affirmations of his reverent respect towards your Majesty, as likewise the morning following, when, with much ado, we got leave to be gone Which noble language he afterwards (as not contented with a verbal profession) did prosecute in a letter that I received from him on the way, which I reserve to be shown your Majesty

This was my entertainment in the Bavarian Court by a Prince (I am bound to say) every way good, but in that wherein he should be best, of noble manner in his hospitality, of sharp conceit, of great erudition, and both orderly and lovingly served Which circumstances I have thought it my part to set down the more particularly, for that I am certainly informed of much jealousy both taken and expressed by the Pope at the Count Palatine's reception

¹ The *Alte Residenz*, dating from 1601 to 1616

² The Elector Palatine visited Maximilian at Munich in February, 1618, to urge him to become a candidate for the imperial throne (Wolf, *Geschichte Maximilians I.*, 1811, iv, p. 121)

in that Count, and more, for a book written by his Chancellor, and published by the Dukes direct command (prefixed in the front thereof) in defence of Ludovicus, the Bavarian excommunicated Emperor, which things considered, make his kindness to your Majesty's servant, and professions towards your loyal person, more notable Now to proceed

At Augusta I took language¹ that the Princes and States of the Union had deferred their assembly ten days which gave me opportunity to find them together at Heilbrun, whom I should have missed at their own homes And for due respect I gave the Count Palatine notice of my intent to be there by a gentleman expressly sent Of what I did in Augusta for your Majesty's service I bring with me the account Being arrived at Heilbrun the day after the first sitting of the Princes, I repaired immediately to the Count Palatine, as Director, not only of the Union, but likewise of me (for so I told him was your Majesty's will), who, after he had spoken with his associates, did order the form of my proceeding in this manner, with himself, I was to treat *in individuo*, both for respect of privacy, being your Majesty's son in law, and of dignity, being then Provisor of the Empire, as his right style is, and not Vicar To the four Princes I went jointly, they agreeing upon a room where they would assemble, and sending for me their coaches and courtiers namely, the Marquess of Anspach² (who hath the precedency, as an Electoral branch), the Duke of Württemberg³, the Marquess of Baden⁴, and the Prince Christianus of Anhalt⁵, respondent for his own House The Landgrave Maurice of Hesse⁶ was not there, but voiced to be sick The Marquess of Brandenburg⁷ was out of the Empire in Prussia, and his son in the Low Provinces The representatives of the three united cities, Nuremberg, Strasburg, and Ulm (which direct the meaner towns) were to come all jointly (as they did) to my lodging The Count Palatine met me at the stair head, and did render me the visitation where I lay, in person The Princes came all jointly down into the very street to take me from my coach, and in like manner brought me down again unto it, and did afterwards visit me altogether, the Marquess of Anspach then presenting unto me their answer in writing, with all due commemoration of their obligations to your Majesty The representatives of the cities

¹ *Ante*, ii, p 173, n 1

² General of the forces of the Union in 1620 (*Godwin*, iii, p 368)

³ Johann Friedrich (1608-28)

⁴ Georg Friedrich, Markgrave of Baden Durlach 1604-22

⁵ Christian, Prince of Anhalt 1568-1630

⁶ Maurice, Landgrave of Hesse Cassel 1572-1632

⁷ George William, Elector of Brandenburg 1619-40

did present then answer verbally at my lodging by the Syndic of Strasburg, with no less zeal and devotion than the Princes had done. And this was the formal part, full of all just respect that could be expressed in that place. Now touching the real part when I had conferred with the Count Palatine your Majesty's scope in the main business,¹ I found him in truth for himself exceeding forward, but for the other Princes and towns he objected two difficulties: the one was the present distractions of Germany, which made the proposition somewhat unseasonable, the other was the differences between our Church and those of the Augustine confession, which, though but few, yet perchance might a little hinder their concurrence with us in this excellent work, especially the Lutheran Princes, being likely to do nothing without counsel of their ministers, and they being the passionatest men amongst them. These two objections considered, it was thought fit by the Count Palatine (into whose hands I had delivered myself), after deliberation with his own counsellors, that I should at this time only dispose the other princes and representatives of cities in your Majesty's name, towards a concurrence, with apt lenitives and probabilities, and that I should endeavour, by your Majesty's Christian persuasion, to remove all aspersion that might impeach it, leaving a more particular prosecution thereof till the noise of the Empire were settled, in which, meanwhile, many things might be further thought on to advance this purpose, and be conferred afterwards by letters.

Hereupon I framed my speech to the Princes in the manner following.

I told them that I brought thither two sorts of commissions, the one from the Duke and Senate of Venice, *sub fide tacita*, which I presented in writing, containing a profession of much goodwill from that State towards them, and a clear inclination to a stricter correspondence with them, in contemplation of whom, the Republic had resolved not to permit the transport of any succours cross their Gulf into Austria, for the further troubling of Germany. This was the substance of that I brought under silent confidence, without any other credit than mine own honesty might bear, which had been delivered unto me by order of Senate, whom I acquainted thus far, that I would take homewards the way of Germany. Wherein I craved from the Princes and the rest some taste of their inclinations, that these fair offers might be farther prosecuted by your Majesty's mediation, whom I knew much to deserve the further strengthening of this body with good amities.

¹ Wotton's instructions for dealing as extraordinary ambassador with the German Princes are printed by Gairdner (*Letters*, pp 46-8).

My other commission was (as I said) from mine own royal master, from whom I brought letters of his confidence unto them, after presentation whereof, and all other due premises, I told them, that your Majesty, having long and deeply considered the corruptions that have grown in your own kingdoms, and in the States of your confederates and friends, by the secret practices of Jesuits, did finally observe but one only cause of this creeping mischief, and but one only remedy, which you had thought meet to communicate with them by an express though a covered legation, under the colour of my return homewards. The cause of the said evils was, that we had left the Pope at too much ease in his own provinces, the remedy would be, to cut him out so much work at home, as should force him to gather his thoughts about himself, and in conclusion to revoke his emissaries for the maintaining of Italy. To do this, there were but four means —

- 1 By the advantage of arms in time of action
- 2 By open preaching
- 3 By dispersion of books
- 4 By secret semination

For the first, it was true, that the late necessity and calling French (among whom there were many of our Religion) into Piedmont, and the Dutch, Flemish, and English into Friuli, had done some good by freedom of conversation, all Inquisition ceasing at such times. But this violent way must be left to further occasion.

For the second, although there had been for one whole Lent public preaching against the Roman doctrine in Venice,¹ yet that liberty and the Pope's excommunication did cease together, and must so abide till new opportunity.

For the third, I acquainted them how greedy the Italians were of our treatises in matter of controversy, and of divers ways that had been used both to excite, and to satisfy that curiosity, both by the works of the Archbishop of Spalato, since his retirement into your Majesty's protection, and of a discourse that was ready to come abroad, wherein should be discovered by a great intelligent man, even of their own breeding, all the practices of the Council of Trent,² out of the original registers and secret papers, wherein your Majesty had a hand, for the benefit of the Christian world.

For the fourth and last way, of secret semination, wherein we had been hitherto wholly deficient and asleep this, I said, was the particular scope of my present charge.

¹ *See* Fulgenzio's sermons (*ante*, 1, pp 98, 447-9)

² Paolo Sarpi's *History of the Council of Trent*, first published in London in Italian in 1619

In this your Majesty did exhort them by all fervent persuasion to join with you their counsels and cares, their diligence and powers, according to such ways as should be hereafter propounded either by your Majesty to them, or conceived amongst themselves. Whereunto your Majesty had been stirred, first by the zeal of God's glory, next, by a religious shame and indignation, to see superstition more active than the Truth, thirdly, by the instance of divers well affected persons, both within the body of Italy, and in the confines thereof. And lastly, by the opportunity which the present time itself did yield unto it, which I did particularly remonstrate¹ unto them, but being matter of secrecy, I will keep it in my pen till I arrive with your Majesty.

After which, I concluded with your Majesty's most loving and Christian persuasions unto them (which they could not refuse, coming from such a friend) to lay aside our own small differences, to suppress the heat of passionate divines by civil authority, and to join together against the common adversary of our Churches and States.

And because the free passage into Italy was a point much importing the present purpose, as likewise in other respects very considerable, your Majesty did intreat them to spend their earnest intercession by a common letter to the Cantons of Zurich and Bern, that they would endeavour by all means possible (as being in comparably the fittest mediators) to re-establish the League between the Venetians and the Gisons, to which both parties were well inclining, but there wanted a third to break the business, and to remove the scruple of who shall begin, which had hitherto hindered the effect.

This was my poor exposition of your commands whereof I thought it my duty to render your Majesty this preambulatory accompt, for your ease at mine arrival, and for mine own discharge bringing with me the letters and answers of the Princes, as I hope, to your Majesty's full contentment.

¹ 'Remonstrate,' i.e. demonstrate. Obs. (*N E D*)

² Wotton had himself suggested to James I that he should urge the German Princes in the King's name to stop the bitter controversies between the Lutherians and Calvinists, and 'to unite them, if not in opinions, yet at least in a charitable consent against the practices of the Roman Church, which work most upon the scandal of our distractions' (Feb 8, 1619 *Rox Club*, p. 108)

³ The answer of the Princes of the Union (the Elector Palatine, the Margraves of Ansbach and Baden, the Duke of Wurtemberg, the Prince of Anhalt) to Sir Henry Wotton, dated Heilbronn, June 22, 1619, is printed in Gardiner, *Letters*, p. 112. The Princes sent their thanks to the Republic of Venice, through Wotton, for its friendly professions, and its intention to prevent the Spanish troops from crossing the Adriatic. They also expressed a cautious but polite willingness to co-operate with James, in his efforts to effectuate an alliance

I will conclude with my most humble thanks unto your royal goodness for this employment above all other, and with my prayers to God, that the weakness of the instrument may not prejudice the excellent intention of the master and director

327 TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM

Harl MS 1581, f 212, Reliq, 2nd ed, p 472, 3rd ed p 282 Wotton writes of his interview with the Venetian ambassador, Girolamo Lando

The 25 of January, 1619<20>

MY MOST NOBLE LORD

I will be bold, by this opportunity, to give his Majesty, through your Lordship's hands, an account of a command which I had from him at Theobald's, about sounding how the Venetian ambassador stood satisfied with the late determination touching his predecessor Donato¹

I did visit the said ambassador immediately at my return from the King, and saluted him, as by express commandment, interjecting some words of mine own gladness, that he had received contentment in this tender point, which would signalize his beginnings. This I said, because in truth I had found him always before the more passionate in it, by some reflection upon himself. His answer (after due thanks for his Majesty's gracious remembrance of him from abroad) was that for his own part, he was *contentissimo*, and had represented things home in the best manner. He hoped likewise it would be well tasted there also, though with some doubt, because the State, out of their own devotion towards his Majesty, might form a confidence of expecting more.

I replied that the King upon the matter (if we consider disgrace) had done more than themselves for he was but once banished at Venice, and twice here, viz once from the verge of the Court, and secondly from London, which was as much as could be done with preservation of national immunities, and more than would have been done at the suit of any other ambassador here resident, or perhaps of any of their own hereafter, if the like case shall occur

between Venice and the Gisons, and in the plan for the Protestant propaganda in Italy. 'For such solemn trifling,' says Professor Gardiner, 'the Princes of the Union had no time to spare. They were agitated by the news which reached them from various quarters. Silesia and Moravia had thrown in their lot with the Bohemian Diet, and whilst Mansfeld was keeping Bucquoy in check, Thun, at the head of a second army, was thundering at the gates of Vienna' (*Gardiner*, III, pp 301, 302)

¹ Antonio Donato (*ante*, II, p 173). He attempted to get Buckingham and the Earl of Arundel to intercede in his favour, but was banished from the Court and finally from London (*Add MS 20760*, p 14)

For (as I told him) it was the King's express will, that his particular respect to the Republic, and to him in this business, should not be drawn into examples. With this point he was not a little pleased for his own glory, and said that indeed Mr Secretary Nanton had told him so. This was the sum of what passed between us, omitting impertinencies. Let me end (my dear Lord) as I am bound, in all the use either of my pen or of my voice, with an humble and hearty acknowledgement of my great obligations towards your Lordship, which will make me restless, and in good faith unhappy, till I can some way show myself,

Your Lordship's most thankful and faithful servant,

HENRY WOTTON

328 TO DOCTOR SAMUEL COLLINS¹

King's College MS, Letters III, f 28, holograph. Wotton asks of the Provost of King's College, Cambridge, leave of absence for Thomas Rowe, Fellow of King's College.

From my Lodging in Westminster,
this 13th of April, 1620

SIR,

Without any familiar acquaintance with you heretofore, or any ability of serving you hereafter, I take boldness from mine own good meaning to beseech you to grant unto Mr Thomas Rowe² license for travelling abroad for some time in my company, without prejudice of his place in the meanwhile at home, for which favour towards him I shall be greatly obliged unto you, being a gentleman to whose name I am much beholden, and towards whose person I have much affection.

I was ready about this purpose to procure unto you letters from greater personages, but indeed, Sir, besides the suit itself, it shall be a second obligation if it shall please you to spare me that labour, and to value my poor lines above the merit of the writer, who will remain,

Desirous to serve you,

HENRY WOTTON

¹ Dr Collins, see Appendix III

² Thomas Rowe, or Roe, Fellow of King's College, M. A. 1619, cousin of Sir Thomas Roe. He travelled into Germany, Italy, and Sicily, spent some time at Venice and Rome, upon his return he took Holy Orders, was Senior Fellow of King's College in 1633, if not before, Vice-Provost 1635, became Chaplain to Laud, and in 1639 was presented to the College living of Fordingbridge in Hants, but died before his institution (*King's College MS Catalogue*, 1610). The King's College chronicler adds in a note, which seems to betray some feeling, that Thomas Rowe bequeathed £200 to the College to be employed in making fires in the hall, but his brother and executor 'never had the conscience to pay the same to the College.'

329 TO JAMES I

Eton MS, dictated, *Ror Club*, p 198, *Reliq*, 1st ed, p 365 3d ed, p 288
Wotton's journey as far as Augsburg

From Augusta, the 1st of August, 1620

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST SACRED MAJESTY,

From this place I determined to make my first dispatch unto your Majesty, hoping in such cities and Courts whereunto I had address on the way, to take up somewhat that should be considerable, and till then unwilling to entertain your solicitous mind with im material things

I have hitherto been with five several princes and communities, the Duke of Loiraigue, the Archduke Leopoldus, the town of Strasburg, the Duke of Wirtembeig, and the town of Ulme, in the same order as I have set them down, amongst whom I spent in all twelve days, and the rest of the time in incessant journeys, whereof I shall now render your Majesty a free accompt in the substance retrenching impertinencies

Unto the Duke of Loiraigue¹ I had no credential address from your royal hand, and yet to pass silently like a stream through his land, by a prince of so near conjunction in blood with you,² and so interested in the scope of mine errand, as a member of the Empire, had been some incongruity Therefore excusing (as I might justly) the want of letters with my purpose to have taken another way, till I heard that the French King had cleared the confines of Loiraigue by drawing such forces as lay hovering there, with some hazard of passengers, over the river of Maine towards Normandie I say after this excuse, I told him I was sure your Majesty would be singularly pleased to understand by me of his health, and that I had *in transitu* conferred with him your Christian ends, wherein you could not but expect at his hands a concurrence both of counsel and affection This I said, to draw civilly from him as much as I could, being a prince cumbered (as I found him) with the German troubles on the one side, and the French on the other, and therefore bound to study the passages of both especially having a State which perhaps is harder for him to keep neutral than himself In the rest of my discourse, I possessed him with two main heads of mine instructions First, with your Majesty's innocency in the Bohemian business at the beginning, next, with your impartiality therein, even until this hour, both which did render you in this cause the

¹ Henry II, Duke of Lorraine (1608-24)

² Mary of Guise, Mary Queen of Scots mother, was a granddaughter of René II, Duke of Lorraine

fittest mediator of the world And so I shut up all with this, that God had given your Majesty two eminent blessings, the one, peace at home, the other (which was surely the greater and the rarer) a soul desirous of the like abroad, which you found yourself tied, in the conscience of a Christian King, to prosecute by all possible means And therefore, though you had before in the beginning of the Bohemian motions, spent your good meaning by a solemn ambassage to the Emperor, in the person of a dear and zealous servant of great quality,¹ even before any other king had entered into it, which, through the crudity of the matter as then, took not the wished effect, yet now hoping that time itself and the experience of vexation had mollified the affections, and better digested the difficulties, you had not refused by several ambassages to both sides, and to all the intervenient Princes and States, to attempt again this high and Christian work Thus much, though in effect extracted from your Majesty's own directions, I have here once rehearsed, to save the repetition thereof in my following audiences at other places.

The Duke's answer was more tender than free, lamenting much the present condition of things, commending as much your Majesty's good mind, proclaiming his own, remitting the whole to those great and wise Kings that had it in hand, and concluding (with a voice, me thought, lower than before, as if he had doubted to be overheard, though in his private chamber) that the Princes of the Union would tell me what his affections were in the cause For which I gave him thanks, commending in all events to his continual memory, that your Majesty's daughter, my gracious Lady, and her descendants were of the blood of Lorraine 'Yea,' said he, 'and the Elector likewise' This was all that passed from him of any moment After which he brought me to Monsieur de Vaudemont², whose principal business (as I hear) at the present, is to work the Duke's assent, and the Pope's dispensation, for a marriage between his own son and his brother's daughter,³ a thing much affected by that people, and, no doubt, fomented by France, to keep so important a province from strangers In the meanwhile De Vaudemont's son, for improvement of his merit and fame, is bestowed in the command of those troops which were suffered to pass the Rhine at Bissac upon Whitsun Monday last Before I leave Lorraine, I cannot but advertise your Majesty that at Pfaltzbourg, a town in the confines of that province towards Elsatia (inhabited and built by many good men of the

¹ Lord Doncaster (*ante*, II, p. 165 n.)

² Count Francis de Vaudemont, brother of the Duke of Lorraine

³ The Duke's daughter Nicole, was married to the son of the Count de Vaudemont in 1621 (Rayold *Histoire du Pays de Lorraine*, p. 972.)

Religion) the Ministers came unto me, bewailing the case of the inhabitants, who for some thirty years had possessed that place quietly, till of late by instigation of the Jesuits at Nancie the Duke had given them warning to be gone within the term of two years, whereof some good part was expired¹ Their request unto me was, that by your Majesty's gracious mediation, they might be received into a place within the Palatine's jurisdiction, near their present seat, which they offer to enlarge, and fortify at their own charge, upon the grant of reasonable immunities, which I have assumed to treat by letter with your Majesty's son in law, needing no other commission from your Majesty in things of this nature, than your own goodness

The Archduke Leopold² I was forced to seek three days journey from his ordinary seat, where being at his private sports of the field, and no fit things about him, he desired me to return back half a days journey to Mulzhaim, the notorious nest of Jesuits,³ commanding the Governors of his towns in the meantime, to use me with all due respect, among whom he made choice of an Italian, by name Ascanio Albertini (a man of singular confidence with him, and surely of very fair conditions) to sound me though in a merry fashion, and half laughing (as there was good cause) how I would taste it, if he should receive me in the Jesuits' College for at Mulzhaim those were his hosts, being destitute of other habitation I answered him, as merrily as it was propounded, that I knew the Jesuits had everywhere the best rooms, more splendent than true, fitter to lodge princes than monks, and that their habitations were always better than themselves Moreover, that for mine own part, though I was not much afraid of their infection, and that Saint Paul did not refuse to be carried in a ship which was consecrated to false gods, yet because on our side they were generally, and no doubt justly reputed the true cause of all the troubles of the Christian world, I doubted it would be a scandalous reception, and that besides, those artificers would go near to make it appear, on my part, a kind of silent approbation of their order and course This was mine answer, which being faithfully transported by the Italian, the Archduke made choice of another mean house in the town, where he received me truly in a noble sweet fashion, to whom having presented your Majesty's letters and love, he disposed himself with sharp attention to hear me To him, besides that which I had

¹ The Duke of Lorraine was a bigoted Catholic, and ordered all the Protestants to leave his territories (Ravold, *Histoire*, p. 968)

² Brother of the Emperor Ferdinand, and Bishop of Strasburg 1607-25

³ The Jesuit College of Molsheim (*Ward*, p. 104 n)

said to the Duke of Lorraine, I added two things. The first, that not only your Majesty was clear of all foreknowledge, or counsel, in the business of Bohemia, but likewise your son-in-law himself of any precedent practice therein till it was laid upon him, as you knew by his own high affirmations, and most infallible testimonies. The second, that though your Majesty to this hour did continue as equal between both parties, as the equinoctial between the poles, yet about the time of my departure you were much moved, and the whole land likewise, with a voice, I know not how spread abroad, that there was great preparations to invade the Nether Palatinate,¹ which if it did fall out, your Majesty should have just reason to think your moderation unthankfully requited, the said Palatinate being the patrimonial lands of your own descendants, and no way connected with the Bohemian business. Whereupon I persuaded him fairly, in your Majesty's name, being a personage of such authority in the present actions, to keep them from any such precipitous and impertinent rupture as might preclude all mediation of accord. And because your Majesty had now (which was a second argument of your equity) sent several ambassadors to the fountains, for your better information in the merit of the cause, by your own instruments, I besought him to illuminate me (who was the weakest of your creatures) as far as he should think fit, and to assist me with his best advice towards this good end, whereunto, besides the dear commandment of the King, my master, I would refer mine own plain and honest zeal.

His answer to all the points (which he had very orderly laid up) was this. Of your Majesty's own clearness he professed much assurance, of your son-in-law as much doubt, charging him both with close practice with the Bohemians at the time of the Emperor's election at Franckfurt, and more foully with a new practice, either by himself or by others, to introduce the Turke into Hungarie.

Of any design upon the Lower Palatinate, he utterly disavowed all knowledge on his part, yet would not deny but the Marquis Spinola might perchance have some such aim, and if things went on as they do, men would no doubt assail their enemies wheresoever they shall find them. In such ambiguous clouds as these he wrapped this point.

Of the Emperor's inclination to an agreement, he bade me be very assured, but never without restitution of the usurped Kingdom,

¹ In August Spinola, at the head of a Spanish army, marched along the Rhine as if to invade Bohemia, and then, turning suddenly, he invaded the Palatinate, and when Weston and Conway arrived at Mentz, on Aug 19, they found the place full of Spanish troops (*Gardiner*, iii, p 368).

which was not a loss of easy concoction, especially being taken from him by the Count Palatine his vassal, as he often called him, and once added, that he thought he would not deny it himself. Of the merit of the cause he said he had sent divers of his papers and records to the Emperor, where I should find them.

Lastly, he acknowledged himself much bound unto your Majesty for the honour you had done him to take such knowledge of his person, and was contented to bestow some thanks upon me for mine honest inclination, which he would present, before mine arrival, at Vienna. I had almost omitted a point touched by him, that he had knowledge of some English levies coming towards the Palatinate¹ about which I cleared him, with confessing that your Majesty's people, and some principals of your nobility, had taken alarm upon the voice of an invasion there, and meant voluntarily to sacrifice themselves in that action, but without any concurrence of your Majesty thereunto, either by money or command. To which he replied that truly so he had heard, and made no question of your royal integrity. In the afternoon of this day he took me abroad with him in his coach, to show me some of his nearest towns and fortifications, and there descended into many familiarities, and, amongst other, to show us how to make frogs leap at their own skins, a strange purchase², methought, at a time when kingdoms are in question, but it may be it was an art to cover his weightier meditations.

Amongst other discourse there was some mention of your Majesty's treaty with Spain in point of alliance, which I told him was a concluded business, for that warrant I had from your own royal mouth in your gallery at Theobald's, having let fall none of your syllables. Whereupon he said that he did not despair upon so good an occasion to salute your Majesty in your own Court. The morning following he sent unto me Signor Ascanio, with express desire that, since your Majesty's intentions were so clear, I would as frankly acquaint him whether in mine instructions I had any particular form of accord to project unto the Emperor which himself likewise at my second audience did somewhat importunately press, excusing his curiosity with a good meaning, to prepare the Emperor in the best manner he could to accept it. My answer was, that your Majesty thought it first necessary on both sides to dispose the affections, and then, by reciprocal intelligence between your servants from Vienna and Prague, to collect some measure of agreement, for, otherwise,

¹ The English troops, under the command of Sir Horace Vere, embarked from England on July 22, 1620 (*Gardner*, III, p. 365).

² 'Purchase,' occupation. Obs. (*Century Dict.*)

if we should find both parties fixed in extreme resolutions, it were a folly to spend any farther the honour of our master. Here again he told me that I should find the Emperor persuasible enough, if his reputation may be saved, and for his own part he thought that the Count Palatine, being the inferior, might yield without prejudice of his. To terms of this height he revolved, and of this complexion are his letters to your Majesty¹ that I send herewith, of which I must needs say that in some part, *olent Patrem Henricum*, so they call a Jesuit of inward credit with him. Always true it is that they were couched in the College, for his secretaries were absent, as the Italian told me, at his ordinary place of residence. At my leave taking he spake with much reverence of your Majesty, with much praise of your Christian mind, and with much thankfulness of the honour you had done him. He is a Prince of good stature, of fair complexion, inclining to fullness, his face the very best, as they tell me, of the House of Austria, and better indeed than his fashion. No curiosity in his clothing, no affectation in his discourse, extreme affable, both to strangers and amongst his own, patient of labour, and delighting in motion. *In summa*, little of a bishop, save the bishopric and a long coat. With which short character of his person I have taken the boldness to end, being (as I conceive it) the duty of servants to represent unto their masters the images of those with whom they treat, and as well their natural as artificial impressions.

Of Strasburg and Ulme I may speak conjunctively, being of one nature, both free, and both jealous of their freedom, which makes them fortify apace. Towards me likewise they joined in one point of good respect, namely, in not suffering me to come to their Senate House, but in treating with me where I was lodged by deputed persons out of the reverence (as they professed) due to your Majesty, who had done them so much honour with your letters, and with communication of your ends by your humble servant. They both highly commended your Majesty's Christian intentions, and professed themselves hitherto in the same neutrality, but because it were uncivil for them to contribute their counsels, where such kings did employ their wisdom and authority, they would only contribute their prayers, with the like temperate conceits as these appearing likewise in their letters, which I send by this bearer².

¹ A letter from the Archduke Leopold to James I, dated Molsheim, Aug 1, 1620, and referring to the visit of the 'Illustrii Viri Henrici Wottonii', is at Eton. (*Rox Club*, p 191)

² The letter from the city of Strasburg, dated July 26, and from the city of Ulm, dated Aug 1, 1620, are at Eton. (*Rox Club*, pp 192, 193)

Into the Duke of Wintemberg's¹ Court I was received very nobly and kindly, feasted at his table with the Princess and other great ladies, and most part of the day led by himself to view his gardens, buildings, and other delights

The material points collected here, I must divide partly into my discourse with himself, and partly into such knowledge as he commanded Monsieur Buvincckhausen² to give me, which cometh in a paper apart, being very material

In his own speech he made great profession towards your Majesty, wherein no prince of the Empire should exceed him, and as much towards the King of Bohemia, as he ever called your son-in-law, of whose clearness from all precedent practice, when I fell to speak, he told me that in that point he would ease me, for himself visiting the Elector a little after he was chosen, he found him extremely perplexed, even to effusion of tears, between these two considerations, that if he accepted the offer, the world would falsely conceive it to have sprung from his own ambition, if he refused it, that people was likely to fall into desperate counsels, with danger of calling more than Christian help. In the rest of his discourse I was glad to hear him often vow that he would defend the Palatinate with all his power, being tied thereunto, not only by the bond of confederacy, but likewise by reason of state, not to suffer a stranger to neighbour him

I have now ended for the present your Majesty's trouble. There remain of my commission the Duke of Bavaria and the Emperor. The Duke of Bavaria I shall find actually in arms about Lintz in the upper Austria, and the Emperor at Vienna. From both places I will make several dispatches to your Majesty, and afterwards weekly, or more frequently, as the occasion shall rise. Let this in the meantime end in my humble thanks to Almighty God for the repose of your own estates, and in my hearty prayers for the preservation of your dear and sacred person

Your Majesty's most faithful and

long devoted servant,

HENRY WOTTON

¹ Johann Friedrich (*ante*, II, p. 176)

² Benjamin Buvincckhausen de Walmerode (*ante*, II, p. 58) had been in England in February, 1620, as ambassador from the Princes of the Union to demand help for the defence of the Palatinate (*Gedächnis*, III, p. 330)

330 TO SIR GEORGE CALVERT

S P Gei Emp, holograph The death of Lord Wharton's son

From Augusta, the 18th of August, 1620

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

Although I have written that to some others which I have here set down, yet it is due to none more properly than to yourself, who are a lover of that name whereof we have lost the tenderest branch, little M^r Wharton¹

His disease was a febrile dysentery, which in three days exhausted his feeble constitution. He ended his travails at a town called Blochinghen, some three leagues on this side the Count of Wittenberg, whence I caused him to be transported in a coach with attendants about it to Ulme, and there obtained the burying of him (though with some difficulty) within their town, contrary to their custom (as they told me) of 200 years, and to the example even of an ambassador from the Emperor, who, dying there, was interred in the common cemetery *extra pomœria*.

Thus hath he changed his sweet hopes into a better assurance, and being the youngest of our company, he hath made us see that the Lord of the whole is not tied to the order of nature, therefore His high and indisputable will be done. Our apology to his friends that committed the care of him unto us (I mean both M^r Braynthwaite² and myself) must be that wherewith we should be glad to satisfy others, as well as our own consciences, that nothing was omitted which the weakness of human reason could suggest. And this much I may have written to others, but to you, Sir, I do besides owe a strange and (to my fancy) a remarkable story of him. In Strasbourg, some eight days before his end (then as cheerful as he was in the days of his life), one desired him, after the German custom, to leave some sentence in his book, which receiving and leaning upon his left arm with a pen in his hand, as meditating what he should write, some of our gentlemen to ease his meditation, began to offer him certain sentences, among whom Mr Thomas Roe, as most proper for him, would have had him write, *Nobilitas sola est atque unica virtus*,³ and others somewhat else. 'No' (said he), 'my word shall be this,' and immediately wrote, *Nascentes morimur*,⁴ which Mr Braynthwayt notes that he never knew him write before.

¹ Son of Philip, third Lord Wharton, and brother of M^{rs} Margaret, second wife of Edward Lord Wotton.

Michael Brianthwaite, tutor to young Wharton, and a relative of Sir George Calvert, see Appendix III.

² Juvenal, *Sat* viii 20.

⁴ 'Nascentes morimur, finisque ab origine pendet' (Manili *Astron* iv 16).

proceeding then from a kind of prophetic spirit, in a soul that was to leave this evil world before he knew it I beseech your Honour to dispense this sad relation among his friends, with your own discretion, because it shall perchance be unfit for all of them to know it as soon as some of them, which is the reason that I have kept Mr Biaynthwaite from returning immediately home, whom I intend to send with a dispatch from Lintz on the Danube, where I shall meet with the Duke of Bavaria, having in the meantime, under this date, given through the hands of Mr Secretary Nantoun, an account of what I have hitherto negotiated with five Princes and communities, whereof in good faith I had now sent your Honour the copy, if I had leisure to transcribe it But he who is yours shall bring it with him, and all that may happen in the meanwhile

God keep you, Sir, in his blessed love

Your Honours in long and honest devotion,

HENRY WOTTON

331 To JAMES I

Eton MS, dictated, *Rox. Club*, p 223 Wotton and the French ambassadors in Vienna send a proposition to Prague

Vienna, 7th of September, 1620
Style of England

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST SACRED MAJESTY,

When I had ended the letter,¹ wherein this cometh to your

¹ This dispatch of Sept 7, O S, is partly printed in *Reliq.*, 3rd ed., pp 498-508, and completely *Rox. Club*, pp 213-23 A brief summary of this lengthy document must suffice here Wotton states that Aug 22, O S, he arrived at Kloster Neuburg, just outside Vienna, where he remained four days, while suitable accommodations were being provided for him in Vienna On the 23rd he had his first audience with the Emperor Ferdinand II, to whom he submitted in writing four requests first, that the Emperor would inform him of 'his inclination towards a sincere treaty upon the present motions' Second, that Wotton should be supplied with 'all fundamental arguments in the merit of the cause', which should then be forwarded to James I Third, that if the Emperor agreed to treat, a truce, or cessation of arms, should be arranged for this purpose Fourth, that there should be liberty of communication for the couriers of the English ambassadors between Vienna and Prague To these requests Wotton added strong protestations 'with high and holy affirmations' of the impartiality of James I in the cause, and his complete lack of connivance in, or foreknowledge of, the election of his son-in-law to the Bohemian throne

On Aug 26, O S, Wotton entered Vienna, where he was received with great honour and ceremony, and lodged, with 'rich furniture', in the house of the Baron di Gabriana, near the Court The Baron von Harach, a gentleman of the Emperor's Bedchamber, and the son-in-law of the Emperor's favourite councillor, von Eggenberg, was appointed to wait on him On the 29th Wotton visited von Eggenberg, and received the answer to his four requests For the first the Emperor declared he was willing to leave the question either to a meeting of the Electoral College, or to four 'interpositors', one of whom should be the Electoral Palatine himself The truce was refused, freedom for the ambassadors' couriers was granted, and the Grand Chancellor of Bohemia, with two Aulic Councillors, was sent to expound to Wotton the legal aspects of the case

Majesty, the French ambassadeurs, Duke d'Angolesme, Monsieur de Bethunes, and Monsieur de Pieaux came to visit me¹ At this conference we jointly agreed upon a dispatch to Prage, addressed to your Majesty's extraordinary ambassadors in case of their being there, or otherwise to Sir Francis Nethersole your agent² (because the French have none in Bohemia at the present, that doth bear any qualification), but sent by a gentleman of mine, and another of theirs, to signify our conjunction, and by us, the conjunction of our masters in the same good end, which we openly profess here to others, and with much fraternity between ourselves

The whole intent, your Majesty will see in the enclosed copy of my letter³ to your own servants, which I humbly submit unto your high wisdom For of ourselves we can but hearken what is fit to propound It is not our parts to judge what our Sovereign Master will alter, or the Emperor and the Bohemians accept This only I dare affirm (with your Majesty's pardon of my presumption) that by the next dispatch which I shall send your Majesty immediately after the return of those which the French ambassador and myself have now sent to Bohemia, I will probably represent unto your wisdom what time and charge and importunity may be further spent upon this business, which, when your Majesty shall be pleased to consider in the enclosed what hath been written to your instruments on that side, will not be hard to assume For there is in truth but one main knot in the whole business, namely, the point of succession, which, if your servants from Prage shall signify to be insuperable there, or we find it so here, your Majesty may dispose of us at your pleasure, for we shall be, in the places

¹ Extraordinary ambassadeurs sent by Louis XIII on a mission like that of Wotton's (and equally hopeless), to prevent the outbreak of war When Wotton arrived in Vienna all the three French ambassadors visited him together, and thereupon arose a nice diplomatic point The visits being paid in company, should Wotton return them (as he thought right) in one visit to all the ambassadors at once, or should he go (as they expected) to the lodgings of each of the three? The difficulty was settled by the French ambassadors proving that precedent was on their side, and by their promising Wotton that if more English envoys arrived, the French would pay them separate visits (*Rox Club*, pp 215-16, see also *Wicquefort*, p 240)

² Sir Francis Nethersole (1587-1659), secretary to the Queen of Bohemia, and agent for James I at Prague (*D N B*, xi, p 229)

³ This letter to Conway and Weston or (if they had not yet arrived at Prague) to Sir Francis Nethersole, is printed in the *Reliquiae*, 2nd ed., p 509 The ambassadors proposed that the question in dispute should be remitted to a diet of German Princes at Regensburg, with the intervention of foreign ambassadors, and they suggested that the Elector Palatine should give up the kingdom of Bohemia, which the Emperor Ferdinand should enjoy for life, the Bohemians being left free after his death, to choose the Elector Palatine or his heir, to succeed him They did not insist on this plan, however, leaving it, Wotton wrote, 'as a bear's whelp, which may be licked into better form' The bearers of this letter were Walter Waller for Wotton, and De Segomic (or Sigonic) for the French ambassadors

where we are, *mutiles servi* This is, therefore, the point that we search in our conjoined message to Piage, of which I have no more to say unto your Majesty at the present

It may please your Majesty now, for an end of your trouble by this courier, to be informed that this very morning, the Emperor hath sent one of his secretaries unto me with the enclosed paper, endoised '*Extractus ex litteris Oratoris Cuesarci*' &c, which he seems desirous to communicate with all Christian Princes—to what end, your Majesty's wisdom will better judge than I can suggest Only methought, by the delivery there was as much desire in the Emperor to let your Majesty and the other Princes know that the King of Spain is engaged in his defence, as to express the reason And so again with my prayers to Almighty God for your Majesty's long and peaceful days, I rest,

Your Majesty's long devoted servant
and obliged vassal,
HENRY WOTTON

332 TO SIR GEORGE CALVERT

S P Ger Emp, transcript Wotton writes to Calvert about his dispatch to the King

From Vienna, this vii of Sept 1620

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

My dispatch now to the King doth contain the manner of my reception here, my proposition to the Emperor, with his answer thereunto, my conference with the Baron of Eckenberg¹, his favourite, about the said answer, and with his deputies about the merit of the cause, matter of intelligence, and discourse, a protestation from Spain of that King's conscientious ends in the assisting of the Emperor, lastly, my professed conjunction here with the French ambassadors, and our joint dispatch to Piage These are the naked bones, whereof I shall not need to set down the poor clothing and ligaments I know all will pass through your Honour's hands to the King because you are the lieger secretary

I wrote to your Honour from Augusta of the death of little Mr Wharton His governor, Mr Braynthwayte, I retain for my next dispatch, by whom, being one of your own, I shall have new occasion to profess that I am likewise,

Your Honour's unfeignedly,
HENRY WOTTON

¹ Hans Ulrich, Baron von Eggenberg and Prince (1568-1634)

333 TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON

Eton MS, holograph, *Rox Club*, p 233 The advance of the
Imperial Army on Piague

Vienna, the 27th of September, 1620
Stalo veteri

We wonder and languish for the return of our gentlemen from Prage, who by the French and myself were jointly dispatched thither this very day three weeks What passage my letters find homewards I cannot conjecture, for since my being here I have received no one line from any friend beyond Augusta The present I hazard by the foot post of Nurreinberge, with address to the Calandini there, correspondents <of> Signor Burlamachi The Emperor's army in Bohemia have lately taken a few inconsiderable places, whereof the last was Pitzca, since when some say they bend towards Pilzen by advice of the Duke of Bavaria, because, if they can gain it, the passage will be open from his provinces Others say the intent is to march more directly towards the capital town, and to provoke a battle, as if between Pitzca and Prage there lay Salisbury Plain, or some bowling alley! The God both of armies and of peace resolve all to His own glory, to whose love I humbly commit you, Sir, and myself to the continuance of yours, as

Your willing servant,
HENRY WOTTON

334 TO SIR GEORGE CALVERT

S P Gei Emp, holograph The death of Dampierre,
Michael Branthwaite

Vienna, $\frac{4}{14}$ of October, 1620

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

I send you a draft of Tampier's¹ death, like one of the Low-Country pieces, myself the designer, though no Golzius² nor Jacques de Gein, and Mr Braynthrowte, your kinsman, the sculptor, with whose hand and judgement and fidelity and erudition I am so much in love, that I will not suffer him (as I had once determined by sending him back with a dispatch) to lose the fruit of foreign observation and language Therefore I resolve now to transport him over the Alpse, when the King shall free us from hence, and to participate with him my studies and intelligences Mistake

¹ Heinrich, Count von Dampierre (1580-1620), killed in an attempt to take Pressburg, Oct 8, 1620 Wotton's account of Dampierre's death was printed in the *Reliquiae*, 1st ed., p 467, 3rd ed., p 298

² Golzius, Belgian painter (1526-1583)

me not, Sir, as if I valued either my fortune or discretion at a rate to be serviceable to one of yours, for though that respect doth bind me, yet it cannot mend my weakness. Understand me therefore I beseech you rightly that my ambition is, by such occasions whereof his own capacity will take hold, within the compass of my employment, to prepare him a little for your service at home. And so let this end in your love, myself ever remaining,

Your willing servant of long devotion,

HENRY WOTTON

335 TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON (?)

Eton MS, holograph, extract, *Rox Club*, p 236. No address, but probably to Naunton, as the letters to him are preserved at Eton, those to Calvert being in the Record Office. The arrival of Walter Waller and De Sigonie at Prague, the advance on Prague of the Imperial army.

Vienna, $\frac{1}{2}$ of October, 1620

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

At last we understand from Prague the safe, though late, arrival there of those gentlemen whom the French ambassadors and myself did jointly dispatch thither full five weeks since, who, when they had passed the Emperor's army (which they thought the worst) were at Taboř arrested some days, then letters there taken from them and sent before themselves to the Court, which coming to Sir F. Nethersole's hands, he hath forbore to negotiate upon them till the coming of his Majesty's ambassadors, especially standing in daily expectation of their arrival. This was the cause of the delay, but now we quickly hope to receive knowledge from thence whether the 'Crowned Elector' (for I think that title I may safely give him¹) will treat or no, nay, whether he may treat without precedent permission both of the Bohemian States, and of their confederates, and likewise whether anything be well tasted in that form of accord which we represented from hence whereof particular account was

¹ As James I never acknowledged the right of the Elector Palatine to the throne of Bohemia, or allowed him the title of King, the ambassadors of the English King were much embarrassed to know how to name or address him. They generally got out of the difficulty by calling him 'His Majesty's son-in-law', but this would not serve when they addressed letters to him, or his wife, as Wotton did at this time. Wotton's letters have not been preserved, but on Oct 14, O S., Walter Balcanquhall, then English chaplain at Prague, wrote, 'Both the King and Queen seem to be much offended with Sir Henry Wotton, not only because of this which he adviseth them to, but likewise because the inscription of his private letters to them give them but the title of Prince and Princess Palatine, and his letter to the Queen he beginneth thus, "May it please your Majesty (but with a solemn protestation that I give you this title not as an ambassador)"' (*S P Ger States*, Oct 14.)

given his Majesty by Henry Balam, by whom I sent the copy of my letter that went to Piage¹

We say here that the Imperial army is at the present some eight or ten Dutch miles from Piage, and the Elector personally in the field, but those things you have from better commentaries. If it be as wet weather there as it hath been lately here, they will swim shortly in their trenches, and then perhaps we shall obtain the remitting of this great business to Regensbourg, or some other well chosen seat, there to be handled by the ambassadors of German princes and of foreign kings

336 To —

Reliq, 3rd ed, p 515, no address or signature, dated Octob, 1620, probably Oct 31, O S, as on Nov 1st, O S, Wotton sent the same news to Naunton. The return of De Sigonie from Piage, rumours of a great battle

Octob (31 ?) 1620 (O S)

AMICO VETERI S P

Accepi quas ad me Wirmatia dederas Octobris 10, quibus effusius respondebo per unum ex meis quem isthac in Angliam destinavi intra triduum

Iamdudum scis legatos Gallicos et me simul singulos nobiles utriusque nationis cum totidem famulis in Bohemiam ablegasse, ad exploiandam Coronati Electoris mentem super eadem fere concordiae formula, quam ipsemet mihi Stutgardae inieceras, quamque commemorati legati, credo, etiam hauseant ex eodem fonte. Ex nostris nobilibus Gallus, nomine Sigonius, solus rediit in Anglum in oppidulo Austriae superioris (quod Freystadt vocant) reliquit sub potestate morbi. Duo famuli Pragae periire ex febre Hungarica, quae perexiguo intervallo distat a peste literae intactae pervenerunt, per quas incipio connectare quam operosa res sit circa quam sudamus

¹ See *ante*, II, p 191 n 3. The proposed settlement was by no means 'well tasted' at Prague, Balcanquhall (in the letter cited above) said it was thought ridiculous there, and on Sept 20, O S, the King of Bohemia (who still hoped for victory in arms) replied that Wotton seemed ignorant of the real state of affairs, which had changed since Spinola's invasion of the Palatinate. The plan of remitting the dispute to a diet was 'medicine after death', and moreover Bohemia was out of the jurisdiction of the diet and the Empire (*S P Ger States*, Sept 20). The two English ambassadors, Conway and Weston, arrived at Prague on Oct 9 after a long delay at Dresden, where the Elector of Saxony had kept them waiting. On Oct 18 they wrote to Wotton (*Reliq*, 3rd ed, p 512) that although the King of England's 'son in law' was willing to enter into a treaty, if a truce could be obtained, yet he was absolutely unwilling to give up Bohemia. They, therefore, suggested that the Emperor should allow him to keep the kingdom, accepting a yearly sum, to be fixed by arbitrators, in compensation for his claims. Such a proposal would, of course, have been utterly unacceptable to the Emperor, then on the eve of his great victory.

Nemo te melius novit quantum legati valeant in turbatis temporibus Igitur recte videmus exuto civili munere militari subusse Utcunque, bene speramus, et de eventu, qualiscunque demum fuerit, te faciam brevi certiorum Interim hoc scias velim natos hic rumores per omnium ora de magna Bohemorum strage, super Sigonii Galli reditu, tanquam ipse id attulisset quod profecto in hac aula est familiaris ludus Somniant quae volunt, et cuicunque ex castis advenienti aliquid affingunt, praecipue paulo ante Mercurii aut Sabbati diem, quo hinc cursores in omnes oras avolant, quia falsa impressio interdum causa est magnorum motuum

337 TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON

Eton MS, holograph, *Rox Club*, p. 246 In this letter (written ten days after the battle of the Weissenberg, or White Mountain) Wotton writes of his negotiations, and the arrival at Vienna of rumours of the fall of Prague

Vienna, this 1⁵ of November, 1620

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

I have this week received your letter of the 30th of September¹ and therein the duplicate of a former of the 23rd of the same month, which seems to have failed on the way, and maketh me likewise doubt the fortunes of some of mine that have been weekly written

I had audience with the Emperor but one day before the receipt of these from you, touching our joint dispatch to Prague, and the return that we have had from thence, among which things I sprinkled some complaint about the invasion of the Palatinate, intending to sound whether it were either done by his appointment, or continued by his approbation, but your said letters giving me larger authority, I have demanded audience again, which I shall have to morrow In the meanwhile I have been at two consultations with the French ambassadors, the first in mine own lodging, the other in the Duke's, where they came together, and at a single debatement myself with the Spanish ambassador, between whom and them I am the medium For upon the punctuality which I signified by Balam

¹ This duplicate of Naunton's letter to Wotton is printed in the *Reliquiae*, 8id ed, p. 508 Naunton says that the King has ordered him to say that he is thoroughly satisfied with the ambassador's 'good endeavours with the Emperor, and that he was to deal with him in such a manner as should prevent him from publishing too hastily the bann against the Palatinate

² On Oct. 25, 1620, Wotton wrote to Naunton of the return of the three French ambassadors, who had gone to Pressburg to try to induce Bethlen Gabor, the Prince of Transylvania, and elected King of Hungary (then in arms against the Emperor), to enter into negotiations for peace (*Rox Club*, p. 239)

they never intervisit¹ Of all which, as likewise of the answer that I shall draw from the Emperor, his Majesty shall have knowledge by an expresse messenger

I am conceiving an address to the Duke of Bavaria, according to his Majesty's direction In my last I wrote that Vacia (alias Waetsen), lying on a branch of the Danubie which maketh an island between Gran and Buda, was taken by the Turk, which, besides other commodities, doth give him (as they say) a passage to the mineial towns, the most attractive object of that kingdom This I must now confirm, and withal news is come from Constantinople, by expresse letters from Caesare Gallo, the Emperor's ambassador there, of 'greater preparations in the Levant than have been since the days of Soliman, in voice against Polonia, but in likelihood' (as he intimateth) 'against Hungaria, and so forward' All which I am apt to believe, though many things here be composed at pleasure For if this were artificial, it must only be cast abroad to strike some doubt into Bethlem Gaboi, who lies nearer the truth than the Emperor himself, and perchance hath as good commentaries in those parts

Now, while we stood thus in a posture of affairs (as both the French ambassadors and myself did conceive) very favourable towards our common scope, we are surprised with the noise of the taking of Prage, defeats of regiments, deaths of colonels, seizure of the castle, retirements of the Princess and Elector towards Silesia, and the like, which hath been sent hither by Slabada and Meshanski² from Passawe, where they lie like liege intelligencers for the Emperor, holding practice by letter with some of their inward party in Bohemia This fight (upon which the rest should ensue) is said to have been on the eighth of the present month, *stilo novo*, since when are run ten days And yet to this hour no gentleman or courier hath been expressly dispatched to the Emperor from thence which is commonly done upon slighter jollities So as what I should think I less know than what I wish Some part of it I am tempted

¹ In his dispatch of Sept 7 Wotton explains the cause of this quarrel When the French ambassadors arrived, the Conde d'Ognate, the Spanish ambassador, sent his secretary in the morning after their first audience to ask if he might call that afternoon They begged to be excused, as they were busy writing their dispatches The excuse was accepted, but because they did not send of their own accord to say when they would be at leisure, the Spaniard was insulted, and never called at all Though the Spaniards and French lived near each other for seven weeks they could not communicate, until Wotton arrived to act as intermediary (*Rox Club*, p 215) The Duke mentioned above is the Duc d'Angoulême

² 'Both defenestrated at Prague, and then messenger, a kind of notary, likewise banished' Note of Wotton's in margin The names of the men 'defenestrated' at Prague (May 28, 1618) are generally given as Martinitz and Slawata, with Fabricius their secretary

to believe by the generalness of the rumour, and, besides, because from Snath in Moravia a letter of the 12th of this month doth say that noise was arrived there of an encounter between the armies, with loss of some principals on each side. But I am willing to persuade myself that it will prove a thing multiplied and magnified beyond the truth, *alla solita*. And so, till I can speak out of better tablets, I will not farther disquiet either his Majesty's thoughts or mine own. My express dispatch shall bring both the certain of this and the hope or desperation of the rest.

And so I remain,

Your Honour's to serve you,

HENRY WOTTON

I have kept this letter from sealing till the very point of the ordinary courier's departure, and yet no express messenger is come to the Emperor from Bohemia.

338 TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON (?)

S P Ger Emp, holograph. Almost certainly to Naunton, as Wotton mentions his previous letter to him of Nov. 1st. The address 'My Lord' and the use of 'your Lordship' are probably slips of the pen. No certain news in Vienna of the battle at Prague.

Vienna, the 1st of November, 1620

MY LORD,

This is *extra ordinem* by the fast post of Nuremberg having four days since written to your Lordship by the courier of Augusta, with recommendation of my letter to Signor Gio Giorgio Flechammer¹ there, a courteous merchant well known unto you. The end of the present is but to tell you that, though this be the fifteenth day since the date of that victory in Bohemia, which hath filled all this Court and town with jollity, yet to this hour hath the Emperor received no confirmation thereof, by any direct address of either gentleman or courier, which commonly fly hither upon slighter occasions, and might now be more justly expected, after such a mortality of colonels on both sides as is voiced, if it were but to beg vacant places, or at least some confiscable² possessions. To which I must add that the Emperor, some three weeks since, upon hearing that his army drew towards the capital town, sent a gentleman thither of his own chamber purposely that he might have fresh advertisement upon any notable accident, which gentleman doth

¹ A relative no doubt of the John Christopher Fleckamer or Flechammer of Augsburg, in whose album Wotton, in 1604, wrote his famous definition of an ambassador (*ante*, II, p. 10).

² 'Confiscable' liable to confiscation. First instance in *N E D*, 1780.

not yet compear¹, though the way, upon their own suppositions, be laid open by conquest, and the journey not above thirty hours by a man of reasonable haste

Yet doth the noise continue here by the faculty of the first believers, who maintain their own lightness. I would be loth to be too ingenuous² in the collection of circumstances to discredit all this news, for fear that some part of it should be true, otherwise I would tell your Lordship again and again, as I did before, that the first authors of this report are enough of themselves to discredit the whole. For it came from Slabada and Messhanski (as I wrote), two of the defenestrated men, who lie at Passawe as hegei intelligencers, *fingentes credentesque*³. Be it how it will, I will be bold to say that, though it be true, yet, all things considered, we shall have the greater glory that do not believe it.

I have not yet mine answer from the Emperor upon the declaration of his Majesty's just and royal resolution to vindicate the Palatinates from all violent hands,⁴ which, when I receive, your Lordship shall hear how handsomely it can be excused or justified.

God send us a cheerful meeting in our own quiet home

Your Lordship's obedient servant,

HENRY WOTTON

339 TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON

Eton MS, dictated, extract, *Rox Club*, p. 249. News at Vienna of the fall of Prague

From Vienna, the $\frac{1}{2}$ of November, 1620

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

I had indeed many times observed, since my coming hither, that the Emperor was one of the last acquainted with any of his own inconveniences, but yet I thought his good fortunes had made more haste to his ears than I now perceive, for Prague was twelve days taken before he had any certain knowledge thereof. At last is come the Count de Bie, brother in law to Bucquoi⁵, with the whole relation. And this very morning the Emperor is gone in an

¹ 'Compear,' to appear. Obs. (*N E D*)

² 'Ingenuous,' frequently misused in seventeenth century for ingenious (*V E D*)

³ 'Fingentibus credentibusque' (*Tac Hist* ii 8)

⁴ James I, roused by the invasion of the Palatinate to a momentary display of vigour and indignation, wrote to the Princes of the Union (Sept 29, O S) declaring that he would defend the Palatinate, the inheritance of his grandchildren, while remaining neutral as far as Bohemia was concerned. The next day he made a public declaration before the Council to this effect, qualified, however, by the condition that if the Elector Palatine expected aid, he must listen to the advice of the English ambassadors at Prague, and give up his claim to the crown of Bohemia (*Gardner*, iii, pp 372, 373)

⁵ Count Bucquoi, commander of the Imperialist army in Bohemia, defeated and killed by the Hungarians under Bethlen Gabor July 10, 1621

eucharistical procession to the cathedral church, accompanied with all the public Ministers save the French and Savoy ambassadors and the Venetian agent, for I may spare the excepting of myself

Now for the report of this action, as it is here delivered, and the commentaries that are made upon it, both by soldiers and politicks, I shall represent all that unto his Majesty by an express dispatch suspended till the beginning of the next week¹

340 TO SIR GEORGE CALVERT

S P Ger Emp, holograph The fall of Prague, Wotton preparing for his departure for Venice

From Vienna, 16th of December, 1620
Style of England

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

In the room of Mr Braynthwayte, let the bearer of this bring you many hearty thanks for the kind letter wherewith it pleased you to honour me If mine own lines of some weeks since have not failed, you know the reason why I retain your kinsman, about whom I have now adventured to write unto my noble sister, with whose grief I durst not wrestle in the beginning, for her affections are strong, and she loved that soul which is in heaven, not only as a sister, but indeed as a mother, as she had entitled herself unto him by his education I hope neither she nor my Lord Wharton will be offended at Mr Braynthwayte's stay, whose return would have been nothing but a visible motive of new sorrow And more I shall not need to say of this matter

By my letter to the King, your Honour will see how controversies are more easily decided by fortune than by treaty, yet let not the Jesuits make that their text which was only the gospel of a poet *Victrix causa Deo placuit*,² for the all distinguishing eye might peradventure be displeased with some affections in the business more than with the business itself Sir, I beseech you give me leave to utter my conceit, though without application to persons, because they are too great, and by veneration redeemed from censure Methinks this whole quarrel hath been like the disputation between Job and his friends, whereof the divines note that one side did carry a good cause ill, and the other an ill cause well

¹ Wotton's reason for suspending this dispatch was the departure of De Preaux, one of the French ambassadors, into Hungary to see Bethlen Gabor, and find out whether he intended to treat separately with the Emperor for peace, or would join with the Bohemians in a general treaty If there was to be a general treaty Wotton would remain in Vienna, otherwise he intended to depart for Venice (*Rox Club*, p 251)

² 'Victrix causa deus placuit, sed victa Catoni' (Lucan, *Phars* 1 128)

I am now preparing for Venice, mine old seat, whence I will be bold to send you news, and then as a long devoted servant some familiar domestic things—Parmesan, glasses, olives, and such poor tokens *quae fert noster agellus* ¹

In the meanwhile I beg the continuance of your love, and the particular favour to tell me, by the return of this bearer, how his Majesty hath accepted the present dispatch, which I know will pass through your friendly hands as all the former

And so I humbly, at your Honour's command,

HENRY WOTTON

341 TO JAMES I

S P Ger Emp, dictated, extract, *Reliq*, 3rd ed, p 523 De Preaux's journey to Hungary Wotton's negotiations with the Emperor, &c

Vienna, $\frac{1}{2}$ of December, 1620

TO HIS MOST SACRED MAJESTY

Although I had from your Majesty a power in my instructions to depart hence to my other employment, as soon as this controversy should be decided, either by treaty or by fortune, yet I have stayed here a month and a half after the battle, that I might view the final resolutions, whereof I shall now render your Majesty an account, which I am bound to begin with my humblest thanks for your benign approbation of my poor endeavours, as I have understood from both your Secretaries, wherein I see that your Majesty is still pleased, by the excellency of your nature, and by the indulgency of your judgement, to accept honest zeal for discretion in your own creature Serving therefore so good and so gracious a master, I will proceed cheerfully to the discharge of the rest, as the affairs stand

By my last to Mr Secretary Naunton, your Majesty understood the cause of Mons de Preaux his going into Hungary And by this you may expect the fruit of his journey

There arriving after news of the defeat before Prague, he found much alteration in their faces and much altercation in their councils, among which he was once publicly admitted, where he understood passion enough, being the common language of nature, but nothing else for they spoke in their own tongue At last this was the conclusion, that a gentleman should be immediately dispatched to the Elector Palatine (supposed at Preslau ² in Silesia) to understand whether he would join with the Hungarians in a treaty with the Emperor And in case of either delay or denial, to make a solemn

¹ Cf Martial, vii 31 8 'Nil nostris, nisi me, ferunt agelli'

² Breslau

protestation that they would provide for themselves. Of the event whereof the Prince of Transylvania undertook by the 15th of this month, *aut cetera*, to give knowledge hither. I must profess unto your Majesty that I did little expect for my part so much formality from the said Prince *in hoc statu rerum*, as to attend a return from Silesia, having before (as hath been written) so closely begun here to practise his own reconciliation. But the truth is (and well he knows it) that he may be heard when he listeth, by reason of the Turk at his back, under whose shadow he will fit¹ himself.

Now touching mine own peculiar duties, for with Bethlem Gabor and the Hungarians I have nothing to do in single consideration (as your Majesty's servant) till we shall hear whether the Elector, your son in law, and that kingdom will treat with the Emperor conjunctively or no.

Before the going of De Prieux I had one only access to the Emperor, and two others while he was away.

The first, after consultation here with the French ambassadors about the answer which we had (with no small loss of time and advantage) so late received from Bohemia, addressed unto me by Sir Francis Nethersole in French, as it came to him from the camp.

The other two, touching your Majesty's declaration of yourself in the Palatine cause, and intercession against the Emperor's ban, as they call it, about which I shall need to trouble your Majesty no further than with the perusal of such marginal notes as I have added, both to the foresaid French paper, and to the Emperor's two answers in Latin which come herewith,² and contain all that may concern your latter directions in two letters from Mr Secretary Naunton. Yet I must not omit that between the second and third of these audiences, I was visited by the Baron of Eckenberg (the Emperor's inwardest counsellor and favourite), who spent an hour or two at my lodging, with much protestation of his Majesty's respect towards your Majesty, of his grief that things were gone on to such expense of blood, of his wishes that your son-in-law had rather taken your Majesty's counsel than the Duke of Bouillon's, of his forgiving nature, of his desire to recover only his own, and to redeem this Imperial House from open scorn.

Lastly, that the King of Spain also had written hither how glad

¹ 'Fit,' provide or supply with what is fit. Obs. (*N E D*)

² The two answers of the Emperor, dated Nov 28 and Dec 4, N S, are printed in the *Reliq* (3rd ed., pp 517-21). In the first he explains why the Palatinate was invaded, in the second he grants, at Wotton's request, a temporary suspension of the ban against the Elector Palatine. It was finally issued on Jan 12 1621 O S. (*Gardiner*, iv, 176)

he would be, that your Majesty might have all possible satisfaction. This was after the Emperor had been informed of his success at Prague, whereunto there was, as to all other far discourse of this kind, but one only reply on my part, that your Majesty might justly promise yourself very good respect here, and good offices from Spain, by the merit of your own moderation in the Bohemian cause, and by your Christian endeavours for the common quiet, with such perseverance.

I must not forget likewise to inform your Majesty, that myself visiting here the Spanish ambassador (as I have usually done after my audiences with the Emperor) and falling (as I thought might well become me) into wonder at Spinola's intrusions, enough to inflame all Christendom, which your Majesty (measuring other princes by the equity of your own heart) had no reason to expect he asked me, after a little deliberation, whether the Marquis of Buckingham were not a gentleman of honour? I need not profess how glad I was of such occasion to do your Majesty's dearest servant and mine own most noble patron all the right that my voice could utter, but in truth, on the other side, extremely surprised with so impertinent a question to my discourse, till he eased me with the sight of a paper out of his cabinet. It was the copy of a letter written by my Lord Marquis in your Majesty's name to the Spanish ambassador residing with you, wherein your Majesty did thus far justify the Spanish proceedings, 'as never to have made any promise that they would not assail the Palatinate', whereupon this ambassador inferred that the said letter, written by so noble a personage and in your Majesty's name,¹ was a high discharge for Spain in the points of real dealing. I replied that indeed I had never heard of any direct promise or denial made about the matter, but that your Majesty's servants employed therein (whereof I was one myself to the Archduke Leopoldus) did rather complain of answers obscure and ambiguous and very different from our plain English style. This was all that passed between the Conde d'Ognate and me, unto which I have a little digressed.

We have gotten knowledge that such a letter is come to the Emperor from the Duke of Saxony² touching the Palatine Elector, as makes us conceive he will use his mediation rather than ours, so as I am preparing towards Venice in this hard season, where (as your Majesty's servant) I have the honour to be much expected and

¹ For this humiliating letter, extorted by Gondomar from James I, see *Gardiner*, iii, p. 376.

² John George Elector of Saxony, to whom the Elector Palatine sent an embassy before he left Bieslau on Dec. 23 (*Ibid.*, iv, 176).

desued, as I hear by their resident in this place, especially the Republic standing in no small perplexity and solicitude at the present divers ways There I shall attend your Majesty's farther directions, and leave the French (as I found them) upon this stage, till they get leave to depart, for which they have dispatched home an express courier, intending in the meantime to deal between the Emperor and Bethlem Gaboi

342 TO FRANCIS BACON, LORD VERULAM

Reliq, 1st ed, p 411, 3rd ed, p 298, unsigned, no date, but evidently written at about the same date as the above letter The *Novum Organum*, Kepler's *Camera Obscura*

(Vienna, Dec 19^o 1620, O S)

RIGHT HONOURABLE, AND MY VERY GOOD LORD,

I have your Lordship's letters dated the 20th of October,¹ and I have withal by the care of my cousin, Mr Thomas Meawtis², and by your own special favour, three copies of that work, wherewith your Lordship hath done a great and ever living benefit to all the children of nature, and to nature herself, in her uttermost extent and latitude, who never before had so noble nor so true an interpreter, or (as I am readier to style your Lordship) never so inward a secretary of her cabinet But of your said work (which came but this week to my hands) I shall find occasion to speak more hereafter, having yet read only the first book thereof, and a few aphorisms of the second For it is not a banquet that men may superficially taste, and put up the rest in their pockets, but in truth, a solid feast, which requieth due mastication Therefore when I have once myself pursued the whole, I determine to have it read piece by piece at certain hours in my domestic college, as an ancient author For I have learned thus much by it already, that we are extremely mistaken in the computation of antiquity, by searching it backwards, because indeed the first times were the

¹ Bacon's letter to Wotton, sending him three copies of the *Novum Organum* (published 1620) is printed in the *Reliq*, 3rd ed, p 297

My VERY GOOD COUSIN,

Your letter which I received from your Lordship upon your going to sea, was more than a compensation for my former omission, and I shall be very glad to entertain a correspondence with you in both kinds, which you writ of for the latter whereof I am now ready for you, having sent you some one of that mine I thank you for your favours to Mr Mewtus, and I pray continue the same So wishing you out of that honourable exile, and placed in a better orb, I ever rest,

Your Lordship's affectionate kinsman, and assured friend,

FR VERULAM CANG

York House;

Octob 20, 1620

² (Sir) Thomas Meautys, third son of Henry Meautys, knighted 1641, married Anne, daughter of Sir Nathaniel Bacon (*Correspondence of Jane, Lady Cornwallis*, xxv, 11)

youngest, especially in points of natural discovery and experience¹ For though I grant that Adam knew the natures of all beasts, and Solomon of all plants, not only more than any, but more than all since their time, yet that was by divine infusion, and therefore they did not need any such *Organum* as your Lordship hath now delivered to the world, nor we neither, if they had left us the memories of their wisdom

But I am gone further than I meant in speaking of this excellent labour, while the delight yet I feel, and even the pride that I take in a certain congeniality² (as I may term it) with your Lordship's studies, will scant let me cease And indeed I owe your Lordship even by promise (which you are pleased to remember, thereby doubly binding me) some trouble this way, I mean, by the commerce of philosophical experiments, which surely, of all other, is the most ingenuous traffic Therefore, for a beginning, let me tell your Lordship a pretty thing which I saw coming down the Danuby, though more remarkable for the application than for the theory I lay a night at Lintz, the metropolis of the higher Austria, but then in very low estate, having been newly taken by the Duke of Bavaria,³ who, *blandiente fortuna*, was gone on to the late effects There I found Kepler,⁴ a man famous in the sciences, as your Lordship knows, to whom I purpose to convey from hence one of your books, that he may see we have some of our own that can honour our King, as well as he hath done with his *Harmomca*⁵ In this man's study I was much taken with the draft of a landscape on a piece of paper, methought masterly done whereof inquiring the author, he bewrayed with a smile it was himself, adding, he had done it *non tanquam pictor, sed tanquam mathematicus* This set

¹ 'Illa enim aetas, respectu nostri, antiqua et maior, respectu mundi ipsius, nova et minor fuit' (*Nov Org* 1 84)

² 'Congeniality' is a word of Wotton's invention, and he uses it again in the *Elements of Architecture* (*Reliq*, 3rd ed, p 58), the next use of it noticed in the *N E D* is in Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, 1791

³ Maximilian of Bavaria invaded upper Austria, then in revolt against the Emperor, and on July 25 he was at Lintz, where the Austrian nobles submitted themselves to him (*Gardiner*, III, p 367) Wotton passed through Lintz on his way from Augsburg to Vienna

⁴ On Aug 29, 1620, Kepler wrote to his friend Beinegger 'Ill D Wottoni non minor erga me humanitas in visitando fuit, doluit praepropeus eius transitus Hortatus ut in Angliam transeam Mihi tamen haec altera mea patria propter ignominiam istam, quam sustinet, deserenda non est ultro, nisi velim ingiatus haberi' In another letter he returns to the subject of Wotton's invitation 'Flagiare vides incendium belli civilis in Germania, vincere eos, a quorum stat partibus decus imperii, corripere proxima, grassari flammam An igitur mare transibo, quo me vocat Wotonus? Ego Germanus? Continentis amans, insulae angustias horrens? Periculorum eius praesagus? Uxoreulam trahens et gregem liberorum?' (*Kepler's Opera*, Ch Füssch, 1870, vol VII, pp 874, 967, cited by Rev W C Green, *Antiquary*, March, 1899)

⁵ Kepler's *Harmomca* (1619) was dedicated to James I

me on fire At last he told me how He hath a little black tent (of what stuff is not much importing) which he can suddenly set up where he will in a field, and it is convertible (like a windmill) to all quarters at pleasure, capable of not much more than one man, as I conceive, and perhaps at no great ease, exactly close and dark, save at one hole, about an inch and a half in the diameter, to which he applies a long perspective trunk, with a convex glass fitted to the said hole, and the concave taken out at the other end, which extendeth to about the middle of this erected tent, through which the visible radiations of all the objects without are introritted, falling upon a paper, which is accommodated to receive them, and so he traceth them with his pen in their natural appearance, turning his little tent round by degrees, till he hath designed the whole aspect of the field This I have described to your Lordship, because I think there might be good use made of it for chiorography for otherwise, to make landscapes by it were illiberal, though surely no painter can do them so precisely Now from these artificial and natural curiosities, let me a little direct your Lordship to the contemplation of fortune

Here, by a slight battle full of miserable evils (if I had leisure to set them down) all is reduced, or near the point In the provinces there is nothing but of fluctuation and submission the ordinary consequences of victory, wherein the triumphs of the field do not so much vex my soul, as the triumphs of the pulpit For what noise will now the Jesuit disseminate more in every corner, than *victrix causa Deo placuit*, which yet was but the gospel of a poet No, my Lord, when I revolve what great things Zisca did in the first troubles of his country, that were grounded upon conscience, I am tempted to believe the all distinguishing eye hath been more displeased with some human affections in this business than with the business itself

I am now preparing my departing toward my other employment, for in my first instructions I had a power to go hence when this controversy should be decided, either by treaty, or by fortune, whereof now the worser means have perverted the better

Here I leave the French ambassadors upon the stage, as I found them, being willing (*quod solum superest*) to deal between the Emperor and Bethlehem Gabor, with whom I have nothing to do, as he is now singled

Between this and Italy I purpose to collect the memorablest observations that I have taken of this great affair, and to present a copy thereof unto your Lordship's indulgence, not to your severe judgement

The present I cannot end (though I have too much usurped upon your precious time) without the return of my humble thanks unto your Lordship for the kind remembrance of my cousin, Mr John Meawtis, in your letter to me, and of your recommendation of him before, being a gentleman, in truth of sweet conditions and strong abilities I shall now transport him over the Alpes, where we will both serve your Lordship, and love one another And so beseeching God to bless your Lordship with long life and honour, I humbly rest,

Your Lordship's, etc

343 TO SIR GEORGE CALVERT

S P Ven, transcript Wotton's arrival in Venice

From Venice, the $\frac{2}{12}$ of March, 1621

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

Of my purpose to depart from Vienna, and to leave the Emperor to the counsels of his own fortune, I gave his Majesty knowledge by my servant, James Vary¹

Of my departure itself, of such important occasion as moved me to go thence to Bavaria, of my reception and negotiation for three days in that Court, with all other intervenient matter, I wrote from Innsbruck at large, but being after a long, painful, hazardous, and chargeable journey, arrived at last in Venice, and finding here by letters from Augusta some cause to doubt that my foresaid advertisements from Innsbruck may have failed in the passage,² I intend by the courier of the next week to iterate an accompt of the whole, wherein I hope his Majesty will be pleased with my honest endeavours

In the meantime I am not a little cumbered here with the furnishing of my house such provisions as should have come before me by sea being not yet arrived, till when I must live at the mercy of Jews

I shall not have my first audience yet in eight days, but I hear by my scouts that the Senate hath newly resolved to defer all deliberations which they had in hand, both with Sir Henry Panton and with Roquelaure, the French colonel, about fresh levies

¹ James Vary, who remained in Wotton's service after his appointment to the Provostship at Eton, and is mentioned more than once in the letters of that period

² This dispatch from Innsbruck is not preserved in the Record Office, and probably was lost on the way The information about Wotton's visit to Munich (1, p 175) is derived from a letter of July 8, 1621 (*S P Ven*)

First, because they find the new Pope¹ wholly averse from the disquieting of Italy *in summa, di sanque dolce Bolognese* Next, because from Vienna is signified but small likelihood of any agreement between the Emperor and the Hungarians,² the continuance of which division were to this country, even in the time of Lent, almost a second carnival so unchristian an art is perchance civil wisdom if it were well examined But of these things I shall give his Majesty continual advertisement as time shall change the prospect of this theatre wherein I am placed For the present with my prayers and praise to Almighty God for our own blessed repose at home under our good and gracious Majesty, I cease, Sir, to trouble you any further,

Ever remaining with entire affection to serve you,

HENRY WOTTON

344 TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON

S P Ven, holograph Wotton writes to Carleton, at the Hague, of his arrival in Venice, his visit to Munich, the state of Italy and of the new Pope, Gregory XV

From Venice, this 1st, of March, 1621

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

Having left the Emperor to the counsels of his own fortune (which he was likeliest to follow), I am, after a long, painful, and chargeable journey by the Court of Bavaria and the Lazaretto of Verona, well arrived in this place of my ordinary residence, through God's good blessing, *In quo movemur et sumus*¹ Here I have been two weeks and four days, and yet it is time enough to give your Lordship knowledge thereof, before the State hath any from me, whom I intend to acquaint to morrow morning, that on Monday next, some two hours before night, I shall arrive at their Island of St George², where I think the *Cavalliere* Pietro Contarini³ will be appointed to comply⁴ with me, being newly returned from Spain These silent

¹ Paul V died Jan. 28, 1621. He was succeeded by Gregory XV (Alessandro Ludovico of Bologna). The new Pope was reported to be friendly to Venice and France, and an enemy to Spain. Rome, Wotton wrote, was suddenly 'uncastigated', adding, however, 'These are the discourses running here, which I have set down as they flow, though with reservation of mine own conceit, having haunted Italy too many years to imagine that a Pope and a King of Spain can be long in disjunction' (*S P Ven*, March 3rd, 1621).

² Bethlen Gaboi, elected King of Hungary, was still in arms, and on July 10, 1621, he slew Bucquoi, the Imperial General, and forced his army to retreat. But in Jan. 1622, he made peace with Ferdinand and gave up his claim to the Crown of Hungary (*Coxe*, II, pp. 87, 88).

³ 'In ipso enim vivimus et movemur et sumus' (Act *xvii* 28).

⁴ Wotton's formal arrival was on March 29 (*ante*, I, p. 177).

⁵ Pietro Contarini, ambassador to France, 1619 (*Romanin*, VII, p. 169).

⁶ 'Comply,' i.e. to use compliments or ceremonies. Obs. (*N E D*).

days have been spent in the trimming of my house, wherein the rooms of receipt are so vast that I had rather have rigged one of the King's ships. My going by the Bavarian Court was to sound the ends of that Prince, whom I found swollen with panegyrics, which the Jesuits did shower upon him at his return from Prague, though under the name of *Urbano Bavaro Iure Consulto*¹. The true author was Father Kelsei, Rector of the College there and of the Dukedom.

In some four hours discourse with the Prince at several times, he laboured to persuade me that no ends or aims but mere obedience to the Emperor had embarked him in the Bohemian action, to the grief of his soul. This was the external. But believe me, my Lord, *intus nihil sani*. In my passage towards him I found all the upper Austria garrisoned with his soldiers, and questionless he means to hold it in meigage² for his expenses, as he hath done Donawerde³. For by all reason he may be as bold with the Emperor as he hath been with the Empire.

When I came to Rovere, between Trent and Verona, the Governor of that place made stay of me four days, till he had sent an express courier to Inspruck for some discretion both the authority of the whole province and the wit belike residing there.

In the Lazaretto near Verona we were aired twelve days, and at our entrance found this oracle on the wall, *Hic Locus et sepulchrum vivorum, experientia Amicorum, et dissipatio honorum*.

In those parts there was much jealousy, either of subjects or neighbours, but here in the capital city I find their counsels so calm, that they have ceased a contract which they had in hand, both with Sir Henry Peyton and Roquelaure, about fresh recruits⁴. For the new Pope hath assured them that he will keep storms out of Italy, and hath already denied passage both to the Neapolitan cavalry and infantry through the Ecclesiastical State. In which humour, if he persevere without warping, I shall think him a well-seasoned piece of timber. But of these things hereafter. The present was but to give your Lordship an accompt of my movings and of my rest. *Maladetta sia quella settimana*, wherein after this there shall be silence between us. And so I remain,

Your Lordship's to serve you cheerfully,

HENRY WILTON

I must give your Lordship many thanks for a large letter received

¹ *Friedenreich Urban Panegyricus Maximiliano Bororum duci e bello quo imperium pacavit revertisse dicatus*, Monachii, 1620

² 'Meigage,' obs form of moitgage

³ Donauwörth put to the ban of the Empire in 1607 and occupied by Maximilian

⁴ 'Recruits,' i.e. recruits. Obs. (N E D)

here from you by the means of Daniel Nuis¹, whose conveyance I use in the present postscript This very morning being, as your Lordship knows, the Nuncio's ordinary day of audience, he hath surprised the Prince and College with the presentation of a jubilee from his master Some conceive it is to win favour with an indulgent beginning For my part, I think because all things else are dear, he means to make sins good cheap²

345 TO SIR GEORGE CALVERT

S P Ven, dictated, extract, postscript holograph News in Venice of the death of the King of Spain, the illness of the Pope, Scioppius gone to Rome

Venice, this 1st, of a cold April, 1621

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

The advertisement of the King of Spaine's death came not hither by any direct dispatch, but the ambassador of the Republic resident at Madrid, having gotten sudden knowledge thereof, would have sent an extraordinary courier, which being denied him at the post office (for they meant to conceal it some while, at least from us here) he was fain to pass a few lines under the French packet, which were severed at Bordeaux and sent hither Thus we came to know it, and though it be written with circumstance of the time (as to have succeeded on the last of March) with some other particularities, enough to make it credible, yet is the Spanish secretary (left here by the last ambassador) so far hitherto from avowment thereof to the Duke, or any other silent profession by change of his habit, that he was two days sithence at a public comedy, which piece of art will yet hardly retard any new counsels that shall be formed upon this alteration

Now, as the past week brought us the departure of that King, so this has seconded the former, with a matter perchance of the more consequence at the present within our circle, namely, the dangerous indisposition of this moderate Pope, above his ordinary fits, represented in very private letters as almost irrecoverable, with which, I hear, doth consent the intelligence of this State This contingency, wherein we stand in fear of losing a good Italian Pope³,

¹ Daniel Nys was an agent employed by Wotton, Sir Dudley Culeton, and Sir Isaac Wake to collect pictures His most important purchase was the Mantua Collection in 1628 (*Original Papers relating to Rubens*, Noël Sainsbury, p 339, *Cal S P Dom*, 1635-6, p 76)

² In the *Reliquiae* (1st ed, p 508, 3rd, p 302) is printed what is practically a duplicate of the above letter, without date or address, but probably written to the Marquis of Buckingham, with whom Wotton was in regular correspondence

³ Philip III, King of Spain, died March 31, 1621

⁴ Gregory XV, elected Feb 2, 1621, was old and in bad health, the quietness of Italy depended, Wotton wrote, 'on the weak thread of the Pope's life (Disp, July 27)

doth suspend all judgement about the issue of the Giuſon troubles And our congratulatory ambassadois here, which were making haste with brave robes of crimson velvet at nine crowns the Venetian yard, will perchance stand harkening the whole next week. For if the See should be vacant, and Campori¹ succeed (for whom Buighese hath already renewed, as they write, *una rabbiosa practica*), a good red chamlet² from hence might serve his turn

SIR,

I cannot omit the advertising of his Majesty in this postscript, that after others, the Governor of Milan hath sent Gaspar Scioppius to Rome, to inspire into the Pope more zeal towards the Catholic cause of the Valtolina,³ as it is baptized, the employment of which fellow puts me in mind of his like in Tacitus, *quem calamitas temporum fecit partem Republicae*,⁴ being in good faith enough to authenticate my old merry definition of an ambassador

346 TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM

Reliq, 1st ed, p 409, 3rd ed, p 303, dated May 16, and probably written in this year Wotton sends two boxes of presents to Buckingham

Venice, this 16th of May, <1621 ?>

RIGHT HONOURABLE AND MY VERY GOOD LORD,

I know your Lordship cannot want presents of the best kind from all countries, if you would be but pleased to bewray your desue, for your favour is worthy to be studied, both because you are powerful, and because in the common judgement (of which we hear the sound, that are far off) you employ your power nobly

For my part, though I am not able to reach unto anything proportionable to your dignity, nor even of mine own mind, yet I must not suffer Venice (where I have served the King so long) to be wholly disgraced And therefore I have taken the boldness, in a ship newly departed from this harbour, to send your Lordship two boxes of poor things, which, because they need a little explication, not so much for their value as their use, I have desired Mr Nicholas Pey, one of the clerks of his Majesty's kitchen, who is my friend of trust at home in all my occasions, to acquaint your Lordship with a note of them, wherein my end is plain, only to excite your Lordship with this little

¹ Pietro Campori, Cardinal 1616, died 1643

² Chamlet or camlet, a cheap stuff of wool and silk

³ The Spaniards claimed that they were acting in the interests of Catholicism in fleeing the Valtelline from its Protestant rulers, the Venetians said that they were making a pretence of religion in order to gain possession themselves of the territory

⁴ Probably a reference to Tac *Hist* 1 76 19 'Crescens Neronis libertus (nam et in malis temporibus partem se rei publicae faciunt)'

taste¹, to command me further in whatsoever may better please you
And so I most humbly commit you to God's blessed love,

Your Lordship's with all devotion to serve you,

H WOTTON

347 TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON

S P Ven, dictated, extract The attempt to procure the readmission
of the Jesuits into Venice

Venice, the 4th of June sty nov6 1621

Here we expect perchance to morrow, or within two or three days, the Pope's new Nuncio², the voice still continuing that he is *in primo capite* to mediate the reception of the Jesuits, and it is said withal, that besides his master's commands, he means to confer³ unto it some zeal of his own Whether Fiaunce will give it any countenance (which hath likewise been strongly spoken) I cannot yet affirm, but surely all possible means is likely to be employed For the canonization of Ignatius⁴ (long since beatified), being now in hand at Rome, it may peradventure seem some blemish to his sauntship if his progeny, which hath been restored by art into Fiaunce, and by force into Bohemia, should remain excluded from so large a part of Italie as the extent of this State Yet on the other side I will say thus much, because I was here at their extrusion (whereunto I did contribute at least my prayers), that if the knot then tied shall be loosed, no provision of human wit can be fast in any civil government of the world⁵ And so having cumbered his Majesty too much with my other discourses by an express hand, I may be the briefer at the present, commending humbly herewith your honour to the love of our gracious God,

Your Honour's at all command,

HENRY WOTTON

¹ 'Task' in 1st ed. of *Reliquiae*

² The Bishop of Monte Fiascone

³ Gregory XV took advantage of the fact that the Venetians needed his help in the Valtelline business to demand the readmission of the Jesuits He was seconded by the special French ambassador, the Marquis de Coeuvres, who arrived in September

⁴ 'Confer,' i.e. contribute Obs. (*N E D*)

⁵ Ignatius Loyola, beatified 1607, canonized 1622

⁶ In 1657, during the war of Candia with the Turks, the Venetians were forced to readmit the Jesuits in order to get help from the Pope Alexander VII (*Romanin*, vii, p. 431)

348 TO SIR WALTER ASTON¹

C C C MS 318, f 25, holograph, A¹chaol xl Wotton writes to Aston, the English ambassador in Spain, to start the customary correspondence

Venice, this $\frac{8}{18}$ of June, 1621

MY LORD AND EVER HONOURED FRIEND,

Not long before my coming from Vienna (where I stayed till it was fit to leave the Emperor to the counsels of his own fortune), I gave your Lordship knowledge by the way of Bruxelles of my tending to this place, the centre of all my motions, and withal I sent you a cipher²

Here I have been almost four months, hoping still for some commandment from you, which I will now beg again. Besides our own private friendship, we are now consociates in the public service. And between the places of our residence there is as much relation as jealousy can breed—for that is a relative as well as love. This I bring as an argument to ground a frequent intercourse of letters between us. Your Lordship shall have from me news enough, the very disease of this city. At the present (to begin with a pertinent point) we stand in some hazard about the confines, of an affront or a rupture. Certain Spanish troops would pass armed from Ciema towards the Milanese over part of this dominion, which the Duke of Ferrara seems to pretend they may do, by old agreements between this State and the said Dukedom. But here the Senate hath strongly resolved the contrary, and accordingly a camp is collected of English, French, Flemish horse and foot about Martenengo, as the fittest place to impeach their passage, near which the said Spaniards stand hovering what they shall do. In the meanwhile frequent couriers are sent hither, with lies in their mouths and truth in their packets, as the fashion is, whereof the last has filled all this town with a voice of an encounter, and some slaughter on both sides. But a fresh letter from Sir Henry Peyton, colonel of the English (who is himself there) doth correct this vain noise.

I think it will beget more passion than action between these umbrageous neighbours, and according to the Gospel's phrase, 'treasure up anger till a fitter time'.

¹ Sir Walter Aston (Baron Aston of Forfar in 1627), 1584-1639, ambassador in Spain, 1620-5, 1635-8 (*D N B*).

² On Sept 24, 1621, Wotton sent a new cipher to Sir Walter Aston, 'that I may, he wrote, 'hereafter without any tender or scrupulous reservation communicate with you some of my fresh thoughts. The former, which I sent from Vienna, seemeth to have been swallowed between that place and Bruxelles' (*C C C MS 317, f 29*).

³ There is no such phrase in the Gospels, Wotton may have had in memory Rom 12, 5, 'Treasurē up unto thyself wrath against the day of wrath.'

I would I had paper enough left to tell you how little we believe in the execution of your treaty about the Vale Tolina¹ It is plain that arts are sought to linger the effect till the Pope's end For the next, perchance, may be of another complexion This is French, or at least a pure Italian And so, my good Lord, I commit you to God's love, remaining

Your ever faithful poor friend to serve you,

HENRY WOTTON

349 TO SIR GEORGE CALVERT

S P Ven, holograph, extract An oath of obedience to the Pope imposed on English medical students at Padua

Venice, the 1st of July, 1621

Divers of his Majesty's subjects come to study physic at Padova, for the most part Popish before their coming out, or made so abroad (for of the good I do not speak) Here they take the degree of doctorship and legitimation for practice, at which formality, if it be performed in the College, where for more reputation it is commonly done, especially by all Papists there is an oath to be first taken (which the bishop or his vicario do indispensably minister), wherein—to omit other corrupt clauses—is in plain terms sworn indefinite obedience to the Pope, as his Majesty may see by the adjoined copy thereof, which, though in print, I could not procure without some difficulty, being a thing which the parties themselves are desirous should be smothered as much as may be After this degree, or before, they usually make a step to Rome What new character they bring thence I know not Priests they may be, and that some of them have been and are, I make little doubt Always sure I am that no kind of men are more wrought upon abroad than these, as being indeed the fittest to work afterwards upon others at home For through the generality of their faculty all families, all hours, are at their command, and if they have a dispensation to reconcile in *hora mortis* (as their term is) they can remove all company from the patient, and clear the room in an instant Nay, if himself have no such power, may not his servant be a priest or a Jesuit? And who will shut out the doctor's man, or so much as suspect him? To this I must add a note which many have taken at home, that one of these Popish physicians shall gain more practice in a month or two, even among Protestants, than another in a year *Quid ita?* Because those of

¹ The second treaty of Madrid, April 25, 1621 (*ante*, i, p 179)

² There is a copy of this oath, dated 1d Nov, 1564, in the *Bunley commonplace Book*, p 102

his own complexion proclaim his sufficiency to more ends than one, and by putting him in voice, put him in use This I humbly leave to his Majesty's most wise and Christian care, having thought it my duty to represent—as I conceive it—so dangerous, so universal, so opportune, so close and undiscoverable a means of corrupting his people This dispatch is sent by Mr Thomas Lindsay, son to Mr Barnie Lindsay¹ of the King's chambers, and the true heir both of his father's metal and modesty, whom I commend to your favour and love

350 TO SIR GEORGE CALVERT

S P Ven, holograph, extract The proposal of certain pirates,
the death of Count Bucquoi, &c

From Venice, this 26th of July, 1621
Style of England

I must relate a piece of noise, sounding like a dream, and perchance not likely to resolve into more

A cluster of pirates are said to have offered unto this State for protection, and some permanent seat, a million of ducats in pure donative, great sums at five per hundred, depositable in their exchequer, and moreover some thirty vessels, armed with three hundred pieces of artillery and able men, at the public service At first the voice went that Samson (our *renegado*) was head of this offer Then we fell to remember that the pirates at Tunis (which is his nest) are not masters of the money which they take, nor of the very vessels wherein they go, which are commonly overmanned by Turkes, so that now we know not where to fix this huge oblation Yet certain it is that on Tuesday last here in Senate was resolved, after some debatement, to harken unto a treaty with these men, and so I must leave it, till I can see more ground of discourse or belief

The strife for the passage of soldiers in *terra firma* between the Governor of Milan and this Republic is grown milder, and leaning towards some reasonable end

The business of the Valetolina standeth still, depending upon the Pope's vigour, who, besides his age and other infirmities, hath of late been troubled with some hydropsical tumour in his legs

From Vienna we have not only the death of Bucquoy², but likewise, not long after that, the defeat of the whole army in their retreat from the siege of Neuhauszen, with loss of the artillery, which makes me hope that my Lord Digby³ will find *faciles aures*, and perchance

¹ Bernard Lindsay, *ante*, i, p 41

² *Ante*, ii, p 218

³ Count Bucquoi, defeated and slain by Bethlen Gabor

⁴ Lord Digby, sent to demand the restitution of the Palatinate, arrived in Vienna on July 4, 1621, O S (*Cardiner* iv, p 204)

the Emperoi may remember me, who was bold at my departure to wish him not to follow the counsels of his fortune, whereof the Baron of Eckenberg demanding my reason, I replied only that fortune was no good counsellor

351 To SIR GEORGE CALVERT

S P Ven, dictated, extract The expected arrival of the
Marquis de Coeuvres

From Venice, this 7th of September,
1621, sty vet

To morrow we expect here the Marquis de Coeuvre¹, in his passage homewards from Rome Before his arrival, Monsieur de Villiers², the resident, hath signified that he cometh with expresse character of ambassador extraordinary Some begin to whisper that the business of the Jesuits (noised before him) is not his scope, but his veil to cover deeper instructions about sounding the inclination of this Republic, if the King his master, after the settling of his own realm, should pass the Alps in person, or send over a fair army to rectify the Valtolina—so ingenuous, or so corrupt is this country, that they even suppose the professed part of all negotiation nothing but the visard³ of the concealed About which I shall yield better account by the next courier Our dear God bless his Majesty and his estates

And so I remain,

Your honour's with ancient devotion,

HENRY WOTTON

352 To SIR GEORGE CALVERT

S P Ven, holograph The arrival of the Marquis de Coeuvres

Venice, this 21th September,
sty vet 1621

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

The Marquis de Coeuvre (as I wrote in my former) arrived here on Thursday last at night On Saturday, after dinner, he was from the Island di Spirito Santo brought by senators to a house fitted for him On Monday morning he had open audience together with the leger, which was low in voice, but high in the fashion For he was noted not once to stir his hat, nor first posture or gesture after his sitting till his rising, no, not when he ended his own speech His credential letters were not read, as perchance containing, above other formality, some light of his errand, though I do not see how

¹ François Annibal d'Estrees, Marquis de Coeuvres (1573-1670), Duc d'Estrees, 1642

² Courtin de Villars

³ 'Visard,' obs form of vizor, i e mask

that should need any such tender closeness, having been so noised before him¹ Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday were partly holy days, partly days of Grand Council, for accomplishment of the new Senate, which must always be chosen before the last of September, and, being the highest act of the State, all other cares give place thereunto. So as he could have no private audience before this Friday, which is the Nuncio's ordinary day, who was heard before him. They were both of them there not an hour in all, which, methinks, is too short a time to endue us with new opinion of those Fathers, whose process cannot be read in the space of one entire month, though the Council of Ten should do nothing else. Through these delays of his first audience, I can say little more thereof yet in substance. Let me, therefore (as is fit), acquaint his Majesty how the matter of ceremony hath passed between the said Marquis and me, in a point heretofore of some scruple.

I did visit him on Monday last after his public audience, at an hour appointed. As I landed at his house, the Nuncio's secretary was coming from him, who had made way for his master's access, and when I departed homewards I saw the Nuncio himself coming towards him in gondola. Tuesday and Wednesday he passed over without revisiting me, but on Wednesday night he sent his secretary to desire I would receive him the next morning. I gave him the disposition of the day, but withal standing in some doubt that he might in the meantime have visited the Nuncio (for one whom I had employed to clear me therein was not yet come back), I told his messenger that though no man living was more averse than myself from petty punctualities, which were but idle vexations, yet it became me to hope that the Marquis, who had received my visitation before the Nuncio's, had not rendered that kindness to him before me, seeing the Pope, in point of civil respect, is not considered but as *una testa coronata*, and his ministers proportionably. I perceived the secretary instructed with a prompt reply, that the Marquis his master had well weighed this point, and therefore had by him expressly desired to incommode² me the next day before dinner, that he might revisit the Nuncio in the afternoon. This I have thought it my duty to set down distinctly, because the very same scruple bred a long strangeness between Sir Dudley Carleton and Monsieur de Leon³, the last French lieger here, who yet had less reason than this Marquis,

¹ His intention to ask for the readmission of the Jesuits, the report of which, Wotton wrote, ran before him 'like a contagious wind' (*S P Ven*, May 16, 1621)

² 'Incommode,' i. e. incommode. Obs. (*N E D*)

³ De Leon Bruslart, whom, when he arrived in Venice in Dec, 1611, Sir Dudley Carleton visited before the Nuncio. Bruslart, however, in returning these visits went to see the Nuncio first. (Disp. of Carleton, Dec 26, 1611, *S P Ven*)

coming immediately from the Pope's Court, and being here conjoined with his minister in his present ends. So as the case is now very remarkably regulated. In the rest, I found the said Marquis full of reverent respects towards his Majesty, and of joy in the good amity that runneth between our masters, and generally, a gentleman surely of very noble nature, of a beautiful personage, and winning countenance, but perchance more nervous and vehement in his resolutions than in his negotiations.

With my last I sent a cipher, which I shall have good occasion to use the next week. Till when, leaving you, Sir, in God's love, I rest,

Your Honour's with long devotion,

HENRY WOTTON

353 To SIR DUDLEY CARLETON

S P Ven, holograph. The readmission of the Jesuits refused

Venice, 9th Oct sty no 1621

MY LORD,

Thus much only in general at the present

The Nuncio here and French ambassadors, extraordinary and leger, in their conjoined intercessions for the caterpillars¹ of Christendom, have had an absolute negative, whereof all three did bewray much sensibility in their very countenances at their issuing from the College. And, moreover, the French being yesterday invited to accompany the Prince at our great feast of Santa Giustina², they both refused it, which in the ordinary ambassador is thought somewhat too much humour.

More by the next courier, for by that time the Marquis de Coevries will be gone, and we shall have seen his final passions

Se vidore,

ARRIGO WOTTONI

I will fail no week to write your Lordship, *o poco o assai*

354 To SIR GEORGE CALVERT

S P Ven, dictated. Illness of Wotton and his household

From Padova, this 1st/₂ of October, 1621

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

I must excuse the silence of a week or two, with the unhappy distractions of my mind. Six of my family lie sick at the present of dangerous fevers, which reign here extremely this season, and yester-

¹ Of Shakespeare, *Rich II*, act II, scene III, 165 —

'Bushy, Bagot and their complices

The caterpillars of the commonwealth'

² Santa Giustina, 'the Venetian patroness, almost equivalent to St Mark' (Wotton to Calvert, *S P Ven*, Oct 9)

night I had likewise myself a fit, which yet I hope by the symptoms will resolve into a pure tertian To these cares all other must give place, for *maximum negotiorum est sanitas* God's good angels be about us, and His love strengthen our hearts

Your Honour's as I am,

HENRY WOTTON

355 TO SIR GEORGE CALVERT

S P Vm, holograph, extract Wotton's illness, deaths of William Leete and Gregorio de' Monti

Venice, this 1st/₈ November, 1621

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

I should have taken pleasure ere now in answering those kind lines which I had last from you, and in giving you many most hearty thanks for your long and continual love (whereof almost every letter that I receive from Mr Nicolas Paye, my friend, doth bring me new argument), if I had not wanted strength to do it *Non sum ambitiosus in malis*, but it is no ordinary discomfortable thing that I shall tell you I have lain under physic at Padova almost a month, and at the same time all my family, except four persons, were either there or here in like manner decumbent of double tertians or continual fevers, which have abounded this season, whereof we are willing to impute the cause to the crudities of the last year's wines, than to our own immoderation, for it hath fallen upon so many Italians, as may excuse the English, whom otherwise they think an overfeeding nation Two I have lost, one that was my steward here tofore, but at the present a student himself in that art at Padova, which could not help him His name was William Leete¹, taken away in the strength of his years by a weak disease which some fancies did exasperate The other was poor Gregorio de' Monti, who under Sir Dudley Carleton and me had served his Majesty here some fourteen or fifteen years Of whom I am to speak more in a dispatch wherewith I am now in travail

Your Honour's in long devotion,

HENRY WOTTON

Mr Branthwayte returned unto me a sound man from Padova

¹ William Leete, see Appendix III

² Gregorio de' Monti (see Appendix III) died on Nov 22, 1621 In his audience of Feb 22 Wotton pronounced a eulogy on the character and faithfulness of his late secretary He told the Doge that he had appointed a Frenchman as his successor, although a compatriot of his own religion had offered himself for the post 'I did not accept this offer, not being here to catechize the conscience of any one, but to perform the duties of my post It is enough for me that those of my household should have some kind of religion, for one often finds many people who believe nothing at all (*Esp Prin*, Feb 27, 1622)

yesternight, whom I left there a while to recover strength after some very sharp fits

356 To SIR GEORGE CALVERT

S P Ven, dictated, extract Wotton's recovery, he is sending some seeds to the King

Venice, this 7^r of December, 1621

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

I have been a fortnight under the counsel of two physicians for some bad humours in my stomach, affecting by consent likewise my head, which I esteem a relic of my last infirmity, but at the present I am again, I thank God, somewhat jolly By the last *curriere* came your letter of the 4th of November very opportunely, when I was preparing a dispatch for a gentleman bent homewards, of whom I made stay upon my last indisposition of body He shall besides some strange things (which I mean to couch in cipher) bring with him the most exquisite choice that can be made of those seeds which his Majesty desueth, wherein likewise I intend to examine some of our best *hortolani* of Chioggia and other places about the manner of their cultivation, in what mould they prove best, how they are ripened by accidental remedies, as reflection¹ or otherwise, and how they are sweetened by some adjunct to their seeds, as falleth out in other plants and fruits We have here some very curious men in matter of simples, with whom I am well acquainted, so as though I can pretend no ability in my other endeavours to satisfy his Majesty's judgement, yet I hope to content him in this service of his appetite

357 To SIR WALTER ASTON

C C C MS 318, f 31, holograph, extract, Aschaeol xl Wotton's illness, news of Venice

Venice, the 13^s of December, 1621

MY LORD,

Non sum ambitiosus in malis But it is no ordinary case which I must describe unto your Lordship for the excuse of too many silent weeks

I lay myself in Padova more than a month, through an ague which took me being abroad And at the same time all my family (except four persons), Italians, Germans, and English, were either there or here, in like manner decumbent A Venetian gentleman also, who lieth in a severed partition of my house, is at the present himself, wife, children, maids and gondoliers all under physic, so we

¹ 'Reflection,' i e reflected lights, as was then not unusual in gardening

begin to suspect our habitation, being the most exposed to all weather of any in Venice,¹ and by violence of the flashing² winds the waves have pierced through and powdered our walls, and even tainted our cisterns. Thus we are contented to rest our curiosity upon these second causes. But God's indisputable will must be done, which is the last philosophy both of heaven and earth. Two I have lost. The one with the more grief, because beyond all expectation even of his physicians, he was carried away in the strength of his youth by a weak disease, which some fancies did exasperate. The other was a Venetian, who had long served under Sir Dudley Carleton and me here, as secretary of the language or compliments, a place more easily supplied than when substance is vacant.

This is the account of our infirmities, which have made me so worthy of your Lordship's pardon that I may challenge some part of your compassion.

Now to proceed in our correspondence, as I will do weekly. For while God shall spare us upon this theatre, how can we lack subject of noise and discourse?

You have heard that the Guisons have renounced the league of Fiance, a foul blow to the Treaty of Madrid, and almost enough to make the French sober at home. Our easy Pope chideth at the Spanish progressions in the Valetolina,³ and they go forward, being now able to walk (while they keep a foot in the Lower Palatinat) from Milan to Dunckerke upon their own inheritances and purchases, a connexion of terrible moment in my opinion.⁴ Your Lordship's letters to Sir John Aires I reserve. The King and the merchants have dislodged him, and Sir Thomas Roe⁵ with his lady are well on their way thitherwards, between whom and your Lordship I will mediate a continual intelligence. Yesterday was here in the open Court of the Palace one Aluigi Querini, a principal gentleman, apprehended and muffled in a cloak by order of the Inquisitors of

¹ I have not been able to identify Wotton's residence during his third embassy at Venice, his description of its situation makes it probable that his house was somewhere on the north eastern side of Venice, looking over the lagoons towards the Alps, and exposed to the northern winds.

² 'Flashing,' i.e. dashing. Obs. (N E D)

³ The Duke of Ferrara was now engaged in the subjugation of the Valtelline. Wotton wrote (Jan., 1622) of Ferrara: 'We have a fresh piece of advice that he proceedeth, by little and little, after the garrisoning, to the disarming of them, which is indeed to cut the last knot of liberty. And so hath this half Englishman done more in a little time by practice than Charles V, or any of his former Kings (though it hath been a long design), could do with the sword.' (S P Ven)

⁴ On Dec. 31 Wotton wrote the above news to Carleton, adding 'and in the midst of all this, what doth our Pope? He fatts his nephew as fast as he can, and he chides at these proceedings, but *dolcemente, alla Bolognese*.' (S P Ven)

⁵ Sir Thomas Roe succeeded Sir John Ayres as ambassador to the Porte in 1621. He remained at Constantinople till 1628. A letter from Wotton to Roe is printed below, p. 247.

State (one of our blackest magistrates) for a secret journey to Ferrara, and conference there with the Cardinal Governor. On Thursday night they chose Aluigi Valeresso to succeed Signor Giulamo Lando in England.¹ Then late ambassador Pesaro sent into France, about Poictiers was assailed by certain straggling horse men despoiled, two of his train killed, and himself had a pistol twice put to his breast, which both times took no fire. But let me entertain you no longer with these *menudencias*. In my next I shall have occasion to awake our cyphei, which I have yet suffered to sleep. God bless us and love us, in whose dear protection I leave you, ever remaining,

Your Lordship's very faithful poor friend to serve you

HENRY WOTTON

358 TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON

S P Ven, holograph, extract. After repeating almost word for word the contents of his letter of Dec. 18th to Aston, Wotton adds to Carleton the news from Rome about the Spanish match.

Venice, on the Vigilia of the new year, of which it will be time enough to wish your Lordship a prosperous course by the next courier.

Your Lordship hath heard of the congregations in Rome about our match with Spain,² shall I make you laugh, or at least smile? Since those consults there, no Englishman of any fashion (if he be one of them Catholics) can come thither, but they baptize him straight an ambassador. And they have voiced that the Archbishop of Spalatro went into England but to convert, with such other tricks of that place, which is as abundant in art as deficient in truth.

This is all wherewith I will now entertain your Lordship, serving but for a remedy into those troubles that you shall weekly receive.

By the copies of his Majesty's letters to the Emperor and King of Spain³ I perceive how we stand in the business of the Palatinates, about which the Emperor intendeth into England the Grave of Schwarzenberg.⁴ I pray God we lose not as much time now with

¹ Lando was ambassador in England 1618-22, Valeresso 1622-4.

² On Aug. 11, 1621, O S, Gregory XV appointed a congregation of four cardinals for the purpose of examining the articles of the proposed treaty for the marriage of the Prince of Wales and the Infanta Maria. (*Gardner*, iv, p. 351).

³ The letter to the Emperor is printed in *Cabala* (1654), ii, p. 113.

⁴ The Count of Schwarzenberg arrived in England on April 3, 1622 (*Gardner*, iv, p. 304).

their ambassages as we have done before with our own And in this good wish I end, remaining,

Your Lordship's poor friend and servant,

HENRY WOTTON

359 TO SIR GEORGE CALVERT

S P Ven, holograph, extract No date Wotton sends a pasquil to the King

(January —, 1622)

Only to begin the new year¹ merrily (which the Lord made joyful unto us) let me <be> bold through your hands to present unto his Majesty one of the most ingenious pasquils that hath been born in Rome a long time, found in a morning clapped on the door of the Pope's chamber, and likewise on the gate of his palace Upon which there hath been much rummaging in the studies of certain suspected wits, but the author is thought to be fled to Modena, by name Alessandro Tissoni², famous enough before in the satirical vein

And so I humbly rest your Honour's,

HENRY WOTTON

360 TO SIR WALTER ASTON

C C C MS 318, f 31, holograph, extract, *Archaeol* xl Discovery of the secret transference of the Palatine Electorate to Maximilian of Bavaria

Venice, the 1st of January, 1622

MY LORD,

I shall not need again to tell your Lordship of a certain friar, by name Hyacintho³, intercepted in Germany by the Mansfeldians in his journey towards you, as he was laden with divers instructions from the Emperor, and letters to the principals of your Court By which many things are opportunely discovered, and among other,

¹ On Jan 18 Wotton, after more than nine months without an audience, came to the *Collegio*, to express his wishes for a happy new year, and for the quiet of Venice, 'although many storms were raging abroad' He said he had never been absent for such a long period before, which he regretted, but his illness was the cause He was informed of the successes of the Catholic party in the Grisons, and requested to tell James I of the need of his help in the present troubles (*Esp Prin*, Jan 18, 1622)

² Alessandro Tassoni (1565-1632), author of *La Secchia Rapita*

³ Hyacintho, a Capuchin friar, was sent from Rome in 1621 on a special mission to the Emperor, to urge him to fulfil his promise of transferring the Electorate from the Prince Palatine to Maximilian of Bavaria The Emperor hesitated at first, but on Sept 12 he gave Hyacintho, in the greatest secrecy, an act conferring the Electorate on Maximilian Hyacintho was to go to Spain, and win, if possible, the consent of the new King to this transference He was intercepted on the way and his dispatches stolen (*Gardiner*, iv, pp 202, 219)

that the said Emperoi hath actually conferred the investiture of the Electorship on the Duke of Bavaria, even without knowledge of the King of Spayne, as we are yet left to believe. All the papers will be printed at the Haghe, and copies thereof are already sent to his Majesty, which will breed you business. For my part upon it I am ready to turn eremite and to abandon all rules of civil art. For surely (my Lord) the electorating of that Duke is against the very alphabet and elements of State.¹

I conceive the King of Spayne upon it in a great dilemma. If he do not maintain the Emperoi's resolution, he will perchance want strength himself to maintain it. If he shall abet him or abone him (as your phrase is there) it will be hard to make this age believe, or any since the time that men did eat acorns, that the said King was not of his counsel. And now I leave your Lordship in God's dear love, with the wishing of many happy years unto you.

Your servant,

HENRY WOTTON

361 TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON

S P Ven, holograph, extract. English nuns at Rome

Venice, $\frac{2}{4}$ January, 1621(2)

I think I said as much as I can yet to your Lordship in my last of five English gentlewomen³ arrived in Rome out of the Low Provinces. They yield there much wonder at their habits, and here at their purpose, about which one writes me in a pleasant passion, *al corpo del Mondo questa e galante. Haveremo un nuovo ordine di Gesuitesse*. For that seemeth a branch of their vows, that they will catechize girls as fast as the masculine Jesuits do boys. Their particular names I know not, but I imagine my Lady Lovel⁴ to be the leader, who, as your Lordship knows hath been hatching some such thing a long time in her elevated thoughts. How much better would a Spanish needle and some sleeve⁵ silk become them?

¹ By making the Dukes of Bavaria more powerful candidates for the Imperial Crown. 'Will the House of Austria,' Wotton wrote, 'make him Elector, who is as Catholic as themselves, and thereby is capable of the ecclesiastic voices, besides a brother already in that Septemvirate, and all the practical Jesuits at his command?' (*S P Ven*, Aug 10, 1621)

² 'Abone, to make good, from the Italian *abbonare* or *abbonare* (*N E D*)

³ Mary Ward and her companions (*ante*, i, p 455), who arrived in Rome at the end of the year 1621, and was given permission by Gregory XV to establish a house for her newly-founded order in Rome. Mary Ward removed with her community to Munich in 1626 (*D N B*)

⁴ Lady Lovel (*ante*, i, p 445)

⁵ 'Sleeve,' slayed or slea silk, silk not twisted, for making embroidery

And so, being a little distracted at the present, I will commit your Lordship with these few lines to God's love

Remaining your Lordship's most affectionate poor friend to serve you

HENRY WOTTON

362 TO SIR WALTER ASTON.

C C C MS 318, f 27, holograph The transference of the Electorate,
death of Wotton's nephew

Venice, the 1st of January, 1622

MY LORD,

How like you this? In the copy of the Emperor's letter to your Don Balthasar de Zuniga (intercepted in the wallet of the wandering Friar Hyacintho) is expressly affirmed that the said Emperor had conferred the Electorate upon the Duke of Bavaria by counsel of the Conde d'Ognate¹

Thus much only I have obtained leave from my present griefs to tell your Lordship, my steward and kinsman² being this very day taken from me by the hand of God, after a long infirmity which had spent his strength And so I commit your Lordship to the mercy and love of Heaven

Certissimo servidore,

HENRY WOTTON.

363 TO SIR GEORGE CALVERT

S P Ven, transcript, unsigned, *Reliq*, 3rd ed, p 535 'A dispatch by Ralph from Venice, 1621,' and wrongly dated Feb 1st Reports from Rome about the negotiations for the Spanish match

Venice, Feb 11, 1621(2)

SIR,

I choose at the present to write thick and small, for the closer conveyance of that which followeth, first to your faithful hands, and by them immediately unto our Sovereign Lord the King

¹ The Spanish ambassador at Vienna The majority of the Spanish Council (the young King counted for nothing) were opposed to the transference of the Electorate But the minister Zuñiga (as was discovered just before his death in Sept, 1622) had been secretly encouraging the Emperor to carry out his plan (*Gardiner*, iv, pp 330, 377)

² Edward Deering, on Feb 3 Wotton wrote to Calvert 'It hath pleased Almighty God to contemper the jollity of this time (the carnaval) in my house, with the late death of my steward and kinsman, by name Edward Deering, who, after long wastings and weakenings, was on Thursday last, at night, surprised with that kind of convulsion which they call the tetanus, wherewith he languished speechless, yet with comfortable signs of inward devotion, till the next evening *Voluntas tua fiat Domine*, which is the last philosophy, both of heaven and earth' (S P Ven)

The deputed Cardinals of the Congregation or Committee in Rome touching his Majesty's matrimonial treaty with Spaine,¹ having resolved negatively, even after six assemblies, the Cardinal Ludovisio and the Spanish ambassador went jointly to the Pope, to pray him, that by no means the negative resolution should be divulged as yet, but suppressed for a time, because some turns were to be done by the concealment thereof. Hereupon the Venetian ambassador, by name Reniero Zen^o (the most diving man the Republic hath held in that Court, and of much confidence with the Pope upon old acquaintance), observing that the foresaid Congregation had voted, and that then censures were concealed, comes to the Cardinal Ludovisio, the Pope's nephew before named, and extracts from him the whole matter, with the means and reason of the suppression. This I have received from a credible, and I would say, from an infallible fountain, if it did not become my simplicity, in a point so much concerning the eternal dishonour of a great King, to leave always some possibility of misinformation. Yet thus much more I must add, not out of intelligence, but from sober discourse, that although the present Pope hath been hitherto esteemed more French than any of his predecessors a great while, yet is not the King of Spaine such a bankrupt in Rome, but that he might easily have procured an assent in the fore named Congregation, or at least a resolution sooner, than after five or six meetings of the deputed cardinals, unless delays had been studied. Be it how it will, as to his Majesty doth belong the sovereignty of judgement, so to his poor honest creatures abroad, the liberty of relation, and a franker discharge of our zeal and duties. To which I will subscribe my unworthy name

¹ The negotiations for the Spanish marriage treaty were now proceeding more actively than ever, and in March, 1622, Digby went to Spain to arrange the terms. Wotton's secret sources of information, both from Rome and from the Venetians, enabled him to hint to James I that the Spaniards were not acting in good faith, and had no intention of allowing the marriage to take place. On July 8, 1621, he reported the rumoured death-bed determination of Philip III to marry the Infanta to the Emperor's son, on March 22, 1622, he sent news which came '*ex ipso fonte*', and which he said he was sorry that it was his duty to deliver, that the Pope, on hearing that the transference of the Electorate was to be kept secret until the marriage treaty was concluded, 'fell into a Bolognian passion,' declaring that he had been deceived, as the Spanish ministers had told him that this treaty was never meant. On Sept 9 he wrote that he heard the Pope had referred the conditions of the dispensation to the King of Spain, to be afterwards approved and ratified at Rome, 'which is,' Wotton said, 'to convert time into eternity' (*S P Ven*).

² Ranieri Zeno, ambassador at Rome in 1622, afterwards famous for his attempts to reform the government of Venice (*Romanin*, vii, pp 200-37).

364 TO SIR GEORGE CALVERT

S P Ven, dictated The answer of the Senate to James I's request,
the Franco Venetian alliance, De Dominis

Venice, the $\frac{1}{15}$ of March, 1621(2)

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

Herewith come this Duke's letters unto his Majesty in exchange of his,¹ and herein an accompt of the Senate's answer to me, besides other private matter

They tell me what a feeling they have of his Majesty's present troubles, and how much they repute themselves interested in his ends They profess a singular well wishing towards his *Scemissimo Genero*, even from the beginning of his motions They pretend to have prevented his Majesty's desire of their concurrence with his said son in-law (the subject of his writing) three several ways First, in their late contract with Count Mansfeld, whereof the scope was, by settling his future fortunes, to fix his present thoughts in the place where he is, who else might perhaps have been diverted by the arts and offers of other Princes Secondly, in their colligation with the States, and contribution of one hundred and fifty thousand florins monthly to the charge of their war, whereby they will be the able to assist his Majesty's said son in law Thrdly, in a new engagement of themselves to the French King, and to the Duke of Savoye in the business of the Grisons, wherein they have promised to concur with important succours, if the said King shall proceed *di buon piede* These three things they tie together as it were in a knot of common interest with his Majesty and with his, either directly or by way of diversion² They conclude with wishes of his

¹ Wotton read the King's letter, requesting help for the Palatinate (*ante*, 1, p 182), to the Doge on March 1 After this audience Wotton was again ill, and sent his secretary to inform the Doge of his indisposition, with a message to the effect that he had lost ten ounces of blood, and was ready to shed what remained in the service of the Republic The Venetian secretary then came to read the Senate's answer (*Esp Prin*, March 1, 11, 1622)

² The dispatches of Sachetti, the Tuscan resident at Venice, make it clear that the Venetians attached little weight to these negotiations with James I, who had fallen into general disesteem and almost contempt by the way he had allowed himself to be hoodwinked in regard to the Palatinate Sachetti writes that in his audience of March 1 Wotton received *risposte molto fredde* to his request for help for the Elector Palatine, the Venetians being aware that James would never help them, as it was known that he was not willing to take part in the concerns of his friends when they were likely to give him any trouble As to the Elector, one of the senators remarked that they were not bound to consider his interests more than his father in-law had done, who had allowed him to be ruined, because he wanted to aid him without danger to himself, and when it was too late Wotton, with some alteration of countenance, began to reply, but some other councillors cried '*basta, basta*' and the Vice Doge repeated the remarks of the outspoken senator in a more polite form (*Arch Med* 8007, March 5, 1622)

tranquillity, and with reverent profession of their own obligations and love to his royal person. This is the extract of their answer unto me, concluded in Scrute, the week after I had presented his Majesty's letters and done the part of a poor servant in pressing his desires. Which said answer, though it did seem unto me very fairly and friendly couched, with conformable order given to their own ambassador, yet because it was in general terms, as both his Majesty's letters and my intercession were, I held it my duty to reply 'that I did remain satisfied for the present, but with this hope, that when his Majesty should be more particular in the trial of their friendship, they would be so also in the demonstration thereof'

At their engagement to the French King in the Rhaetian affairs (which I have now from their own public voice, having before only advertised the same out of private intelligence) I find cause to wonder, when I consider the late exhaustion of near twelve millions in the bangling¹ war of Friuli, and subvention of Savoye, without the purchase of so much as a mole-hill or any other imaginable fruit, save two experiences. The one that abundance of counsel, and curious deliberation, by which they subsist in time of peace, is as great a disadvantage in time of action. The other, that republics, which administer their moneys by more hands than monarchies, are by this distribution of their trust the more defrauded. This is all, for ought I know, that they did learn themselves, or any other that looked on, yet necessity of state seems again to have involved them in a near hazard of new troubles at hand, which, if they proceed, will without doubt farther and farther enfold them likewise in the maintenance of foreign diversions.

Thus much in discharge of his Majesty's commands. I must now represent some secret things for more caution under cypher. The last week the ambassador of the King of Spaine in Rome at a private audience, desired from the Pope a safe conduct for the Arch bishop of Spalato² to return to Rome, adding that the King of Spaine would give him the bishopric of Saleino. The Pope made him to this, as he thought, mentorious proposition an unexpected answer. 'The Church doth shut her bosom to none, but willingly embraceth the strayed sheep, and therefore the said party should need for his safeguard no such formality, and that touching the offered bishopric, it was a point of dangerous con-

¹ 'Bangling,' from the obs. verb bangle, to futter away, squander (*N E D*)

² On Jan 16, 1622, De Dominis expressed to James I his intention of returning to Rome, where he expected to be welcomed by the new Pope, Gregory XV, who had been his friend in his youth. For the history of his life in England, and the reasons for his return, see *Gardiner*, iv, pp 286, 287

sequence, and might incite others to aim at like promotion by the same means, and so breed divers apostacies' This was the answer in substance, which yet as it is thought, shall be concealed, and the party be drawn to Rome under the protection of the King of Spaine, upon the Pope's bare promise of security, as if the safe conduct were formally granted, which was the case of Fulgentio the Franciscan¹ The above named party has written hither secretly to a kinsman or two, touching the subject of his retirement, practised between him and three others, namely the Conde de Gondomar, a certain quondam friar who lives with the party himself, and a musician, servant to Prince Charles, and by birth a Paduano² In his letters to one of his foresaid kinsmen, he saith that the rumour of a safe conduct already sent him was false, but that himself was resolved to pass to Rome if he shall see that the service of God doth require it, whom he perceiveth miraculously to govern his actions, and therefore hopeth for some great fruit by his means, alluding to an imagined reconciliation of the Religions—as if he meant to ask the banns of matrimony between yea and no! By a letter to another kinsman it appeareth that he had before given order to some one of his to come unto him, which order in a later letter he revoketh, saying, he hopeth himself to come into Italie *per gran negotiu*, and that by his return, he shall recover 500 crowns per annum which his nephew (placed by him at Spalato upon that condition) hath been forbidden to pay him, whilst he is with his Majesty He concludeth that Sir Henry Wotton had given advertisement to his Majesty that he would depart, *ma non ha fatto il colpo che si credeva*

Of all this it may please his Majesty to rest very assured, whom I must most humbly beseech that some course may be taken to seize all his letters which he hath received from abroad, because some of the best affected have perchance enlarged themselves

¹ Fulgenzio Manfredi, *ante*, 1, p. 496

² 'This piece is not out of the party's own letters, but from other intelligence' (Wotton's note in margin) Fuller's story is to the effect that De Dominis, who 'delighted in jeering', had scoffed at Gondomar, who in revenge told James I that he had been deceived by De Dominis, in spite of his ability in discovering witches and possessed persons Gondomar then arranged a plot to entice the archbishop back to Rome, getting the King of Spain to procure from Gregory XV a safe conduct and a promise of pardon and preferment (*Church History*, ed. Brewer, pp. 504–30) Prof Gardiner believes this account to be prejudiced, and regards it as very doubtful whether Gondomar had anything to do with the return of De Dominis to Rome (*Gardiner*, iv, p. 287 n) Fuller's account, however, is confirmed by the above 'intelligence' mentioned by Wotton, by a narrative of De Dominis' return, now in the *S. P. Ven* (vol. xxiv), and by a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury to Sir Thomas Roe, in which Abbot writes, 'the Spanish ambassador did secretly work with him to draw him away' (Roe, p. 102)

farther unto him than would be safe for them if he should return with such testimonies in his hand Besides, there is much inquiring after the author of the book against the Council of Trent, which the same party can best discover and perhaps may have by him some of the original sheets that were likewise fit to be seized But I am only a relater, his Majesty's wisdom will best know how to obviate all inconveniences I will conclude with a third confirmation of what I have formerly written, first, expressly by one of my servants, and then again under cipher by the ordinary, touching the marriage of Prince Charles with the Infanta Maria, denied by practice in Rome, and these duties I hope his Majesty will graciously accept from my humble zeal

The present, with the Duke's letters, I send by one Mr Humphreys¹, intending otherwise a speedy return home for his own occasions, and the willing to increase his haste for the doing of this service, of which cheap opportunity, after your frugal premonition, I was prone to take hold Only I beseech you, Sir, to give him thanks, and in any of his own honest necessities at home to yield him your favourable countenance And so the Lord's blessing be with you

Your long devoted

HENRY WOTTON

365 To SIR GEORGE CALVERT

S P Ven, holograph, *Reliq*, 1st ed, p 449 Wotton thanks Calvert for getting his German expenses paid

Venice, this 1st of March, 1621(2)

SIR,

Besides the address of my public duties unto your hands, I have long owed you these private lines, full of thanks from my heart for your favour and affection in all my occasions at home, and particularly in the point of my privy seal, about my German accompts² wherein (as I am abundantly informed, both by my nephew, and by Mr Nicolas Pey, whom I repute my best oracles in the information of mine own obligations) it pleased you to stand by me, not only *da vero*

¹ Philip Humphreys

² It was more than ever difficult at this time for ambassadors to get the money paid which was owing to them In spite of the economies of the new Lord Treasurer, Cranfield, there was no money in the treasury In the autumn of this year a sum of nearly £3,000 was owing to Sir Dudley Culeton at the Hague Wotton, however, was more fortunate, as in July, 1621, a warrant was issued declaring his Majesty's pleasure that Wotton should have the benefit of £3,000, 'formerly intended to be defalked with his entertainment, which now his Majesty is pleased to bestow upon him out of his free gift and princely bounty' (*Docquet Book*, vii)

amico, but indeed, *da vero cavaliere*, from which, though the benefit which did remain in my purse, after the casting up of what was lost by exchange, by the raising of moneys through the Empire in value, by the proportionable rising of all commodities in price, by interest that ran before the repayment, and lastly by my extraordinary charge in the Bavarian journey, was (as God knows) so little, that I may justly build some hope of your further charity in the authorizing of such demands as I now send. Yet on the other side I must confess, that without your former so friendly and so noble compassion, I had received a most irrecoverable ruin and shame, beyond all example, and my case would have been very strange, for I should have been undone by the King's goodness, upon assurance whereof (though almost forgotten) I had increased my train. Now, Sir, this acknowledgement of your singular love I was never more fit to pay you than at the present, being intenerated in all my inward feelings and affections by new sickness, which with loss of much blood, even no less than twenty ounces within these fourteen days, hath brought me low. In which time, if God had called me from the travails of this earth, I had left you out of my narrow fortune some poor remembrance of my thankfulness, which I have now (finding myself by God's pleasure in a good way of recovery) transmitted to my abovesaid friend Mr Pey. Before I end, I must not forget to ease your Honour of such thanks as in your letters you have been pleased to bestow on me, in respect of your kinsman, Michael Branthwaite, because his being with me I do very rightly reckon among my bands to yourself. For in good faith, his integrity and discretion doth sustain my house, besides his fellowship in certain studies, wherein we aim at no small things, even perchance at a new system of the world. At least, since we cannot in the practical and moral, I would we could mend it in the speculative part. But lest these private contemplations (on which I am fallen) transport me too far, I will conclude as I began, with humble thanks for all your favours, and with commending your honoured person to the Author of all blessings. Remaining ever

Your poor servant of long devotion,

HENRY WOTTON

366 TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON

S P Ven, holograph, extract The arrest of Antonio Foscarini

Venice, this $\frac{5}{17}$ of April, 1622

I must tell your Lordship (and yet in a fit place) that the Cavalier Anthonio Foscarini, coming from Senate on Friday last, about two or three hours of the night, was by orders of the Inquisitors of State

muffled, and so came to a bad lodging. Such examples as these methinks of late *spesseggiaro*, and refresh the jealousy of conversation with strangers. Of his case I shall speak more in a postscript.

Postscript. The Cavalier Foscari is said, at his second convention, before the *Dieci*, to have feigned some distraction, unless they mistook the matter, being perchance but a small recess from his natural temper. Before to-morrow at night I believe he will be sentenced to some ten years' imprisonment. His fault, by the probablest voices, seemeth to have been a secret meeting in disguised habit with the Nuncio and the Emperor's resident, and so the State may presume more evil than they can prove. He is said likewise to have led a courtesan to Monsignor de Leon's² house vizarded, and then calling himself Bernardo Tiepolo, which change of name doth stir suspicion, for otherwise the fact itself *se ne va con l'acqua santa*. More in my next.

367 To —

S P Ven, transcript. No date, read at Wotton's audience of April 29
(April 29th, 1622)

A true report in substance of the reasons that moved the Right Honourable and Excellent Lady, Countess of Arandell and Sumne, to demand access to the Duke of Venice as he sat in College, which she had the 22th of April, 1622

Sir Henry Wotton, ambassador for his Majesty with the Republic, supposing that the forenamed Countess had been at her villa near Dolo, some ten miles from Venice, on the 21st of the said month of April sent Mr John Dyneley³, his secretary, with a letter of credence directed unto her Ladyship, with instructions importing three points.

First, that in dutiful respect, both public and private, he had sent him to acquaint her Ladyship with strong intelligence brought him, and much published in the city, upon the unhappy case of Foscari, that he had suffered in part for certain meetings with some public ministers in the house of the said Countess on the Canal Grande.

Secondly, that as the said ambassador was informed by credible means, no longer than that very morning (though the former point he had heard some good while before) that the State had a purpose to intimate unto her Ladyship a determinate time of departure.

Thirdly, that therefore for avoiding the affront of such an intimation, and likewise the hazard of some one of her servants, his poor advice was (under her Ladyship's correction), that she should do well

¹ 'Convention,' the act of summoning before a judge or other person in authority (*N E D*)

² De Leon Bruslart, the French ambassador

³ John Dynely, see Appendix III

to stay abroad in her villa, without coming to Venice until the said ambassador should send her further information

The ambassador's said secretary, not finding her Ladyship (as was supposed) at her villa, found her in coach near Fusina, going to Venice, where he delivered the foresaid letter and his message Whereupon her Ladyship did answer the said secretary that she stood in no fear, but would go on to Venice, where she was pleased to land at the said ambassador's house, between whom and her Ladyship there passed, in the presence of her attendants, much discourse upon her own particular inquiry of all circumstances in this vile report In which discourse the said ambassador told her Ladyship (out of such foresaid credible intelligence as had been brought him) very warmly this circumstance following —

That the Pope's Nuncio and the Emperor's resident were said to have met the late Cavalier Foscari divers times at her house, at late hours in the night, that Foscari used to come thither disguised with a broad French hat, a short cloak, and armed, that her servant, whom the said ambassador had intimated by his secretary to be in some unsafety, was Signior Francesco Vercellini, as he conceived of him, only because he was a subject unto the State, that the general report of these meetings had run since Foscari's first arraignment, lastly, that when word was brought to the said ambassador of the intended warning to be given to her Ladyship, he had made haste (though without all misconcert of himself) to let her know it, both in particular duty to her noble person and name, and likewise as his Majesty's servant, for that no indignity would befall a lady of so eminent degree, without some reflection upon the public

Hereupon her Ladyship, after she had declared the notorious falsehood of this filthy voice, whereunto she had never suggested so much occasion as the receiving of the least compliment from any of these voiced persons, nor from Foscari himself, more than that he had sent her word, at her first coming to Padova about eighteen months since, that he would come to see her at Venice, which yet he never did, but by a Jew sent his excuse I say after this declaration her Ladyship was pleased to consult with the said ambassador what course she should take to extinguish this report, so scandalous to her own honour, to her family, and to the nation

The ambassador was willing to have taken respite, till he might particularly learn the occasion of this noise, and accordingly inform her further But her Ladyship, well weighing that this being so generally reported, and out of such intelligence conceived (howsoever the said ambassador was satisfied out of his good opinion of her), yet it concerned her honour to give some public satisfaction of her inno

cency, and likewise to receive some public reparation for so great a wrong done unto her by those that were the authors, she there upon prayed the said ambassador to send immediately for the procuring of audience the next day, which he could not do, being then near four hours of the night. But the morning following, very early, her Ladyship did again honour the said ambassador's house, and came to tell him that upon serious consideration she had resolved to defer the justifying of herself and family no longer. Whereupon after a little discourse, the said ambassador (though then ill disposed, as he had long been) did fit himself to wait upon her Ladyship. The Duke and the College of his assistants (which are the principal personages of the State) received her Ladyship with all possible circumstances of honour and respect, both in their countenances and gestures, placing her immediately next himself on his right hand, between him and the *Savv Grandi*, and the ambassador on the other side, who served then only as an interpreter of her noble resentment, which she had contracted into two requests.

The first, that if according to the aforesaid rumour, her name or house had been touched in the process of the said Foscarini, the accuser might be produced. The second, that because the report was grown public, she might have a public satisfaction. In the delivery whereof the ambassador did declare it was himself¹ that had signified unto her Ladyship that malicious rumour while she was abroad. When the Duke had heard her and the ambassador with much attention, he fell into the most passionate and vehement speech, that surely could proceed from any man in the world, protesting that there was never any the least suggestion, thought, or imagination of any point concerning her Ladyship or her family in the unhappy case of Foscarini, that they then present in the College did repute themselves honoured with her access, and the city with her abode in so noble, so decent, and unscandalous a manner amongst them, that there was no nation in the world with whom they durst more confidently communicate the very secrets of their Senate than with his Majesty's subjects of Great Britain, that the ambassador (to whom he then turned a little) had long known them and they him, without any complaints or jealousies, that many abominable false reports were unavoidable in all States, amongst the mass of people, but if the sower of this could be found out, it should appear by exemplary punishment how much they detested the wronging of such a lady, with whose great qualities and virtuous demeanour they were well acquainted, and with the true nobleness of the Earl her husband, to whom the Duke desired to be very kindly remembered. Lastly, he

¹ See *ante*, 1, p. 187

prayed her to quiet her own thoughts, and to assure herself that there was nothing but most honourable and worthy conceit of her in this State

With which full and serious answer her Ladyship was so satisfied, that she thought fit not to trouble them with any further declaration, and so ended with a fair compliment, that because she had no other means to serve them, she had expressed her affection with living both herself and her children some good time in this famous city, where she had received all noble courtesy

HENRY WOTTON

368 TO SIR GEORGE CALVERT

S P Ven, holograph An earthquake in Venice

Venice, the day after the feast of
the Ascension, (May 6) sty no
1622

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

This week hath yielded new motions both civil and natural The civil among the Gisons¹, who are again in tumult, and as it should seem to some purpose, for this very morning the Republic hath given knowledge thereof in College to the French ambassador as a material overture, whereof I shall say more in my next The natural have been here where we were yesterday shaken with an earthquake about the point of noon, which was much signalized by the celebrity of the day and time, happening just when the Duke and Signory were returned from the solemn espousing of the sea so as, in a poetical age, it would have been thought that Neptune in some anger had stirred these islands with his trident This was the fourth that I had felt in my lifetime, and surely in true judgement of all the most terrible, not for the violence, but for the slow measure and regularity of the motion, appearing like an orderly thing that would last which God be blessed it did not above four or five semi breves² How general it was I cannot yet speak further than Murano, where a child or two were hurt with the fall of a marble table At Venice one only chimney was thrown down And this is all the harm that I yet hear about our *lagune* Three observations that have been taken are somewhat notable The first, that different from other earthquakes, it was as sensible, or rather more, to the eye than to the feet Secondly, that contrary to the rules of meteor-

¹ As the Duke of Ferra refused to carry out the terms of the treaty of Madrid, the Gisons again invaded the Valtelline

² 'Semibreve,' a whole note in music, or the space of time measured by it

logists it fell out when there was a pretty fresh gale in the air And the third observation is that the firmest habitations did feel it most In my house, the trencher plates and other vessels that stood upright in my buttery were all overturned, and one of my gondoliers (with whom I was talking at the time) was suddenly stricken with a silent stupidity, his feet going from him which petty circumstances I do register, everything being almost considerable in accidents of such horror The Eternal Mover bless us, and cover us with His mercy, and divert all presagements of ill

Your Honour's at command,

HENRY WOTTON

369 To JOHN WILLIAMS ¹

Reliq, 1st ed, p 424, 3rd ed, p 304 Undated (for approximate date, see note 1) Wotton congratulates the Bishop of London on his appointment as Lord Keeper, recommends his chaplain, and sends news of the new uprising among the Gisons

(Venice, May ? 1622)

RIGHT REVEREND, AND RIGHT HONOURABLE, MY VERY GOOD LORD,

Having not yet passed with your good Lordship so much as the common duty of congratulation ² (to whom I am so obliged, both for your love to my dearest nephew, and for your gracious remembrances of mine own poor name), I thought it even a particular duty to myself to acquaint your Lordship's secretary ³, my ancient and worthy friend, with the story of mine own evils, that your Lordship may know my silence to have been, as I may well term it, a symptom of my infirmity

I am now strong again to serve your Lordship, and I know that I have a friend of trust at home (it is honest Nicholas Pey that I mean) who hath often leave, by your favour, to wait upon you Therefore I could wish, if this place (where I am grown almost a free denizen) may yield anything for your use or delight, that you would be pleased, either to acquaint me by my said friend plainly (which shall be a new obligation) with your commands, or at least to let him mark your desires Now in the meantime, because I know that I can do your Lordship no greater service than to give you

¹ In the *Reliq*, 1st ed (and also in the 2nd), this letter is given as addressed 'to the Lord Treasurer Juxon', which plainly is a mistake, as Juxon was at this time President of St John's College, Oxford, and did not become Lord Treasurer till 1636 In the 3rd edition of the *Reliquiae* the address is given 'To the Lord Keeper Williams (*ut videtur*) 1624' The address is no doubt correct, the date some months too early, as the uprising in the Gisons mentioned at the end of the letter was not till about May

² Williams was appointed Lord Keeper in July, 1621, after the fall of Bacon

³ (Sir) William Boswell (*Cal S P Dom*, 1619-23, p 375)

occasion of exercising your own goodness, I will take the freedom most humbly and heartily to recommend unto your charitable and honourable affections a very worthy person, whose fortune is no better at the present than to be my chaplain, though we are, or at least ought all to be, the better by his virtuous example, and our time the better spent by his learned conversation. I shall, I think, not need to name him to your Lordship, and as little to insist either upon his moral or intellectual merit. Therefore I will so leave it, and commit him to your gracious memory, upon some good occasion that God may lay before you. And now I would end, but that I conceive it a duty to tell your Lordship first how we stand here at this date. For ambassadors (in our old Kentish language) are but spies of the time.

We are studying how we may safely and cheaply countenance the new motions of the Grisons, with an army on our own borders pointing that way, which even reason of State requireth, when our neighbours are stirring. And therefore yet the King of Spain can take no scandal at a common wisdom. If the successes shall go forward according to the beginnings, prosperity, peradventure, may invite us further to the feast. For my part, if they would have tasted my counsels, they had been long since engaged, both within and without Italy.¹ But I dig in a rock of diamonds. And so concluding with my hearty congratulations for your Lordship's promotions, both spiritual and civil, and with my prayers for your long enjoyment of them, I will unfeignedly subscribe myself,

Your good Lordship's devoted to serve you

370 TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON

S P Ven, holograph. Wotton's requests for help for the Palatinate, news from Constantinople

Vence, June $\frac{1}{2}$, 1622.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

When I had found, by a late letter from the King of Bohemia as then at Hagenouve², what honour your Lordship had done me with him, by those thanks which his Majesty was therein pleased to bestow on me, I was touched with a conscience to repay them to the fountain, but much more when yesterday I received your last of the

¹ Wotton's advice was not altogether disinterested. On Dec 28, 1621, he wrote about the Valtelline, 'any likelihood of trouble in these parts will facilitate his Majesty's ends with the Emperor and the King of Spain, and therefore it shall be my duty to blow this coal' (*S P Ven*).

² Hagenau in Alsace, where the Elector Palatine joined Count Mansfeld and his army.

6th of June, and read therein under your own hand your valuation of my poor endeavours¹ with my most loyal and gracious mistress the Queen, to whom I am resolved not to write till I have done something that may satisfy myself. I had yesterday a new assault upon this Duke, by occasion of presenting unto him a Scottish gentleman by name Reade², recommended hither by the King, before whose introduction I took opportunity to revive the subject of my letter from Padova touching the Count Mansfeldt³ (whereof I sent your Lordship thence the copy), and I told the Duke that since my return I had heard a voice *ch'io crederei volentieri se così comandasse*, that they had sent the said Count a good sum, perhaps the better to quiet his fancies and fix him where he is, according to the Senate's intention, as I was bound to conceive. And if it were not true, yet it might be as soon as it should please him, for this State did not want means to pursue neither their direct nor their oblique interests, nor to support themselves, nor to oblige their friends. And for my part I besought him, till somewhat were done, to expect little quietness from me, who could not but represent often to mine own memory how cheerfully his Majesty did engage himself in their cause, when time was, with hazard of his own peace⁴. This I said, and much

¹ Wotton's long dispatch of May 18, 1622, giving an account of his 'endeavours', is printed in the *Reliquiae*, 3rd and 4th eds., pp. 536-44. Early in April, when he was ill at Padua, Filippo Calandini, an agent of the Elector Palatine, brought him a letter from the Elector to the Doge, begging for money to keep Mansfeldt's army together. 'I broke my course of physick,' Wotton wrote to Carleton, 'and flew hither with all the spirit and strength that I have' (*S P Ven.*, April 5). On April 14 he read the Elector's letter to the Doge, and made a speech pointing out the merit of the cause, and the community of their interests. On May 4 he made a more determined 'assault', declaring that during the fifteen years he had been in Venice he had never had a more vehement commission (*Esp. Prin.*). On this occasion he sent in a copy of his speech, instead of relying on the report of the Venetian secretary. On May 9 the answer of the Senate was read to him. It contained the same three points (*ante*, II, p. 227) with, Wotton said, 'some new beautifying'—their league with the Dutch, the money they were already sending Mansfeldt, their negotiations about the Valtelline. To this they added, as a fourth excuse, the new uprising among the Grisons. Wotton replied that this answer was but 'naked bones without flesh', 'a generality of good will and no direct satisfaction. And whereas now, they did desire me likewise to reiterate to the King, my master, their great sensibility of the common interest, I told them ingenuously, *con un stringer di spalle*, that I knew not well how to do it, till they gave me more subject, for philosophy, whose naked principles I had more studied than art of language, had taught me, even in one of her most fundamental maxims, that *ex nihilo nihil fit*' (*Esp. Prin.*, April 14, May 4, 9, *Reliq.*, 3rd ed., p. 542).

² Lieut. John Reade, recommended to the Venetians by a letter from James I., in case they wished to make new levies in England. Reade had come to Venice in 1618, and had been promised a commission. He was now given a promise of the next captain's place that should fall vacant in the Venetian army (*Esp. Prin.*, June 28, *S P Ven.*, 3rd ed., p. 542).

³ This letter is now in the Venice Archives (*Esp. Prin.*, May 23 *filza*). Wotton said that Mansfeldt wished to abandon the Palatinate, he hoped the Venetians would send him money to enable him to stay there.

⁴ During the Interdict.

more, which drew from him a great deal of good language, and reassurance of some effects, when they shall be eased of these nearer cares, having sent their foreign commanders and troops towards the Rhaetian side, though rather (as I am sure your Lordship will understand it) to countenance these new motions than for any actual engagement Yet true it is (as he told me withal) that moneys have likewise been sent, and they want not rhetoric to make it appear that a well fomented diversion in these parts will do the King of Bohemia as much good as a contribution The proportion of moneys hitherto sent your Lordship may imagine to be small, but I hear more is resolved according to the successes and as the French King shall stir, from whom they seem, by their ambassador to have some fresh assurance, that he will not be removed from the first treaty of Madrid, concluded by Bassompierre¹, though certain new articles have been vulgarly spread in Spanish of a later accord between the two Kings

From Constantinople we hear the deposition, imprisonment and death of Sultan Osman,² the re establishment of Mustafa, his silly uncle, for lack of a better, and in short a total and united revolt of all the Janissaries, Spachies and Cadez, with massacre of the principal officers and eunuchs, not sparing the Aga Basha, whose person to the Janissaries was as sacred as the Gran Signor's Doubtful we are what humours these Turkish commotions will stir in the Hungarian Diet Some fear it may encourage the Emperor, because Bethelém Gabor in *hoc statu rerum* can expect small help from Constantinople, wherewith he was wont to keep him at least in some awe Others hope (of which we have here good store) that the Hungarians, who little fear the Almagres alone, being eased of doubt on their back side, will speak aloft No small fortune hath the Spanish King in this time of dangerous distraction in his kingdom of Naples³ to be free of all fear from the Levant And these are our discourses For action is in your parts⁴

From his Majesty hath been sent me by an express messenger the whole proceedings with Spalato, to obviate ill reports which

¹ François Baron de Bassompierre (1576-1646), French ambassador in Spain (*N B Gen*)

² In 1617 the Sultan Achmet died, leaving a brother, Mustafa, and a son, Osman, a boy of eleven Mustafa succeeded as Sultan, but proving to be mad, he was deposed, and the boy Osman made Sultan On March 20, 1622, Osman was strangled by the Janissaries, and Mustafa was placed again on the throne, but was deposed in the next year

³ The conspiracy of Ossuna to make himself King of Naples

⁴ Wotton sent the same news to Calvert in a dispatch of this date, adding, 'These are our discourses, for from other places his Majesty must have action I am *Legatus Statarus*, as the ancients spake of still personages on their stages' (*S P Ven*)

grow apace But let me ask a question and say no more, who can hinder Rome to lie, and to flatter themselves with their own fictions? The Lord of all Truth love us, and maintain His own cause, to whom committing your Lordship, I ever rest

Your most unfeigned poor friend to serve you,

HENRY WOTTON

371 TO THE EARL OF ARUNDEL AND SURREY

S P Ven, transcript Undated, but written after Wotton's audience of July 4 The presentation of Lord Arundel's sons to the Doge

<July, 1622>

RIGHT HONOURABLE AND MY VERY GOOD LORD,

Besides an accompt due unto his Majesty, how tenderly his letters of thanks¹ in behalf of my most honoured Lady your wife were here received, I owe likewise therein a private relation unto your Lordship, which hath been suspended some few days, in hope of discharging it by an express messenger, of whom I have some occasion to make a little stay, and therefore can pardon your Lordship this trouble, nor myself this duty, no longer

I had the honour, with my Lady's good liking, to present my Lord Matraviers² and Sir Hen Haward³ to the Duke before I sat down myself, whom he received according to our Venetian phrase *a braccia spalancate*, and placed them among the *Savvi di terra ferma* In mine own speech, after I had told him how kindly his Majesty had taken the right and the honours that were done upon an unworthy occasion to so principal a Lady of his kingdom, which herself had signified home, and with all her own full contentment, even by a particular gentleman, I then fell to tell him, that your Lordship, upon whom these contentments did so nearly reflect, would fain have flown in person hither to thank him and the Senate, and that even without this occasion you had a longing to see this famous government again,⁴ whereof myself could witness that you were never weary of speaking well But these busy times not permitting your absence from the King, nor the dignity of your place, your Lordship had therefore commanded me to present unto him the nearest images of yourself So I said, and so indeed I might say For in truth, my Lord, I never can behold my Lord Matravers without re-

¹ James I's letter to the Doge dated Greenwich, June 10, 1622 O S, is printed by Romanin (vii, p 194)

² Lord Maltravers, eldest son of Thomas Howard, second Earl of Arundel and Surrey He died at Ghent in the following year

³ Henry Frederick Howard, born 1608, succeeded his father in 1646, died 1652

⁴ Lord Arundel visited Venice in 1612 (*Cal S P Ven*, xii, p 452)

membering Pliny's conceit of one so resembling his father, *tantum patrem exscripsisset*¹ The Duke's answer was very tender, taking new occasion to express how much this city had been honoured with the noble residence of your Lady here, and how much they hold themselves obliged unto your Lord and to her Ladyship for such an argument of your affection as the breeding of your hopeful children sometime in this dominion, towards whom withal he turned a cheerful look, and told me they had kindly visited him the day before in private, and that he found them well profited in this language The rest of his speech was spent in modest extenuation of those poor demonstrations (as he called them), so due in all justice and humanity to the honour of a Lady, who had called herself so worthily and so nobly among them, and had been so wronged by malicious voices, void of all imaginable ground, in whose behalf they could not expect any such gracious acknowledgement as I had presented from his Majesty, having but done that which in all respects was due In these, and the like terms, he passed this morning²

I will end this duty with begging one favour, and another right from your Lordship The first, that I may lose nothing by my weaknesses, in your gracious estimation³ of my plain and humble zeal to serve you and your noble name The other, that your Lordship will be pleased to allow me your just defence with Mr Secretary Calvert, who in his last expresseth some wonder that I had not given his Majesty any accompt of that which here had passed touching your Lady, by whose command, and in love of truth, I had set down all the circumstances, whereof I might well suppose a copy to have been sent home, for the King's information, if it should need Although false bruits of the highest personages are so familiar here, that I am often studying in my poor philosophy whether the contempt or the resentment be the better cure, yet I speak not this of my Lady's case, which surely did require both a brave complaint and a noble reparation God cover your Lordship,

¹ 'Totumque patrem mea similitudine exscripserat' (C Plin Ep v 16)

² At the end of this audience Wotton drew nearer the Doge and spoke again of the King of Bohemia The occasion, he said, was not a favourable one, but it was his commission never to come to the *Collegio* without reminding the Venetians of the King's cause (*Esp Prin*, July 4, 1622)

³ On May 12, 1622, Lord Arundel wrote to Lord Doncaster an account of the conduct of Doncaster's 'dear friend, Sir Henry Wotton', to Lady Arundel 'For Sir Henry Wotton's part,' he adds, 'I will only say this, that if she had either been amazed with the suddenness and confidence of his first advertisement and so have retired herself, as he wished, or afterwards let it rest, as he advised, her honour had been destroyed But I thank Almighty God she was guided by a better spirit, which protects innocency, and turns the wickedest intentions to quite contrary effects' (C & T Jas I, ii, p 309-11)

and all yours wheresoeuer they are, with his dear blessings and love
And so I remain,

Your good Lordship's poore seruant,
HENRY WOTTON

372 TO SIR GEORGE CALVERT

S P Ven, holograph, extract Wotton sends a copy of letter written
by the General of the Jesuits

Venice, this 29th of July, 1622
Style of the place

. Let me present unto his Majesty a thing which I have had long in chase It is the copy of the letter which Mutio Vitelleschi¹, General of the Jesuits, did write unto this Duke, when the Marquis de Coevre (by whom it was delivered), together with the Pope's Nuncio, took here a notorious repulse² I do now entertain his Majesty there with, though it hath lost the commendation of newness, because to my poore judgement it appeareth a most exact and elaborate piece, and the very character of the whole Society Never were men more griping after lands and possessions, more imperious over consciences and families, when they are in, never more creeping, more obsequious, more abject, when they are out *In summa, Iesuita est omnis homo* Read, Sir, and you shall see, and I will keep you from reading it no longer, having, I must confess, myself taken much pleasure in the transcription thereof The Lord of Heaven and earth cover his Majesty and his estates with the overspreading wings of his love. And so I rest,

Your Honour's by long devotion,
HENRY WOTTON

373 TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM

Harl MS 1581, f 220, holograph, *Reliq*, 2nd ed, p 475, 3rd ed, p 311, *Cabala* (1654), i, p 193 Wotton's reversion to the Rolls, his nephew returning to England

From Venice, this 29th of July, 1622
Style of England

MY MOST HONOURED LORD AND PATRON,

These poore lines will be presented unto your Lordship by my nephew (one of your obliged servants) and withal some description, as I have prayed him, of my long infirmities, which have cast me

¹ Mutio Vitelleschi (1563-1645) became General of the Jesuits in 1615

² *Ante*, ii, p 218 This letter, copied by Wotton, is in the Record Office. (*S P Ven*, vol xxiv)

behind in many private, and often interrupted even my public duties, with which yet I do rather seek to excuse some other defects of service, than my silence towards your Lordship. For to importune your Lordship seldom with my pen is a choice in me, and not a disease, having resolved to live, at what distance soever from your sight, like one who had well studied before I came hither, how secure they are whom you once vouchsafe any part of your love.

And, indeed, I am well confirmed therein by your own gracious lines,¹ for thereby I see that your Lordship had me in your meditation, when I scant remembered myself. In answer of which letter, after some respite from mine own evils, I have deputed my said nephew to redeliver my fortune into your noble hands, and to assure your Lordship, that as it should be cheerfully spent at your command, if it were present and actual (from whose mediation I have derived it), so much more am I bound to yield up unto your Lordship an absolute disposition of my hopes. But if it shall please you therein to grant me any part of mine own humour, then I would rather wish some other satisfaction than exchange of office, yet even in this point likewise I shall depend on your will, which your Lordship may indeed challenge from me, not only by all humble gratitude and reverence due to your most worthy person, but even by that natural charity and discretion which I owe myself. For what do I more therein, than only remit to your own arbitrament the valuation of your own goodness? I have likewise committed to my foresaid nephew some memorials touching your Lordship's familiar service (as I may term it) in matter of art and delight.

But though I have laid these offices upon another, yet I joy with mine own pen to give your Lordship an accompt of a gentleman worthier of your love, than I was of the honour to receive him from you. We are now, after his well spent travels in the towns of purer language, married again till a second divorce, for which I shall be sorry, whensoever it shall happen. For in truth, my good Lord, his conversation is both delightful and fruitful, and I dare pronounce that he will return to his friends as well fraught with the best observations, as any that hath ever sifted this country, which indeed

¹ On Jan. 2, 162½ (O S.), Buckingham wrote to Wotton that he had tried to arrange an exchange of offices between the Master of the Wards (Cranfield) and the Master of the Rolls (Sir Julius Caesar). He would then have left it to Wotton's choice whether he would take the reversion to the Wards instead of that to the Rolls, which had already been granted him. As this exchange had not taken place, there was nothing for Wotton to do but to stick to his reversion to the Rolls. Buckingham adds in a postscript, 'I thank your Lordship for the bed and pictures and other present you sent me, and for your good husbandry in the other pictures you bought for me' (*Fortescue Papers*, Camden Soc., 1871, p. 17).

doth need sifting, for there is both flour and bran in it. He hath divided his abode between Sienna and Rome, the rest of his time was for the most part spent in motion¹. I think his purpose be to take the French tongue in his way homewards, but I am persuading with him to make Bruxelles his seat, both because the French and Spanish languages are familiar there, whereof the one will be, after Italian, a sport unto him, so as he may make the other a labour, and for that the said town is now the scene of an important treaty,² which I fear will last till he come thither. But far be from me all ominous conceit. I will end with cheerful thoughts and wishes, beseeching the Almighty God to preserve your Lordship in health, and to cure the public diseases. And so I ever remain,

Your Lordship's most devoted and obliged servant,

HENRY WOTTON

374 TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON

S P Ven, holograph, extract. News of Venice, the Spanish marriage
 Venice, this 19th of August, 1622
 Style of the place

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

Our Duke hath been newly by a fever near his period, even to the point (as I hear) of extreme unction, but having been let blood, rather as a necessary than a convenient remedy for his years, he is now said to be in terms of recovery, and may perchance yet live till the people will be sorer for his death. This week we have been visited with dolphins of extraordinary greatness from the sea, playing in the canal of Giudecca a thing rarely occurring. I hope it doth portend a better conjunction between Fraunce and this Republic in the maintenance of the Grisons³ than we have yet

¹ I do not know which of Wotton's nephews was the bearer of this letter. In the *Reliquiae* (2nd ed., p. 489, 3rd, p. 332) is printed an undated letter from Wotton to a certain Nicholas Arnauld at Siena, which may refer to this nephew —

'Sir, this young gentleman, my very near kinsman, having gotten enough of Venetian Italian to seek better, and being for that end directed by me to Siena, I will take the boldness to commend him to your disposing there, assuring myself that you have gained much friendship and power wheresoever you are, by that impression which you have left in us here. And so, with those thanks which were long since due, for your kind remembrance of me by a letter from Florence, I commit you to God's dear blessings and love, and I ever rest,

'Your very affectionate poor friend to serve you,

'From Venice

H. WOTTON'

² The conference for the pacification of the Palatinate was reopened in June and brought to an end in September. (*Gardiner*, iv, pp. 321, 345.)

³ Richelieu had not yet come to power, and the policy of France was still uncertain. Venice and Savoy were urging Louis XIII to keep to his promise and to force the Spaniards to restore the Valtelline. It was not till Feb., 1623, that Louis XIII took any action, when by leaguering himself with Savoy and Venice, he compelled the Spaniards to hand over the Valtelline to the Pope.

seen And it is indeed high time, for Leopold will now have leisure enough to look this way ¹ A voice we have had that they had taken his Fort of Santa Maria, but it wanteth confirmation Among other notes of this week, let me tell you, Lordship that we have seen one great solecism, a St Rocco's day uncelebrated with music, even their peculiar Saint, which in common discourse is attributed either to the avarice or the spite of an apothecary, on whom that confraternity did lay the charge of those rites this year against his will This omission to many ears may perchance sound like a trifle, but the Pope's instruments work upon it, and say it is no marvel if his authority be decayed here (as hath been lately seen in violating the Court of Inquisition, and in a round proceeding against the Bishop of Padova) when their own saints (for Rocco is not yet in the Roman Canon) are so slighted ² The air is full of such declamations as these, and perchance the apothecary may smart for it

To speak of that which more concerns us We have here at the present a sudden strong noise (derived as they say by express intelligence from the Court of Spayne) that the Infanta Maria hath newly upon her knees besought the King of Spain not to press her any further about the match of Prince Charles And this very week I am advertised from home that the ambassador of the State of Venice did confidently affirm that the Infanta Maria was otherwise to be disposed which voice had gotten easy credit, but that Mr Grisley ³ came *in ipso articulo* from my Lord Digby with contrary tidings For my part I am resolved to let others dispute first, whether it be true, and then whether it be fit Always sure it is that from Fraunce (who were the last believers), by the courier of this week they write thereof as a concluded thing

¹ The Archduke Leopold, governor of the Tyrol He 'looked that way' to some purpose, for he invaded the Grison territory, took their capital Cune, and compelled them (Oct, 1622) to give up their claim on the Valtelline, and to cede the Engadine and eight of the ten Droitures (almost the whole of one of the three Republics) to Austria (*Romann*, vii p 261)

² The Bishop of Padua was arrested for making a secret resignation of the Abbey of St Zen in Verona to the Cardinal Ludovisio (*S P Ven*, Aug 12, 1622) The Inquisition had been violated by an order of the Senate releasing a certain Abbate Fulgenzio, whom the Inquisition had arrested and imprisoned 'They still retain an image of such a court,' Wotton wrote of the Inquisition at Venice, 'much like the *Senatus Populusque Romanus* which the Pope suffers to sit in Rome' (*Ibid*, July 19) Under Paul V, Wotton wrote of the arrest of this Fulgenzio, a lesser thing 'caused excommunication, but those thunderbolts seem out of date, especially after the violent rapture of the Cardinal Clesel, by the present Emperoi, and the imprisonment of the Cardinal de Guise by the French King in the Bastille Examples passed over silently at Rome, but registered here, and laid up in lavender for use at some time or other' (*Ibid*, Feb 25, 1622)

³ Walsingham Gresley, Lord Digby's steward

375 TO SIR GFORGE CALVENT

S P Ven, holograph Reported defeat of Mansfeld, news of Venice,
convalescence of the Doge, &c, Oimuz captured by the English East
India Company

Venice, August 22^o
Style of England, 1622

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

We have here, this very day, taken a sudden alarm upon advertisement that the Count Mansfeld's army is either vanished or defeated, and himself in the hands of Monsieur de Nevers, with some small remainder,¹ which doth much trouble this Senate, even before the certain confirmation thereof, who foresee with what facility the Governor of Milan, on the one side, and Leopoldo, on the other, will devour the Grisons and intoyle² this State, upon the ceasing of all diversion in Alsatia, unless the French King had more leisure than his inward distractions will yield him to look abroad. And now perchance they will begin to wish that they had better tasted my persuasions in supporting those troops. We have withal a certain voice out of Lombardie, able to beget new doubts, or to increase the former. It is said that upon some speech, which grew at Milan touching the contribution which this Republic doth subminister secretly to the Rhaetians, and professedly to the States, one as yet unnamed, but as it seems no shallow man, should tell the Duke of Feria that the King of Spayne may, with more ease and honour, make war against the Venetians themselves, within their own dominion, than against their moneys abroad. One thing I apprehend upon these discourses as almost a visible consequence, that if troubles grow, we shall close here with the Pope, that we may have leave to levy within the Marca d'Ancona—which we repute the best seminary of Italian soldiers, and indeed the only province whence they can be supplied, except a few straggling Albanesi, or auxiliaries by sea at great charge, and as much uncertainty.

Our Duke is now again a convalescent, and those that had begun some secret competition for his place may, till another plunge, quiet their thoughts. Two things extend his life, a merry heart, and an issue in his leg. From Aleppo both our own merchants and Italians have a piece of news which doth subject us to some clamour. It is said that seven English ships have assisted the Persians to take

¹ This report was false. Mansfeld had invaded Lorraine, with the purpose of marching into France and entering the French service, and the Duke of Nevers, while pretending to negotiate terms with Mansfeld, collected a force strong enough to protect the road into France. Mansfeld, thereupon, entered the Dutch service and marched to Breda. (*Gardner*, iv, pp 341, 342.)

² 'Intoyle,' i.e. entoil, to ensnare. Arch. (*N E D*)

Ormuz¹, which was in the power of the Portingals, and a necessary staple to intermediate their trade in the East Indies, which thereby will no doubt be much incommoded. Whereupon is grown in this discoursing place two opposite opinions, the one that it will break, the other, that it will rather facilitate, our present treaties with the King of Spayne.

In Rome is newly arrived an English gentlewoman of more garb than the former Jesuitesses, whose desires are at a stop. Her name I cannot yet tell, neither is it much material, because they change them at pleasure, but she aims at a pension. By this time I suppose Mr Gage² to have been at home under your own inquiry, so as I shall need to speak no more out of my private intelligence of the Pope's *breve*. Therefore, Sir, for this week I humbly commit you to our loving God, remaining,

At your commands,

HENRY WOTTON

Postscript The above written intelligence touching Ormuz we have with this addition, that the castle did yet hold out, but could not long, for lack of water, which particularity doth win some credit to the rest.

376 TO SIR THOMAS ROE³.

Roe's *Negotiations*, p 97, extract Wotton's illness, the affairs of Germany, the Pope's new edict

From Venice, the 15 of October, 1622

Style of the place

MY LORD,

Your Lordship hath reason in one of your letters to chide, and in all of them to wonder, at my silence, and therefore I shall need to begin with some description of mine own evils, that I may bring myself out of your anger into your compassion, though the choice be miserable between those two affections from a friend.

After the fevers of the last autumn (which did lay me, and almost my whole family all down together, whereof God took three of nearest use about me into His eternal rest) I found within a while

¹ Ormuz was taken from the Portuguese by the Shah of Persia with the assistance of the English East India Company. The English pretended that they had acted under compulsion from the Shah. (*Gardiner*, v, pp 237-41)

² George Gage, sent to Rome to watch the course of the marriage negotiations at Rome. He returned to England Aug 25, 1622 (O.S.). "to announce that, if the Pope was to be satisfied, new and unheard of concessions must be made" (*Ibid*, iv, p 350)

³ Sir Thomas Roe (1581?-1644), *ante* u, p 221

my appetite (which had ever been one of my surest friends) quite overthrown with a strange kind of sweet humour distilling from my head, which my physicians (though no mineral men) did correct with the spirit of vitriol. Now whether this left behind it a bad impression, I know not, but not long after I fell into such a burning in the stomach, as hath cast me behind in many private, and often interrupted even my public duties, having held me from the beginning of last winter till very lately, for which, besides frequent vexation of physic, I was no less than five times let blood. And yet at last I was more eased with familiar than with strong remedies.

I wish heartily, that as my inward infirmity hath resembled the external distempers and boilings of the Christian world, so they may imitate me in the manner of my cure, and yield rather to gentle treaties than need sharper resolutions. But little can I hope that it will so fall out in those broken affairs which his Majesty hath hitherto sought to repair with so blessed a spirit. For let me discourse unto your Lordship how we stand at this instant. The King of Bohemia and Elector Palatin (let me now give him his titles, for he hath nothing else but Franckendal and Manheime), after a very venturous passage in disguised form from the Haghe, through Fraunce into the lower Palatinat, is lately from thence retired to Sedan, after he had with a formal licence left the Count Mansfeld, and the brave young Duke of Brownswig, to their own counsels and fortunes, who both together have made their way through the Spanish provinces, and after a battle¹, whereof I send you herewith the truest description, some six leagues from Bruxelles with Don Gonzales de Cordoa (who quitted the Palatinat to pursue them) are joined with the Prince of Orange, who hath employed them together with the garrison of Breda, to intercept the convoys of victual between Antwerp and Spinola's leaguer before Bergen up-Zome, which action doth now draw all eyes upon it, the Prince being resolved to unset the siege, and the Marquis not to rise, so as the glories of two great chiefs are at the stake.

Let me after this, say somewhat of Italy, which is my more proper object, and in truth, my Lord, it is a novelty of great noise that I shall relate. The Pope hath published an edict, the very last week, whereby he prohibiteth the Italian Princes to give reception in their towns and states to any of different religion from the Roman, and forbiddeth Italians to inhabit in any country where his Catholic doctrine is not professed, without exception even of merchants. So as the said edict (as we yet understand it) doth retrench

¹ The battle of Fleurus, Aug 11, 1622 where Mansfeld and Christian of Brunswick defeated Gonzalo Fernandez de Cordova (*Gardner*, iv, p 342)

civil commercement¹, what it will work elsewhere I cannot say, but I believe this State (at which it most pointeth) will have the honour to be the first that shall laugh at it. For my part, to speak like a plain Kentish man, I only fear that it will not last, for I observe this Pope to have been transported therein (I know not yet by whose counsels) to a violent variation from himself, no times having been hitherto more easy, nor, as I may term it, more uninquisitive into conscience, than his own. It is yet so fresh, that I cannot acquaint your Lordship with the inward motives thereof, but *in superficie* it appeareth a preamble to a war of religion, in which case, for my share, let me only repeat the words of our blessed Saviour himself *Vende tunicam, et eme gladrum*². Of the Grisons I shall speak in my next, for I fear I have tired your Lordship already, and my long silence hath so cast me behind that *hortus silvescat*, it will require more weeding than at once to plane the alleys. Weekly hereafter your Lordship shall be troubled with my poor discourse, for the times do promise me abundant subject. Yet I cannot end the present without an humble presentation, through your Lordship's hands, of my willing service to your most worthy lady³, if this western world may yield anything for her use or delight, that the Levant doth miss, to which offer I am bound by my long devotion to her own name, and by that noble courtesy wherewith she was pleased to honour me the day when your Lordship attended the King to Paules.

And so committing you both, with your whole family, to God's dear protection, I will remain (as I am confident) in your Lordship's love,

And at your commands,

HENRY WOTTON

¹ 'Commencement' in *Roe*

² 'Sed nunc, qui habet sacculum, tollat, similiter et peram, et qui non habet, vendat tunicam suam, et emat gladrum' (Luke xxii 36). Wotton sent the above news in a letter of this date to Carleton at the Hague. He forwarded at the same time a packet for the Queen of Bohemia with 'a wild address' from Constantinople—letters no doubt from Sir Thomas Roe—'which,' he wrote, 'with the continual remembrance of mine own humble zeal, I beseech your Lordship to present unto her Majesty, whose sweet and blessed thoughts mine inward torment at the indignity of her present fortune will not yet suffer me to trouble with my pen' (*S P Ven*, October 4). The Queen of Bohemia was living at the Hague, and Wotton's letters to Carleton often contained messages to her. On June 18, 1621, he wrote, 'Good my Lord, let me humbly beseech you to remember my vowed zeal to her Majesty of Bohemia, my most gracious mistress, whom I only can serve with my prayers in Heaven where our God liveth' (*Ibid*).

³ Eleanor, daughter of Sir Thomas Cave of Stanford (*Ante*, i, p 396 n)

377 To SIR GEORGE CALVERT

S P Ven, dictated, extract The Prince of Conde and Paolo Sarpi,
the Franco Venetian alliance, De Dominis in Rome

Venice, 1^o Decembei, 1622

The third piece of this dispatch shall be an addition to my last, touching the Prince of Conde¹ He ended with us in two of the contrariest humours that I think hath ever been seen, in a voluntary and extemporal comedy, whereof himself acted the part of the Spaniard (and singularly well), even upon a public stage, but at an unusual hour, indeed after a merry supper with certain of these young gentlemen, and in a conference before his departure with Maestro Paolo, which he had with notorious patience sought some days before, at his convent, but could not obtain it, without public leave, and even then in the presence of a *Savio di terra ferma*, namely Angelo Contarini, a man known before in Fraunce At this private meeting he came inspired by others rather than by himself (for we have no great opinion of his morality, much less of his divinity), to ask these questions² he demanded whether the said person did remain excommunicated or no at this present?

It was answered negatively, for the general accord at the time of the Interdict did include him Whereupon a second question being asked, how that generality could serve the turn? The reply was, that being admitted to the secrets of this Senate (as he is), he was restrained from answering to particularities He was asked whether an excommunication of a Prince did dissolve the band of obedience in subjects? It was answered, that in the canonical law a wife was not freed from obeying her husband by excommunication of her husband, and much less a subject from the obedience of his Prince He was asked, whether a Catholic Prince might serve himself of heretics? It was answered, that

¹ Henri II de Bourbon, Prince de Condé (1588-1646), father of the great Condé 'A Prince,' Wotton described him, 'died by the Jesuits in grain, I mean, in a deep and bloody tincture' (*S P Ven*, Nov 10) He had come to Italy for the purpose of making a pilgrimage to Loretto, to give thanks for his release from the Bastille, and had sent before him a silver model of the Bastille to that shrine He stopped in Venice on his way, where Wotton wrote, he went about in a plain soldier's habit, spending the mornings at the booksellers' shops, the evenings at the comedy His demand for the title of *Altezza* (only accorded by the Venetians to reigning Princes) caused much discourse 'among vacant and censuring wits' (Nov 18) For a witticism of James I on the subject, see *Crumm's Fall'n from King James's Table*, No cxxv, first printed in the *Prince's Cabala*, 1715, and there described as collected by Sir Thomas Overbury (*Works of Overbury*, 1656, p 274) This particular 'Crumm', however, could not of course have been collected by Overbury, who was poisoned in 1618

² Sarpi wrote to the Doge an account (substantially the same as Wotton's) of this conversation, which is still in the Venice Archives, and is printed in the 1863 edition of Sarpi's letters (ii, pp 439-48) A translation has been published by the Philobiblion Society (*N D*)

a Pope had employed Turckes in his service, and said they were as many angels sent from heaven for the benefit of the Church at that time¹

He was asked whether he were author of the *Concilio Tridentino* ? It was answered, that they knew at Rome (whither he was going) who was author of that book, therein holding a mean between confession and denial, and yet without equivocation

He was asked somewhat about the Eucharist, into which, being unwilling to enter, he made a modest retreat, but yet said a thing worthy in truth of singular observation, that he could not but marvel how the fathers of the Old Testament, having interpreted all the corporal ceremonies and services of God spiritually, those of the New Testament should interpret the spiritual things corporally, even after the coming of the Body, which did cease² the shadows Thus much I was glad to present through your secret hands unto his Majesty

The last thing is almost miraculous, at least to me, who have long contemplated the nature of this State, and observed in them no facility to move

The French King, being (as I take it) at Marseilles, dispatcheth hither an extraordinary courier with letters to his ambassador of the 20th of November The courier arrived here on Saturday last The ambassador hath audience on Monday On Tuesday late there was called a Senate, which lasted till eight hours of the night On Wednesday the courier was redispached, the foresaid King requiring answer before his returning to Lyons Their resolution is this, that they will concur in the business of restoring the Grisons with 12,000 foot and 2,000 horse, and their half share in the munition and artillery³ This I have from the French themselves, who perchance speak with the most⁴ My Italian advertisers name 8,000, and the rest in proportion Always sure it is, that the State is resolved not to change their neighbours from Grisons to Spaniards, which to them is a wonderful sensible point of state And thus I write willingly, because I conceive that how much more the King of Spain shall be distracted in these parts, he will be so much the more

¹ Sarpi's words were that Julius II had bands of Turkish soldiers in his army in Romagna, that Paul IV brought to his defence in Rome certain companies of heretical Grisons, and said they were so many angels sent by God for his defence (*Lettere*, 11, p 442)

² 'Cease,' i e cause to cease Obs (*N E D*)

³ The agreement between Venice and France about the Grisons had hitherto been but a general one, but Louis XIII now asked that the Venetians should recall Count Mansfeld into Italy, provide an army, and openly declare themselves on the side of the Grisons Venice cautiously refused to make an open declaration, but offered to supply troops to aid the French army (*S P Ven*, Dec 12, 1622)

⁴ 'Speak with the most,' i e give the highest figures

easy and manageable unto his Majesty in any occasions that occur at the present

Postscript Now touching Spalato, further letters are come from him than those which I send, after his access to the Pope, who received him with singular embracement, and he writes of himself more and more confidently¹ But he addeth that these kindnesses and absolutions, and habilitations to any ecclesiastical dignity, &c, are conferred upon him *propter quaedam quae intrinsecus latent*—those are his own words, though the rest of the letter be Italian Upon which our commentaries here are very various, for the question is, at what use the Pope aims at of this man, that should thus increase his cherishments? Awhile there was a conceit (as I say in my letter) that he came with business from England, but that is absolutely vanished The next was, that by his observations taken there of persons and humours, he might serve to direct well the young Roman emissaries And this opinion increased by his going to the English College immediately after his having been with the Pope, but that was but to borrow a book out of their private library, pretending he had lost it by the way, namely *Defensio Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, which was either the *Enchiridion* of Bishop Jewel, or perchance some of Dr Parrie's² translations A third plainer sort of men there are, that think he shall only be employed in writing, and that therein both his use and himself shall end For if they put him not only to a general *palmodia*, but to a punctual refutation of his own works, he will sink under that labour Lastly, there is a conjecture made (and in this I dare concur upon the wager of my life, by circumstances nicely examined) that the scope of the Roman Court is, by his good treatment, and by his former familiarity with Maestio Paolo and Fulgentio, to bring them likewise into the net—which, though by an admirable letter³ (which I send herewith) from one of them unto him before he left England, it will appear a vain hope Yet who can hinder their practical imaginations?

¹ 'Of the final issue of this Pielate I hear wise and wary men very doubtful His beginnings are jolly, as it seemeth by his own description But I remember a proverb which I learned at Lythe (Leith) "That it is young Yule at Yule's Eaven"' (*S P Ven*, Dec 1²) 'Yule is young on Yule even, and auld on Saint Steven' (Hislop, *The Proverbs of Scotland*, p 228)

² Henry Parry, D D, 1561-1616, Bishop of Worcester, translated the *Catechism* of Zach Ursinus, Oxford, 1587, 1589, 1591, 1595, 1601 (*D N B*)

³ This letter, which is of great length, is now in the *S P Ven* (vol xxiv) It is undated and unsigned, but the Italian is not Sarpi's, and the authorship may therefore be ascribed to Fulgentio De Dominis is warned in the most solemn manner against returning to Rome, and told how all those who have so returned have finished their wretched lives there '*o col taccio, o col fuoco o col veleno*'

378 TO JAMES I

S P Ven, holograph, *Reliq*, 3rd ed, p 247 (postscript omitted), where it is wrongly dated Dec 9, 1622 Wotton sends melon seeds to the King, also the preface of a history of Venice he was planning to write

Venice, the second of December
Style of England, 1622

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST SACRED MAJESTY,

By this right honest and learned gentleman, by name Adolfus Repplingam (who hath spent some time abroad in the best observations), I send your Majesty more melon seeds of all sorts, which have been diligently chosen, and will, I hope, take better than the former

In my letter to Mr Secretary Calvert, I have discharged divers other duties, among which some will come very seasonably unto your Majesty about Christmas time, to increase your recreation, for it is indeed a merry piece of service that I have sent your Majesty, a testimony of your conscience from Rome¹

Now, for this letter I have reserved a private and voluntary subject, which I have taken the freedom most humbly to present unto your Majesty's benign censure It is the preface to one of mine own poor labours, comprehending the argument thereof and the motives In which as yet unfinished lucubration (for so I may justly call it, having been for the most part born in the night) I have had occasion to fall upon some mighty considerations of Church and State, while I did search the progress of this Republic among the clouds and confusions of the Middle Age Between which times it was a kind of refreshment, and yet withal but a miserable pleasure, to contemplate how the Empire grew lank, and the Popedom tumourous proportionably, till superstition, like a wild and raging fire, could at length be contained *neque suis terminis neque alienis* These remarkable heads I have now touched, to procure from your Majesty some pardon for a bold invocation therein of your royal name, being confident that this high theorem of state which I handle (though myself but a poor student in meaner speculations) may prove not unworthy, in the subject itself, to receive some lustre from your gracious countenance To conclude the trouble that I have given your Majesty, instead of some present more valuable to inaugurate the new approaching year, I do humbly submit the death or life of this work to your only doom And though that ancient conceit was well commended when it was first born, *Mallem Augusti iudicium quam Anthonii beneficium*,² yet

¹ In a report of the conversion of James I to Roman Catholicism (*S P Ven*, Dec ²/₁₃)

² 'Crispus Passienus solebat dicere quorundam se iudicium malle quam

I must crave leave to think it somewhat ignoble, and, for my part, to assure your Majesty that I shall more rejoice in the approbation of your judgement, than in the fruition even of your own benefits And so I most humbly commit your most dear and royal person to God's continual love, remaining

Your Majesty's faithful vassal and long devoted poor servant,

OTTAVIO BALDI

Postscript Your Majesty will be pleased to give me leave to hope that the professing of mine own name and country in the front of my labour will not be attributed to any vain estimation of myself, having therein imitated the Greeks and Arabians, as they did the ancient Hebrews before them

379 TO JAMES I

S P Ven, holograph, *Reliq*, 3rd ed, p 249 *Praefatio in Historiam Venetam*

(Venice, Dec 12, 1622, N S)

Henricus Wottonius, Anglo Cantianus, postquam quatuordecim fere annorum spatium legationibus apud Venetos exhauseram, anno unici Mediatoris supra millesimum sexcentesium vicesimo secundo, aetatis meae quinquagesimo tertio iam labente,¹ de illorum imperio scribere sum aggressus, ut si non satis vigilasse foris pro publico munere, at saltem vixisse videar Quippe levi profecto distant discrimine silentes a defunctis, nec multum interest, nos terminet fatalis dies, an praestinguat inertia² Igitur libido saepius sopita, nunc ardentior redit, revolvendi vetera, novaque, ut ex radicibus eliciam quo Fati ductu, quois maxime institutis, quibusque artibus, tam inclyta Christiani orbis Civitas tot saecula superaverit, inter varias maritimaque tam cladum quam victoriaum vices, nec minora fortasse ipsius otii quam belli mala Huius felicitatis progressus et fulcimenta ietio quaerenti, duo praecipue (si recte aestimo) fontes recludent historia temporum et imperii forma Quae quam potero

beneficium, quorundam beneficium malle quam iudicium, et subiciebat exempla malo aiebat, *dux Augusti iudicium, malo Claudii beneficium* (Seneca, *De Beneficiis*, 1, c 15 5)

¹ As the Rev J Hannah points out, Wotton's above statement about his age must be a mistake, if the accepted date of his birth is the correct one If Wotton was born March 30, 1568, his fifty third year would end March 30, 1621, more than twenty months before the date of this letter to the King (J Hannah, p xix, ante 1, p 1)

² Wotton afterwards made use of this phrase in his fragment on Henry VI 'Inter honestam requiem quam Etonense Collegium vergentibus iam annis nostris indulget, subinde me invasit haec cogitatio, haud multum distare silentes a defunctis,' &c (*Reliq*, 4th ed, p 108) Cf Horace, *Od* iv 9 29 —

'Paulum sepulchrae distat inertiae
Celata virtus.'

brevisissime et quasi delibatum expediam, ut hoc qualecunque conceptum opus delectu magis rerum quam ubertate gestiat. Simul etiam ne in alienae Reipublicae arcanis longius haerendo hospitis verecundiam violarem.

Te vero sapientissime Iacobe Rex et Domine (sub cuius indulgentis iudicii praesidio imbecillitas nostra civilibus ministeriis incubuit, quam quidem natura potius ad simpliciora studia damnaverat) Te, inquam, Clarissimum saeculi Lumen, in exordio praesentium curarum invocare liceat, ut tanti nominis velut adflatu quodam alacrius inceptum peragam. Sed quia non levia meditamur, quod ante ingressum ingenui authores solent, id quoque profiteor, me sine obtrectatione, sine blanditiis, sensus quos per omnem laboris partem res ipsa suggeret, liberrime prolaturum, ne argumenti dignitatem dehonestet servilis oratio.

Iam urbem Venetam, &c

380 TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM (?)

Reliq, 2nd ed, p 484 (among other letters to Buckingham), 3rd ed, p 250, inscribed 'A Letter Concerning the Original of Venice'. No date or address, but printed after the above Latin epistle in the 3rd ed, and perhaps a draft of the beginning of the history of Venice, which Wotton apparently never finished. For lack of other indications I place this letter here.

(Venice, Dec 12, 1622, N S ?)

RIGHT HONOURABLE AND MY VERY GOOD LORD, •

I owe your Lordship, even by promise, some account of my foreign travels, and the observations which I have taken touching this city and Republic, are these

The general position of the city of Venice, I find much celebrated, even by the learnedest of the Arabians¹, as being seated in the very middle point between the equinoctial and the northern Pole, at 45 degrees precisely, or next hand, of latitude. Yet their winters are for the most part sharper than ours, though about six degrees less of elevation, perchance by vicinity to the chilly tops of the Alps, for winds as well as waters are tainted in their passage, and the consequence which men make in common discourse, from the degree of the place to the temper is indeed very deceivable, without a due regard to other circumstances.

The circuit thereof, through divers creeks, is not well determinable, but as astronomers use to measure the stars, we may account it a city of the first magnitude, as London, Paris, Gaunt, Millain, Lisbon, &c.

¹ 'Averhoes,' note in margin

How they came to be founded in the midst of the waters I could never meet with any clear memorial. The best and most of their authors ascribe their first beginnings rather to chance or necessity, than counsel, which yet in my opinion will amount to no more than a pretty conjecture intenebrated by antiquity, for thus they deliver it they say that among the tumults of the middle age, when nations went about swarming like bees, Atylas, that great captain of the Hunnes, and scourge of the world (as he was styled) lying along with a numerous army at the siege of Aquileia, it struck a mighty affrightment and confusion into all the nearer parts. Whereupon the best sort of the bordering people out of divers towns, agreed either suddenly, or by little and little (as fear will sometimes collect, as well as distract) to convey themselves and their substance into the uttermost bosom of the Adriatick Gulf, and there possessed certain desolate islets, by tradition about seventy in number, which afterwards (necessity being the mother of art) were tacked together with bridges, and so the city took a rude form, which grew civilized with time, and became a great example what the smallest things well fomented may prove.

They glory in this then beginning two ways. First, that surely their progenitors were not of the meanest and basest quality (for such having little to lose had as little cause to remove). Next, that they were timely instructed with temperance and penury (the nurses of moderation). And true it is, that as all things savour of their first principles, so doth the said Republic (as I shall afterwards show) even at this day, for the rule will hold as well in civil as in natural causes.

Cætera desunt

381 TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM

Harl MS 1581, f 222, holograph, Reliq., 2nd ed., p 478, 3rd ed., p 314, Cabala (1654) 1, p 194 Mole in the prison of the Inquisition. Pictures sent from Venice

Venice, Dec $\frac{2}{13}$, 1622

MY MOST HONOURED AND MY MOST DEAR LORD,

To give your Lordship occasion to exercise your noble nature is withal one of the best exercises of mine own duty, and therefore I am confident to pass a very charitable motion through your Lordship's hands and mediation to his Majesty

There hath long lain in the prison of Inquisition a constant worthy gentleman, namely Mr Mole, in whom his Majesty hath not only a right as his subject, but likewise a particular interest in the cause of his first imprisonment. For having communicated his

Majesty's immortal work¹ touching the allegiance due unto sovereign princes, with a Florentine of his familiar acquaintance, this man took such impression at some passages, as troubling his conscience, he took occasion at the next shift, to confer certain doubts with his confessor, who out of malicious curiosity, inquiring all circumstances, gave afterwards notice thereof to Rome, whither the said Mole was gone with my Lord Rosse, who in this story is not without blame, but I will not disquiet his grave

Now having lately heard that his Majesty, at the suit of I know not what ambassadors (but among them the Florentine is voiced for one), was pleased to yield some releasement to certain restrained persons of the Roman faith, I have taken a conceit upon it, that in exchange of his clemency therein, the Great Duke would be easily moved by the King's gracious request, to intercede with the Pope for Mr Mole's delivery to which purpose, if it shall please his Majesty to grant his royal letters, I will see the business duly pursued And so needing no arguments to commend this proposition to his Majesty's goodness but his goodness itself, I leave it (as I began) in your noble hand

Now touching your Lordship's familiar service, as I may term it, I have sent the complement of your bargain, upon the best provided and best manned ship that hath been here in long time, called the *Phoenix* And indeed the cause of their long stay hath been for some such vessel as I might trust About which, since I wrote last to your Lordship, I resolved to fall back to my first choice, so as now the one piece is the work of Titian, wherein the least figure (namely the child in the Virgin's lap playing with a bud) is alone worth the price of your expense for all four, being so round, that I know not whether I shall call it a piece of sculpture, or picture, and so lively, that a man would be tempted to doubt whether nature or art had made it The other is of Palma², and this I call the speaking piece, as your Lordship will say it may well be termed For except the damsel brought to David, whom a silent modesty did best become, all the other figures are in discourse and in action They come both distended in their frames, for I durst not hazard them in rolls, the youngest being twenty-five years old, and therefore no longer supple and pliant With them I have been bold to send a dish of grapes to your noble sister, the Countess of Denbigh³, presenting them first to your Lordship's view, that you may be

¹ The *Premontion* For Mole's arrest see Appendix III, under Mole

² Palma Giovane, 1554-1628

³ Susanna Villiers, wife of Sir William Fielding, created Earl of Denbigh 1622 Wotton in *The Life and Death of Buckingham* describes her as 'that right character of a good lady' (*Reliq*, 4th ed, p 287) I have made inquiries about this picture, and am informed that it has been found and identified at Newnham Paddox

pleased to pass your censure, whether Italians can make fruits as well as Flemings, which is the common glory of their pencils By this gentleman¹ I have sent the choicest melon seeds of all kinds, which his Majesty doth expect, as I had order both from my Lord of Holderness, and from Mr Secretary Calvert And although in my letter to his Majesty (which I hope by your Lordship's favour, himself shall have the honour to deliver, together with the said seeds) I have done him right in his due attributes, yet let me say of him farther, as architects use to speak of a well chosen foundation,² that your Lordship may boldly build what fortune you please upon him, for surely he will bear it virtuously I have committed to him for the last place a private memorial³ touching myself, wherein I shall humbly beg your Lordship's intercession upon a necessary motive And so, with my heartiest prayers to heaven for your continual health and happiness, I most humbly rest,

Your Lordship's ever obliged, ever devoted servant,

HENRY WOTTON

My noble Lord, it is one of my duties to tell your Lordship that I have sent a servant of mine⁴ (by profession a painter) to make a search in the best towns through Italy, for some principal pieces, which I hope may produce somewhat for your Lordship's contentment and service

382 To SIR GEORGE CALVERT

* *S P Ven*, dictated A difficulty about visiting the newly arrived Dutch ambassador

Venice $\frac{1}{2}$ December, 1622

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

Never was man so vexed as I have been with a punctuality, importing no less hitherto than a civil schism between the regal ambassadors here and the new arrived ambassador from the States,⁵

¹ Adolphus Ripplingham, *ante*, II, p. 253

² 'If the foundation,' Wotton wrote in the *Elements of Architecture* 'happen to dance, it will mar all the mirth in the house' (*Reliq*, 4th ed., p. 17)

³ Wotton wrote asking for leave to return to England (See below, p. 267)

⁴ Daniel Nys? (*Ante*, II, p. 210)

⁵ In the autumn of 1622 Berg arrived in Venice as ambassador from the United Provinces, and claimed the title of *Excellenza*, and the right of the first visit from the regal ambassadors Wotton and the French ambassador (at that moment the only regal ambassadors in Venice) were unwilling to grant his claim to equality with themselves In his audience of Dec 31 Wotton mentioned his scruples to the Doge, the only Republic, he said, whose ambassadors had a right to be called *Excellenza* was Venice, the 'Crowned Republic' he called it, because of its possession of the ancient kingdom of Candia (*Esp. Prin*, Dec 81) Wotton, however, being friendly with the Dutch, arranged some kind of a compromise What the compromise was he does not tell, but Sachetti writes that Wotton decided after some difficulty to visit Berg, and give him the desired title, though the French ambassador refused (*Arch. Mod* 8009, Jan 7, April 15, 1523)

who hath not been yet visited, though he had his public audience on Tuesday was sevensnight It were long to tell what forms I have propounded to accommodate this point, what discourings, what inter messages, how I have played the advocate for him, not only with the French ambassador, but even with myself And it had been quickly done, if the subject had been as pliant as my affections Howsoever, at last I have lighted upon an expedient to the ambassador's own good liking, which yet hath been retarded five days by our Duke's indisposition, so long hath he kept his chamber, either through infirmity of body (which in so heavy years he may make us easily believe), or some inward distaste, upon a desperate distraction fallen out between him and the Senate, in the cause of his son the Cardinal¹, elected Bishop of Bergamo by the Pope The full story shall come by the next ordinary, for a New Year's gift, being as strange an accident as this government hath yielded for many years And hoping in the meantime to clear all clouds, at least between the ambassador of the States and myself, though I cannot promise for the French, I will then yield a full account of my proceeding, wherein mine own conscience in the sight of God doth warrant me that I have carried myself with all equanimity that the matter would bear

From France, touching the Rhaetian business, we have yet no reply And so I humbly commit your Honour to God's continual blessing and love Remaining ever,

At your commands,

HENRY WOTTON .

383 TO JAMES I

S P Ven, holograph, extract The death of Paolo Sarpi

Venice, 10^o January,
Sty Vet, 1622 <3>

The last duty in this paper is the uncheerfullest, namely, an account of the death of Maestro Paulo

About the beginning of Christmas, in our style, he was taken with a trembling and sudden succussion, which yet he passed over with little retirement, till it resolved into a slight fever, increasing with signs of malignity from almost an insensible beginning At last he sent for a grave physician, whom, in the presence of Father Fulgentio, he besought to tell him freely his judgement The doctor, as plainly as he was required, told him that by all natural discourse (though reserving the event to the highest Will) his time was come Here-

¹ Piero Priuli, *ante*, I, p 468 Doges of Venice and their sons and nephews were forbidden by the laws of the Republic to accept any benefices from the Pope (*Romanin*, vii, pp 205-6)

upon he asked him a second question, whether he thought his disease would be lingering or speedy. In that likewise he dealt as plainly, that he found him to decline apace. The next day morning, which was Saturday the 11th of our January,¹ he asked him again the second question, and then the doctor told him that he thought he could not pass the night following, which he took as he did his former judgements, without any manner of trouble to his mind, but thereupon fell with a quiet and reposed countenance to commit in private some memorials to the foresaid Fulgentio, his inwardest friend, which are yet not known. And so more and more fainting, at the break of morning on (the) 12th day he rendered his spirit to God: a man consumed in his whole life with meditation and study, and in his age with public business, having been the first, I think, whom they ever admitted to their secrets without a senatorious habit, and least of all in a monastical. Profound almost in all kind of knowledge but singularly veiled, as his place did require, in the subtleties of the Canon Law, as the forge (for so he often said) of all the Roman corruptions. By which inspection he was more terrible to the Pope than by his spirits, which were meek, and so were his counsels. And to parallel him briefly with two great instruments of light, he had surely much of the Melancthon, but little of the Luther.

His funeral was, by public order and expense, very honourable for his degree: his corpse was carried a good circuit about the town, and not as vulgar friars, about their own convent only. Before all went some thirty torches borne by laymen, between whom and the body were interposed four orders of monks, his own and three other of nearest resemblance in habit, two by two, with their *stole* hanging down, and their heads and faces almost covered, and about the hearse were a hundred torches carried by hospital men all in new habits. Thus was laid into the earth the ornament of all cloisters.²

And so having entertained your Majesty with these poor descriptions, I ever rest,

Your Majesty's most faithful and long

devoted poor servant,

HENRY WOTTON

¹ Saturday fell on Jan 11 in the old style, Jan 14 in the new. Sarpi died on Sunday, Jan 15, N.S. Wotton is confused here in his dates.

² Sarpi was buried at the foot of an altar in the Servite Church, and the Senate decreed that a monument should be erected to his memory. Owing, however, to the hostility and threats of the Pope, the monument was not erected. Branthwaite (whom Wotton had left behind him as English agent in Vienna) wrote on Dec 29, 1623, 'The most which is spoken of here this week is the disgust the Pope hath taken at this State that they do not, according to his demand, take up the body of Fra Paolo, and throw it to the dogs, and cease to proceed with his monument, being a man that died in excommunication' (*S. P. Ven.*)

384 TO JAMES I¹

S P Ven, transcript, unsigned, no date, sent with letter of January 17
The case of Antonio Foscarini

(Venice, Jan 27th, 1623, N S)

TO HIS MOST SACRED MAJESTY,

For that the case of the late Cavalier Antonio Foscarini hath been diversely misreported, and perhaps not the least even by those that were his judges, to cover their own disgrace, I have thought a little curiosity not ill spent in research of the whole proceeding, that your Majesty, to whom he was so well known, may have a more due information of this rare and unfortunate example. There is amongst the partitions of this government a very awful magistracy under title of *inquisitori di Stato*, to which are commonly deputed three gentlemen of the gravest and severest natures, who receive all secret delations in matter of practice against the public, and then refer the same, as they shall judge the consequence thereof, to the Decemviral Council, as the supremest tribunal in criminal inquiries, of which body they are usually themselves likewise a part.

To these Inquisitors, about the beginning of April last, came two fellows of mean condition, born about the Lago di Gaida, but inhabitants in Venice, by name Girolamo and Dominico Vani, as some say, uncle and nephew, certainly near of kin, which in this report is a heavy circumstance, for thereby they were the likelier to conspire, and consequently their united testimony (to be) of the less validity. These persons capitulate with the Inquisitors of that time (whose names I will spare) about a reward, which is usual, for the discovery of some gentlemen who, at undue times, and in disguised forms, did haunt the houses of foreign ministers, and in particular of the Spanish agent, who is the most obnoxious to public jealousy, and therefore these accusers were likeliest upon that subject to gain a favourable hearing. In the head of their list they nominate Antonio Foscarini, then an actual senator, and thereby upon pain of death restrained from all conference with public instruments, unless by special permission. To verify this accusation, besides their own testimonies, they allege one Gian Battista, who served the foresaid Spanish agent, and had acquainted them with the accesses of such and such gentlemen unto him. But first they wished that the Inquisitors would proceed against Foscarini upon their testimonies, without examination of the said Gian Battista, because that would stir some noise,

¹ A duplicate of this dispatch, without date or address, is printed in the *Reliq*, 1st ed., p 459, 3rd ed., p 306, beginning, 'Sir, having not long written unto you, whose friendship towards me hath given you a great interest in me, I send you a report of the late transaction, even for a little entertainment, lest you should think me to live without observation.'

and then perhaps those others, whom they meant to delate, would take fear and escape Thereupon Foscarini, coming from the next Senate at night down the palace,¹ was by order of the Inquisitors muffled, and so put in close prison, and after usual examinations, his own denial being not receivable against two agreeing witnesses, he was, by sentence of the Council of Ten, some fifteen days after his imprisonment, strangled in prison, and on the 21st of the foresaid April according to their accompt, was hanged by one leg on a gallows in the public *Piazza*, from break of day till sunset, with all imaginable circumstances of infamy, his very face having been bruised with dragging on the ground, though some did consider that for a kind of favour rather than disgrace, that he might be the less known

After this the same accusers pursue their occupation, now animated with success, and next they name Marco Miani, likewise a senator But one of the Inquisitors, either by nature more advised than the rest, or intenerated with that which was already done, would by no means proceed any further without a pre examination of the foresaid Gian Battista, which now might the more conveniently and the more silently be taken, because he had left the house of the Spanish agent, and was married in the town to a goldsmith's daughter

To make short, they draw this man to a private accompt, and he doth not only disavow the ever having seen any gentleman in the Spanish agent's house, either by day or by night, but likewise all such interest as the accusers did pretend to have in his acquaintance, having never spoken with any of them, but only some three words once by chance with the elder, namely Girolamo upon the *Piazza di S Stephano* Thereupon the Inquisitors confront him with the accusers, and they confessing their malicious plot, had sentence to be hanged, as afterwards was done

But now the voice running of this detection, the nephews of the executed cavalier, namely Nicolo and Girolamo Foscarini, make haste to present a petition (in all opinion most equitable) to the Decemviral Tribunal, that the false accusers of the said Marco Miani might be re examined likewise about their uncle, between their sentence and their death The Council of Ten, upon this petition, did assemble in the morning, as had not been seen perchance in a hundred years before, and there they put to voices whether the nephews shall be satisfied In the first ballotation the balls were equal, in the second there was one ball more in the negative box, either because the false witnesses, being now condemned men, were disabled by course of law to give any further testimony, or for that the Council of Ten thought it wisdom to smother an irrevocable error The petition

¹ April 8, 1622, N S

being denied, no possible way remained for the nephews to clear the defamation of their uncle (which in the rigour of this State had been likewise a perpetual stop to their own fortunes) but by means of the confessor, to whom the delinquents should disburden their souls before their death, and by him, at importunate and strong persuasion of the said nephews, the matter was revealed. Whereupon did ensue the annexed declaration of the Council of Ten¹ touching the innocency of the foresaid Antonio Foscarini, eight months and five and-twenty days after his death. Whether in this case there were any mixture of private passion, or that some light humours, to which the party was subject, together with the taunt of his former imprisonment, did precipitate the credulity of his judges, I dare not dispute, but surely in 312 years that the Council of Ten hath stood, there was never cast a greater blemish upon it. Which being the supremest piece of this government, and on the reputation of whose grave and indubitable proceedings the regiment of manneers hath most depended, is likely to breed no good consequence upon the whole. Since the foresaid declaration the nephews have removed the body of their uncle from the church of SS Giovanni et Paolo, where condemned persons are of custom interred, to the monument of their ancestors in another temple², and would have given it public and solemn burial, but having been kept from increasing thereby the scandal, at the persuasion rather of the Prince than by authority, they now determine to repair his fame by an epitaph³. It is said that he left by will 6,000 ducats to him that should discover his innocency. It is likewise said that at the removing of his body his heart was found whole. But this, and the like circumstances, either altogether vain or not much considerable, I leave at large.

385 TO THE EARL OF HOLDEINNESS⁴

Reliq, 1st ed., p 407, unsigned, no date, 3rd ed., p 317, with date '1624'

Written some weeks after the dispatch of Dec 12th, 1622, and probably, therefore, in January, 1623. Wotton sends a rose plant to Lord Holdeinness

(Venice, Jan., 1623)

RIGHT HONOURABLE AND MY VERY GOOD LORD,

In a late letter from your Lordship by my servant I have, besides your own favours, the honour of employment from the King, in

¹ Jan 16, 1623. On the following day this declaration was read before all the nobles of Venice, assembled in the *Gran Consiglio* (*S P Ven*, Jan 20)

² The church of the Frari

³ 'The last of miserable remedies,' Wotton adds in the account printed in the *Reliq*. Foscarini's epitaph in S Eustachio (*S Stat*), near the Foscarini palace, is printed in *Romanin* (vii, p 198)

⁴ John Ramsay (1580?-1626), who protected James VI in the Gowrie Conspiracy by killing the Earl of Gowrie and his brother. Created Viscount Haddington in 1606, and Earl of Holdeinness 1621 (*D N B*)

a piece of his delight which doth so consort with the opportunity of my charge here, that it hath given me acquaintance with some excellent florists¹ (as they are styled), and likewise with mine own disposition, who have ever thought the greatest pleasure to consist in the simplest ornaments and elegancies of nature, as nothing could fall upon me more happily. Therefore your Lordship shall see how I will endeavour to satisfy this command. I had before order by Mr Secretary Calveit to send his Majesty some of the best melon seeds of all kinds, which I have done some weeks since,² by other occasion of an express messenger, and sent withal a very particular instruction in the culture of that plant. By the present bearer I do direct unto your Lordship, through the hands either of my nephew or Mr Nicholas Pey (as either of them shall be readiest at London), for some beginning in this kind of service, the stem of a double yellow rose of no ordinary nature, for it flowereth every month (unless change of the clime do change the property) from May till almost Christmas³. There hath gone such care in the manner of the conveyance, as if at the receiving, it be presently put into the earth, I hope it will prosper. By the next commodity I shall send his Majesty some of the rarest seeds.

Now for mine own obligations unto your Lordship (whereof I have from some friends at home very abundant knowledge), what shall I say? It was in truth, my Lord, an argument of your noble nature to take my fortune into your care, who never yet made it any great part of mine own business. I am a poor student in philosophy, which hath redeemed me not only from the envying of others, but even from much solicitude about myself. It is true that my most gracious master hath put me into civil practice, and now after long service I grow into a little danger of wishing I were worth some what. But in this likewise I do quiet my thoughts, for I see by your Lordship's so free and so undeserved estimation of me, that, like the cripple who had lain long at the pool of Bethesda, I shall find some body that will throw me into the water when it moveth. I will end with my humble and hearty thanks for your favour and love.

386 To SIR ALBERTUS MORTON

C C C MS 818, f 39, holograph. Printed in *Archæol.* xl. No date, but sent with above letter to Lord Holderness. Message to the Queen of Bohemia, the plants for Lord Holderness.

(Venice, Jan., 1623.)

MI ALBERTE,

Your commendation of this bearer unto me hath made me the

¹ 'Florist', from the Italian *florista*, was first used as an English word by Wotton (*N. E. D.*)

² See *ante*, II, p. 253

³ No such monthly yellow rose is now known to florists

willinger, in his return, to set upon him a mark of trust in the carriage of an important dispatch coincident with his departure, of which one piece doth nearly concern you, namely the fair professions of this Republic in the business of our royal mistress whose concurrence hath been solicited both by his Majesty's own letters (which are the best interpreters of his affection) and by his commands to me. Let me pray you in your next to the Haghe to do me the right of informing how glad I was of this employment here. James¹ hath quenched all my wonder at your silence. Now, because I foresee that hereafter there will grow more matter of discourse between us, I have thought fit to furnish you with a larger cipher, whereof I must entreat you to consign a fair copy to the Dean of Paules.²

You receive herein the copy of my letter to the Earl of Holderness, upon occasion of a new command from the King. Let me trouble you with the presentation thereof unto him, and likewise of the plant, which I send in a little long box inscribed to his Lordship. I have adventured also to address another box unto you, with inscription to my Lady Fielding, which I pray retain silently till the receipt of my letter, which shall follow this within two days by the ordinary, and therein I shall exercise the present cipher, which hath made me now send it solitarily. Till then, therefore, no more. The Lord's love be with us.

Thine own poor uncle,

HENRY WOTTON

God's pity, I had almost forgotten to thank thee for thy fine tokens. Never was man so big of anything. And now I am in pain what I shall return for them. *Orsu, qualche cosa sana*

387 TO SIR GEORGE CALVERT

S P Ven, dictated, extract. The new league with France and Savoy

Venice, this 23th of February,

Sty Vet, 1622 {3}

We are newly here out of our carnival. Never was there in the licensing of public masks a more indulgent decemviate, never fewer mischiefs and acts of private revenge³, as if restrained passions were indeed the most dangerous. Now, after these anniversary follies have had their course, and perhaps their use likewise, in diverting men from talking of greater matters, we begin to discourse in every corner of our new League⁴, which having first been

¹ James Vair?

² John Donne, who was made Dean of St Paul's in Nov, 1621 (*D N B*)

³ The carnival, Wotton wrote (Feb 3, 1622), was the 'usual killing time' (*S P Ven*)

⁴ Negotiations had been proceeding for some time at Ailes between the

signed by the Venetian ambassador, at Paris hath been ratified by a late extraordinary courier from hence That shall be the subject of my next, for it is now time to judge of it And so I rest,

At your Honour's commands,

HENRY WOTTON

388 To SIR GEORGE CALVERT

S P Ven, dictated Wotton's illness and recovery

Venice, 30 March, 1622 <3>

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

I send this only to excuse the silence of some weeks, having been confined to my chamber with much distemper in my stomach and in my head, and with extreme sweatings in the nights, that have troubled my rest and weakened my body, which my physicians attribute to certain fumes arising from that kind of melancholy, which they call hypochondriacal, whereof either by nature, or by diet, or by age, or by the very inclination of this watery seat, I have gotten my share

I am now, I thank God, growing cheerful again, with a hope to return unto my ordinary duties by the next post In the meantime I see no such preparations here for the pursuit of our new League that is likely to breed much employment for either swords or pens, but of this I shall discourse more at a little better ease Wishing your Honour that which I want, and resting,

At your commands,

HENRY WOTTON

389 To SIR GEORGE CALVERT

S P Ven, holograph Wotton asks for a letter of recall

Venice, 14 April, 1623

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

I have by my servant James Vaine, in a letter from my Lord Admiral¹ (whose intercession I had entreated) understood the King's representatives of Venice, Savoy, and France, for the formation of a League to compel the Spaniards to give up the Valtelline Wotton did not believe that the French were in earnest about it 'The more I contemplate this collocation,' he wrote on Jan 27, 'the more I am tempted to think that all which they meant to do was by way of noise, having in truth been carried from the very beginning like those which would, according to a proverb of their own, *prendre des heures au son du taboulin*' On Feb 16 he wrote that there was more noise of the League, but it 'was all noise' (*S P Ven*) However, on Feb 7, the treaty was actually signed, France was to furnish an army of from fifteen to eighteen thousand men, Venice was to add ten to twelve thousand, and Savoy eight thousand, and each two thousand cavalry as well Mansfeld was to be engaged to make a diversion in the north, to keep the Austrians occupied The Spaniards, alarmed at this, offered to place the Valtelline in the hands of the Pope until the differences about it were amicably settled, and Louis XIII, who had no desire to go to war, accepted this offer, and made Venice and Savoy accept it (*Romanin*, vii, pp 262-3)

¹ The Marquis of Buckingham.

good leave touching mine own return home for a while, which yet his Majesty doth wish may be after some resolution about the business of the Valtolina, the steps whereof I can now contemplate (for we are yet here no farther than contemplation) with more cheerful health than I have had of late

In the meantime, I humbly beseech you, Sir, to procure me a letter from his Majesty to this Duke, conveying his pleasure for my revocation in the usual form. And if in the said letter the King shall be likewise pleased to interseet a few lines to this sense, 'that his alliance with Spain shall not hinder his Majesty to maintain all offices of former friendship and amity with this Republic as well as with his nearer confederates,' I think it will in present very seasonably comfort them, and may perhaps hereafter, according to the productions of time, turn to some public use

The enclosed transcript from a letter which I have freshly received from Rome will acquaint his Majesty with as much in substance as this week yieldeth. And so I humbly rest,

At your Honour's commands,

HENRY WOTTON

390 TO SIR GEORGE CALVERT

S P Ven, holograph. A private letter to Calvert about the letter of recall

Venice, 7th April, 1623

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

I will say nothing of the subject of your letter brought me by James Vaine, which is unsearchable¹. These private lines are there fore only intended for mine own defence, aiming at no public duty. The occasion is this. My said servant telleth me that you were unacquainted with my suit to the King about mine own return home. Sir, I know I have with you the credit of a poor honest man. Let me spend it all, and lose both your faith and your love for ever, if I did not give especial charge to Mr. Replingam (who carried from me my desire to my Lord of Buckingham) to make his first address unto you, and besides those papers (which were directed to yourself) to put the copy of my request to my said Lord into your hand, and all other remembrances that might concern either the public or my particular, which I told him was to be done both out of duty to your place, and out of my long obligation to your friendship. And when my servant, after you had bewrayed unto him that you knew nothing of it, did gently expostulate the matter with the said Replingam, his answer was, that he had been once or twice at your chamber,

¹ Calvert had probably written about the journey of Charles and Buckingham to Spain.

but finding you (as he might easily enough) busied, he thought afterwards you would know it either from the Marquis or from the King himself, and so seems to have transmitted what he should have done at first, as now grown stale. This is the simple truth, wherein I beseech you let it be punishment enough for me that by this means I yet want the King's letters for my revocation, which upon the least remembrance to yourself I could not have lacked in due form. But the recourse unto your love is not too late whereunto I commit myself, and your honourable person to God's dear blessings,

Remaining, your ever willing servant,

HENRY WOTTON

391 TO SIR GEORGE CALVERT

S P Ven, holograph. The Pope's illness, &c

Venice, 11 April, 1623

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

Although the Pope's¹ physicians did conjecture upon the state of his body that he could not pass the last eclipse, yet no extraordinary counsel being arrived from Rome this week, we conclude him still alive. But the truth of his case is known to few, for his nephew² being *Camarlingo*, no other can enter into his *stanze ex officio*, and it is sure enough that in such a time none shall enter *ex gratia* except sealed lips. In the meanwhile, his brother Duke of Fiano is again hastened to take possession of the forts in Valtolina,³ <allowed> even by the Spaniards themselves, as presupposing that the French King will yield thereunto, and not much regarding the other two parties colleague, whereof this Republic can yet by no means brook that deposition. *Quid refert an mulieres praesint, aut in qui praesunt mulieribus obediunt?*⁴ said our old master in his *Politics*, censuring the Lacedemonian government. And the Venetians now seem to ask a question much like it, *quid refert*, whether the King of Spayne do possess the Valtolina himself, or the Pope, whom he possesseth? This is the theme of our Senate at the present.

I now send you the *Palinodia* of Antonius de Dominis,⁵ a wretched thing, God knows, and written in my opinion with as poor a spirit

¹ Gregory XV. On Feb. 16 Wotton wrote that there was a report of the Pope's illness, but that he 'was one of those *qui semper moriuntur et semper vivunt*'.

² Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisio, who administered the Papal government in the name of the old and feeble Pope.

³ Gregory XV had accepted the offer of the French that he should take possession of the Valtelline, and had sent several companies of troops for this purpose, under the command of his brother, the Duke of Fiano (Ranke, *Popes*, II, p. 108.)

⁴ Aristotle, *Pol.* II. 6.

⁵ '*M. A. de D. sui Reditus ex Anglia consilium exponit*,' printed at Rome in 1623. An English translation is in the *S P Ven* (vol. xxv), another was printed at Douai, 1623.

as false I humbly beseech you, Sir, to remember the King's letters which I did beg in my last And so without farther trouble by this courier, I commit you to God's dear love, remaining,

At your Honour's commands, and your long devoted,

HENRY WOTTON

392 To SIR DUDLEY CARLETON

S P Ven, holograph, extract The English Jesuits, the Propaganda,
the Duke and Duchess of Mantua

Venice, this $\frac{2}{12}$ of May, 1623

The Congregation de fide Propaganda (whereof I have heretofore said somewhat unto your Lordship) have newly decreed that all the alumni of Jesuits in the Roman colleges, both English, Scottish, and the rest, shall hereafter before their emissions be examined and approved by the said Congregation Which counsel is said to have proceeded from Santonio, Archbishop of Cosenza¹, reputed there a great politique, but no friend to those pious Fathers, whose glories are somewhat clipped by subjecting them to superior censure, who before did absolutely dispose of their own nurselings

Here we are preparing very royally for the reception and entertainment of the Duchess of Mantova², who together with the Princess of Guastalla³, intendeth to visit this town at the feast and fair of the Ascension, the Duke, her husband, having been here some days already in private manner as her harbinger, who at her arrival will resume his state They come with a train of some three hundred, and from hence will pass by sea to Loieto, as it were compounding a journey of pleasure and devotion What inventions we shall have to delight them I will describe in due time And now I rest,

Your Lordship's ever faithful poor friend to serve you,

HENRY WOTTON

393 To SIR GEORGE CALVERT

S P Ven, holograph The Duke and Duchess of Mantua in Venice,
the Valtelline

From Venice, 9th of June, 1623,
Style of the place

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

While our Prince is received in Spayne with all honours due to so noble a guest, let me entertain his Majesty with the fashion of

¹ Paolo Santori, Archbishop of Cosenza 1617-24

² Catherine, daughter of Ferdinand I of Tuscany, married, 1617, Ferdinand Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua

³ Vittoria, daughter of Prince Donna, and wife of Ferdinand Gonzaga, Prince of Guastalla

this Republic in a like though less occasion We had here ten days the Duke and Duchess of Mantova, Prince and Princess of Guastalla, with a train of as many as three great houses and the *forestiere* of two convents could harbour, at the public charge of some 1,500 crowns a day for their table The Duke himself had spent some while with us in private quality as a mere gentleman of Venice,¹ giving his ball in grand council with their usual habit on his back, which was a popular preparative When he returned to fetch his lady, and resumed his state, they were met at the confines with six young gentlemen, who yet had been all *Savi del Mare*, an order of degree in this government which we may term the seminary of their ambassadors, and so these were now qualified, going all in well garnished barges of the same livery, and attended with as many more furnished with all kind of provisions At their meeting, they delivered a letter of credence from this Duke to authorize their compliment, but therein no more than the title of *Excellenza*, though afterwards, in the personal visits and revisits that passed between them, he had given him the style of *Altezza*, such a difference they make between committing a small matter more or less to paper or to the air.² At their approaching, they were attended in one of the nearer islands (having been first well feasted at Chioggia) with a great troop of the gravest senators to second the former reception, and to conduct them through the whole length of the Canal Grande I may pass over *in cumulo* their journal³ entertainments, as a sight of the public rarities, a solemn dinner in the Arsenal, a banquet on a gilded galley of command, a *regata* or race of all kinds of boats, with forty gentlemen of the freest spirits and ablest purses, appointed to adorn that show with sundry liveries and inventions, and lastly a

¹ The Duke of Mantua, Sachetti wrote, remained some time in Venice as a private gentleman, without an official reception, because he demanded that he should be met by the gilded barges (*piatte dorate*) used for the reception of sovereign princes The Republic demurred to this, and long negotiations ensued, during which the Duke went about Venice on foot or in a gondola, dressed in Spanish costume, with a few followers, and his buffoon, 'whose jests were so dull that they made the listeners more inclined to weep than to laugh' It was finally arranged that the Duke should be met by one gilded barge, and that the other barges should be covered with brocade Sachetti describes at length the reception of the Duke and Duchess at the island of S Spirito, and all the festivities of this visit, and his dispatches are full of the splendour of Venetian fêtes as we see it in Venetian pictures, gilded barges, liveries of crimson and silver, gondolas covered with velvet and flowered brocade, and music on the waters (*Arch Med* 3009, May 3, 6, 10, 13 20, &c)

² This difficulty about the title of *Altezza* was arranged, when the Doge formally received the Duke of Mantua, in a curious and characteristic fashion The Doge made a speech of welcome, to which the Duke replied, but both spoke in such low voices that no one could hear them, and so it was not known whether the Duke was addressed as *Altezza* or *Excellenza* (Dispatch of Sachetti, May 27, *Arch Med* 3009)

³ 'Journal,' i.e. daily *Arch* (*N E D*)

fiesta of 100 ladies, all in new gowns as rich as the season would suffer. It shall be more proper for me to report what disputes have fallen out upon the present occasion between the said Duke and the regal representatives, comprehending the Nuncio, of whom none did visit him. For the State sending unto him, the next morning after his arrival, one of their principal personages both in merit and degree, namely the *Procuratore* Simone Contareni, to give him the welcome in his own lodging, the Duke both received and dismissed him on the left side, upon which example we took the alarm to provide for the dignity of our masters, and the Nuncio did first sound the water, informing himself of the Duke's meaning to yield no ambassador whatsoever the hand, which the French took both with distaste and wonder, having had it in his own Court, but myself with much more, having had it here from the Duke Vincenzo, his father. For the difference of giving it at home and denying it abroad might perhaps admit some reasonable defence. To be short (for I am tired amongst these niceties), we found upon farther search that the Baron of Eckenberg, when he was sent to Mantova by the Emperor, to desire the sister¹ of this Duke, would by no means during his ambassage there receive the hand, though in his own Court, which the said Duke, being now honoured with that great alliance, would fain pass into example even abroad, forgetting the due distinction between the representatives of princes in love, and of princes in amity, or in other terms, between visiting and wooing. But the State hath revenged our cause. For the Duke of Mantova had neither the hand of this Duke in the palace nor in his own rooms. And so I will end this short description of our jollities and controveisies.

Of the Rhaetian business I forbear to speak, till I may tell some effects. All men contemplate what will become of the Valtolina, and we are yet indeed no farther than contemplation. The Pope's airy promise, that he will satisfy the two crowns, is thought here fit food for chameleons. And yet whether the French King will press him any farther, till the season of action be spent for this year, I find even his own ambassador very doubtful. In the meanwhile advertisement is come from Milan that the Duke of Feria hath order to reserve Chiavenna out of the deposition, a piece of such importance as were enough, if this point prove true, to resolve all the rest into a plain *mascherada*. But I will stay for the noise of the next week.

At your Honour's command,

HENRY WOTTON

¹ The Emperor Ferdinand II married Eleanor Gonzaga, daughter of Vincenzo I, Duke of Mantua. Baron of Eggenberg, *ante*, 11, p. 192.

394 TO SIR GEORGE CALVERT

S P Ven, holograph, extract Deaths of Gregory XV and the Prince of Urbino

Venice 1, July, 1623

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

At length the Pope is gone¹ He died on Saturday last, some two hours before sunset, of a fit of the stone, of long disappetency² and exhaustion, of unrest, or in fewer words, of age, no discontentment hastening his end, for never man left his house in more apparent felicity, having within two years and little more drawn into it by matches the entire wealth of two rich names, Aldobrandini and Gieswaldi, and stretched out by lingering preservatives his own life, till he saw the end of the Cardinal Montalto, whereby the vice chancellorship of Rome was open for his spiritual nephew Of his decease this Republic was not advertised till the Wednesday morning following, whereby the courier ran some hazard of the *strappado*, but he excused himself *con mancamento di cavalcatura*, the Cardinal Borghesi having employed all the post-horses to every quarter for his own creatures, and in particular one hither to the Cardinal Pruli, the Duke's son, who is gone in all haste, and being desirous to take with him one of his brothers, that could not be done without a special license balloted in the Council of Ten, which I have touched by the way to show the jealousy of this government

At the present a more important accident of a like nature doth divert my pen, namely the death of the young Prince of Urbino³, in the nineteenth year and sixth month of his age, having left an only daughter, and his father, the Duke, long since past children, wherefore that estate, except Monte Feltre (which is an imperial fealty), is likely (as Ferrara did) to fall to the Roman See, and so the popedom will *ad uno ad uno* swallow the dukedoms Against which there are but two hopes remaining, the one, that the Princess may perhaps be with child, and so yield a posthumous heir to the house of Rovere, the other, that some ambitious Pope may reinvest one of his nephews in that Dukedom, and so again disjoin it from the Church To which he will find peradventure an easier consent among all the Italian Princes, and especially with this Republic (who think Popes too great already) than among the cardinals

The public grief for so untimely a loss of this young Prince is much aggravated by the manner thereof, having been found dead of an apoplexy, in his private chamber, at a late hour of the morning, occasioned by some precedent disorders, into which he was drawn by

¹ Gregory XV died July 8, 1623

² 'Disappetency,' i.e. want of appetite, not in *N E D*

³ Federico della Rovere

the love of a baggage *commediante*, for whose sake he had himself the night before, till near morning, acted the zany and other parts, which the Prince of Conde, in his Italian progress did authenticate for a princely virtue And so, Sir, I humbly rest,

At your commands,

HENRY WOTTON

Sir, I have received, together with your last, his Majesty's gracious letter to this State, which I am sure will be dearly welcome And I need say no more

395 TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON

S P Ven, holograph The conclave for the election of a new Pope Wotton's return home

Venice, the 1st of July, 1623

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

It is now ten days since the cardinals have been enclosed in the conclave, with some danger that the Church may be headless a good while, and no small doubt that the matter at last may resolve into a schism, through the extreme professed rancour between the two great conclavists, Borghese and Ludovisio, and the difficulty of uniting by secret scrutiny (according to the late reformation) so many voices as must concur to make a Pope, which must now be near forty, especially the concurients, or *suggetti papabili*, being more than have ever before, or very seldom, (been) known, in some lists seventeen, in other, twenty two So as, the business drawing into length, and the season as hot as the affections perchance, the point of maintaining or reversing the reformatory *bulia* may divide the whole College This is the wisest conjecture that I can take up here in discourse Certain it is that Borghese, at his entering of the conclave, turning to a prelate of his confidence, let fall this farewell *A Dio, Monsignore*, said he, *a rivederci al Natale* And again when he looked upon his cell, one wishing it more any, *se non e buona* (quoth he) *per la state, sara buona per l'inverno* which, though they were but pleasant ejaculations, yet peradventure they may prove oraculous

While there is no Pope, and consequently no peace, the ecclesiastical soldiers disband apace in the Valetolina, and are successively supplied by Spaniards, so as that business will be brought back again as it was before *gratiosissimamente*, the League in the mean while making a ridiculous noise, with Mansfeld as their instrument of diversion, when the principals stand still

I have been of late abroad to seek a little fresh air, but I found no more ease in it than those that being sea sick, shift out of the

ship into the cockboat So as now I am meditating on a stronger remedy, preparing myself for a short return home, whereof I have given this State warning already, and withal I did present them a welcome letter from the King, wherein his Majesty doth assure them (against all unjust imaginations, wherewith certain idle censurers of princes' actions do fill the air) of the continuance of his constant amity, never violated on his part, and of his care to maintain the common interest which runneth between his Majesty and this Republic, and with the confederates of both, wheresoever he shall dispose of the Prince his dear son, be it in Spayne or else where This was the substance of his royal letters¹ Before I go hence I shall acquaint your Lordship farther with my course And wheresoever I shall be, there is

Your faithful poor friend to serve you,

HENRY WOTTON

My Lord, It would be against a great many of duties if I should leave these *lagune* (where I have been towards those that might most command my pen as silent as the very fishes) without a few lines unto her Majesty² therefore they shall come with the next ordinary, humbly now beseeching your Lordship to prepare for them a gentle passage unto her most sweet and gracious hand

396 To SIR DUDLEY CARLETON

S P Ven, holograph A mock election of a Pope at Rome, diplomatic punctilios

Venice, the 4th of August, stil loci, 1623

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

As yet *Papam non habemus*, save one whom the *palafrenieri* of the cardinals have made among themselves, while their masters are shut up, whom on St James his day they chose by secret scrutiny, according to the reformation of Gregory XV, and so put him in a seat, and after they had carried him into St Peter's Church *cantando Te Deum*, they would have made him sit (as the fashion is) before the Sacrament at the high altar, but being resisted by the *sacristano*, they carried him to an *hosteria* and there made him pay the schott³ for his election, in imitation of the donative which the new chosen Popes use to distribute among the cardinals For

¹ The Kings letter was dated May 20, and was presented to the Doge by Wotton in his audience of July 19 The ambassador made a speech affirming the friendship of James for Venice (*Esp Pm*, July 19), but the speech and letter, Sachetti wrote, produced little effect on the Venetians, owing to their poor opinion of James I (*Ante*, 1, p 181)

² The Queen of Bohemia

³ 'Schott,' i e shot, scot, reckoning

which piece of mirth, though perchance, they may have sou sauce¹, yet, it may well show us how near derision those things are at hand, on which superstitious conceits do bestow veneration afar off And this is all wherewith I will entertain your Lordship this week The conclusion of your last hath left me with wonder, wherein you say that you had long had no letters from me In truth, my Lord, I have written weekly, save when I was taking some fresh air abroad That which you add under your own hand of our new Venetian ambassador with you, I have read not without just indignation reducing to my memory what the Duke d'Angoulesme² both did and said in the like case at Vienna He had visited the extraordinary ambassador of Parma (a bishop and a *conte*) before the Conde d'Ognate, but the ambassador did first revisit the Spaniard, remitting so much to the propinquity in blood between the King of Spayne and his master Whereupon the Duke, concealing his passion, appointed him an hour to do him the like honour, and gave precise order to his gentlemen, first to let him descend from his coach, and then to shut the gate against him And afterwards speaking with me of this passage, and flaming like a furnace, he said (as a man might say of Signor Moisini) that his master might have done well to teach him manners with a rod before he sent him abroad By the next courier I shall tell your Lordship by what point I mean to pass homewards And so committing you to God's blessed love, I ever rest,

Your Lordship's with true affection to serve you,

HENRY WILTON

If your new Captain of the League³ ever do any good, my prognostics are naught

397 To SIR DUDLEY CARLETON

S P Ven, holograph The new Pope, Urban VIII Illness of the Doge
Venice, 11 August, 1623

MY VLRV GOOD LORD,

We have at last a new Pope⁴, after many scrutines, and enclosure of the cardinals almost three weeks He hath assumed the name of Urbanus VIII, out of an affectionate remembrance (as

¹ 'Sou sauce,' cf Fletcher's *Lover's Progress*, iv, 3

² 'Must I now

Have sou sauce, after sweet meats?'

³ One of the three French ambassadors at Vienna in 1620 (*ante*, ii, p 191)

⁴ Prince Christian of Brunswick

⁵ Urban VIII, Maffeo Barberini, elected Aug 6, died 1644 As he was the candidate of the French party, and opposed to Spain, his election made a great change in the political condition of Italy

some say) of much friendship that passed between him and the Cardinal Fachinetti, who was Urbanus VII By birth a Florentine, of no great parentage His own name is Barbarini, about which I cannot omit a pleasant note They have taken a belief in Rome that Popes must have an R in their names alternatively, *uno sì, l'altro no*, which having so fallen out for a good while¹, some vacant wit did take it up for a rule And it hath gotten such credit that Borghese, before his entering into this last conclave, would needs consult with certain astrologers (who as your Lordship knows abound in that Court) whether some of his uncle's creatures, and in particular Gimnasio², might *spuntare* at this time Now Barbarini, who hath two R's, having preceded Ludovisio, who had none, will mightily authorize that foolish conceit amongst them, and put Camponi (the darling of Borghese) out of all hope for the next time likewise Methinks your Lordship should read this with a smile, to see them choose Popes as we do oysters at home, when the month hath an R in it But to return to some more serious consideration of this man He was long since four years Nuncio in France, and got his cardinal ship by commendation of Henry IV, so as the French have an interest in his fortune, as no doubt the Spaniards will have in his person He was made by the concurrence as well of Ludovisio as Borghese, not as the most confident to both or to either, but as the least distrustful by Ludovisio among the Borghesians, having been a kind of retired unmeddling man A good humanist, a great Canonist, and one of the best poets that since Nicolaus V³ hath been in that chair so as his times are likely to be somewhat elegant, and his humours tractable, and yet one of the most poetical spirits that we have amongst these gentlemen here is the harshest man⁴ He hath three nephews and two brothers, of whom he is likely to dispose before he think of the Valtolina And therefore your Count Mansfeldt may march towards Burgundy at leisure From hence they have deputed four to congratulate with him, two *Procurators*, Ezizzo and Barbaio, and the other two are Saranzo and Zen, already at Rome But here we are suddenly called to a greater business For yesternight the Duke, after some few days' retirement upon his usual indispositions, was surprised with so sharp a catarrh

¹ Since the election of Paul IV (Caraffa) in 1555 When, in 1655, Fabio Chigi (Alexander VII) succeeded Innocent X (Giovanni Pamphili) this series of coincidences, or as Wotton considered it 'oyster' system of electing Popes, came to an end, after lasting exactly 100 years

² Domenico Gimnasio, cardinal 1604, d. 1639

³ Nicholas V, 1447-55

⁴ Wotton wrote to Calvert in the same words of the new Pope in a letter of this date An extract from this letter is among the MSS of All Souls College (ccxviii, f. 95)

as took from him his speech, so as they have given him the extreme unction, and his physicians yield him gone. This will hold me here till the election of a new, and give me occasion to entertain your Lordship a week or two more with the state of our *brogho*, when the *candidati* shall appear. And for the present I rest,

Your Lordship's ever affectionately to serve you,

HENRY WOTTON

398 TO SIR GEORGE CALVERT

S P Ven, holograph Death of the Doge, Antonio Priuli

Venice, 17th August, 1623

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

I wrote in my former of this Duke's infirmity, and now of his death. He was assailed on Thursday night of the last week with a violent catarrh, taking from him suddenly his speech, and almost his breath. And so languishing all the next day and night, on Saturday morning between 10 and 11 of the clock after this reckoning, he finished five years and three months of his Princedom, and 75 years, 3 months, and 2 days of his life, with as open and as universal joy of the people as they had expressed at his election to the place. For his times were penurious and (as I remember myself to have written heretofore unto you) the common man in this town hath no other marks of a good prince but big loaves.

At first there did appear eight competitors, which are now shrunken to four. Of the course of which *brogho* (as we here call it, and as by the intricateness thereof we well may) I shall give his Majesty an account by the next ordinary, as likewise some judgement upon the new Pope's beginnings, and with that I intend to end your trouble *per un pezzo*, and to make haste to the gracious sight of my Sovereign, being almost by this accident cast into the winter.¹

God send us a cheerful meeting. And so I rest,

At your Honour's commands,

HENRY WOTTON

399 TO JAMES I

S P Ven, holograph Election of the new Doge, Francesco Contarini

On the 30th of August, 1623

Stilo vetere

MOST SACRED SOVEREIGN,

I have formerly advertised your Majesty of the death of Antonio Priuli, late Duke of Venice, intervenient between the delivery of your

¹ On Aug 25 Wotton wrote to Carleton 'I languish for this new Duke, that I might be gone, and gain Kent before the winter' (*S P Ven*)

royal letters (which were the last he did publicly read) and my leave taking, which did suspend my going till the choice of a new, and hath paid my patience with the contentment which I assure myself your Majesty will take in the conclusion. For after eighteen days spent without effect, sithence the forty-one final electors (as they term them) were first shut up, the counsellors of State and others, which in the meanwhile do represent the Signory being pressed with necessity of the season (for in this month of September the whole Senate and Council of Ten are yearly renewed for which the time doth scantily serve, even when there is nothing else to be done) I say, moved with this urgent consideration, and seeing the voices so divided, and the ambition or passion between the concuents so strong that none would yield unto the other, they resolved to intimate unto them that, if before Saturday next at night a Duke were not chosen, on Sunday they would call a Grand Council, and by the power thereof dissolving the authority of these forty one who had been chosen, they would proceed to a new election. This intimation and the foresaid necessity of the time hath ended the business, not by any reconciliation between the three competitors Barbaro, Nani, and Nicolo Contareni (whose friends remained constant to them, and they constant to their own affections), but they have agreed in a fourth, who would neither concur now nor heretofore at other vacancies, namely, in the person of Francesco Contareni¹, commonly surnamed *Porta di Ferro*, a gentleman of singular integrity, and besides many other public employments, particularly signalized with his extraordinary ambassage to Paulus V in time of the Interdict, and not long after with another to your Majesty, of whom he hath ever since spoken with much reverence and devotion, so as I shall boldly tell him without commission that your Majesty will receive great contentment at the news of his promotion, which was concluded yesternight two hours after sunset. Of the whole election, which hath yielded some observations of moment, I shall bring your Majesty mine own private commentary, and I purpose to pass through the Grisons (though that way be none of the safest), that *in transitu* I may likewise gather for your Majesty's information some better judgement upon those affairs, commending in the meanwhile, and ever to God's dearest love and protection your sacred person and estates, and humbly resting,

Your Majesty's most faithful vassal and long devoted servant,

HENRY WOTTON

¹ Francesco Contarini, Doge XCV, elected Sept 8, 1628, and died on Sept 12, 1624, special ambassador to England in 1610 (*ante*, I, p 106)

400 To SIR GEORGE CALVERT

S P Ven, holograph Wotton's leave takingVenice, this 23d of September, 1623
Style of the place

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

I am now near the point of my departure homewards, from my third employment with this Republic, which in what state I leave it and the rest of Italie shall be represented unto his Majesty in a particular discourse At my last compliments¹ with the new Duke Francesco Contareni, I told him that I durst anticipatively assure him of most singular contentment which his Majesty would take when he should hear of his promotion And he answered with much asseveration and gravity, that having been raised to the place by the mere goodwill of others, without any ground of merit on his own part, he was thereby the more bound to study now the service of his country, which he thought to consist in nothing more than in the maintenance of all due correspondence with such princes as were their friends, and most especially with his Majesty, of whose wisdom and splendour and royal integrity, and all virtues belonging to a good and great king, he had himself been a particular witness when time was, unto the Senate here, and had ever retained a reverent impression thereof in his own memory, since he first returned from his Court with many marks of his bounty This was his speech as far as I could bear it away, almost word for word, and uttered so seriously that he seemed to fetch it out of his bowels

Here I leave till mine own return again (for I am confident in his Majesty's goodness, that till I have some means to live at home he will tolerate my weakness abroad), here I say I leave Mr Michael Braynthwayte² to supply the service for his approved honesty and discretion, besides a great deal more learning than he will need among these senators, unless I mistake them And I have already to the same purpose presented him here to the Prince at my leave-taking, with due testimony of his good birth, and of his well-affected mind to this State, which is a point that they use to search to the quick in all ambassadors and agents And having now no more to say (for the Rhetian business and the League depending thereon

¹ On Sept 18, see *ante*, i, p 192² Michael Branthwaite remained as English agent in Venice from Oct 1623 to Dec 1624 when Sir Isaac Wake arrived, and his dispatches and letters for this period are in the Record Office His salary was thirty shillings a day (*R O Sig Man*, xxi, p 62)

which made so full a city is, methinks at a squat¹), I will commit you, Sir, to God's blessed love, and ever rest,

At your commands,

HENRY WOTTON

This new Duke begins bountifully, having on Sunday next invited all his electors and the principal of his own kindred to a sumptuous dinner in the palace, and afterwards to a feast (as they here call it) of 150 ladies that will dance away that day, and so end in a banquet

401 TO SIR GEORGE CALVERT

S P Ven, holograph Wotton's arrival at Cologne, the printer Flavius

From Colon, this 5th of November, 1623

Style of England

SIR,

After a miserable passage over the Alpes², and no very pleasant down the Rhene, I am come as far as Colonia whence I send before me this and another servant with my stuff by water, while myself am forced to refresh my provision at Antwerp, whither I have some address by exchange For I have found on the way the treatment in inns raised beyond all expectation and example, in the most places an Hungarian ducat³ for a man's meal, and you are welcome Now by this opportunity of mine own messenger I have occasion to represent unto his Majesty a little piece of service I have here met with Monsieur Bilderbeck, agent for the States, a well affected and well-intelligenced man Among other discourse he fell with me to talk of Flavius, who printed long since that filthy false libel *de Corona Regia* about which I had been heretofore employed in my passage this way⁴ To retrench impertinencies, I find thus much clearly discovered by this Bilderbeck, and as it should seem but lately, that Puteanus did correct the print at the first, setting by certain marginal notes under his own hand, well known to one that did manage the press But whether that be sufficient to conclude him to have been the author (as the said Bilderbeck would infer) I dare not determine, inclining rather (as I must confess) in mine own poor conceit to think that Puteanus was chosen here and there to amend the style with some of his grammatical elegancies, and that in the end there will be found some other author, who is yet the son of

¹ 'At a squat,' cf Pope, *Moral Essays*, 1, 55, 56

'And ev'ry child hates Shylock, tho' his soul

Still sits at squit, and peeps not from his hole'

² Wotton left Venice on Oct 6 and crossed the Alps by the Splügen Pass

³ About 1s 9d

⁴ In 1616 (*ante*, 11, p 92)

darkness For the detection whereof I have projected a course which Monsieur Bilderbeck doth think will sound the bottom The foresaid Flavius is at this present not far hence at Confluentia¹, where the Rhene and Mosella do meet There he exerciseth his art of printing certain pamphlets wherewith the Jesuits do feed him, but he is extreme poor, and kept in fear Hither he starteth divers times to one Hyiat, a great stationer, who sometimes was his master Now the means that I have propounded is this, that his Majesty (if the matter be any longer worthy of his thoughts) will be pleased to send hither a pardon in Latin, under his royal hand and seal, for the said Flavius, containing likewise some promise of maintenance, and withal a commission to the foresaid Bilderbeck to deal expressly with him in his Majesty's name, who doth promise to pursue this business very closely and carefully, and conceiveth much hope of the effect, because the fellow doth live in continual need and horror

In all event, if my Lord of Chichester² shall be re employed into these parts, and particularly to this town, I should think it no hard matter to snatch up this Flavius, and to convey him against his will in a covered boat down the Rhene to the confines of the States, and so into England, or at least with his own will, though in that manner which may have some appearance of violence for his excuse³

This is the subject of my present writing, wherein having discharged my humble zeal, I must submit the rest to his Majesty's higher judgement

In Basil the Senate there, at my request, did instruct me out of their original memorials in all the inwardest passages of the Rhetian business by their Chancellor, and another who had been employed sundry times therein About which I have taken some notes, which I shall present in due time to his Majesty, whom I hope to find with that health which his devoted servants do continually beg from heaven And so, Sir, with my best wishes likewise unto your self, I ever rest,

At your command,

HENRY WOTTON

¹ Coblenz

² Sir Arthur Chichester (1563-1625), Lord Chichester (1613), was sent to the Palatinate in 1622, to take money to the King of Bohemia, and to negotiate for peace (D N B)

³ 'Of this we have a pattern committed by the House of Austria in the person of the Baron of Typenbach, who was violently carried from the Baths of Helvetia into Tirole' Note of Wotton's in margin

402 TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

Harl MS 1581, f 216, holograph Wotton's journey to Cologne, congratulations to Buckingham on his new honours, and his return from Spain

(Cologne,) this 5th of November, 1623
Style of England

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

After a miserable passage over the Alpes, and no very pleasant down the Rhene, I am come as far as Colen, whence I send before me this my servant by water, while myself am forced to refresh my provision at Antwerpe, being exhausted on the way with extreme prices of everything beyond all expectation or example, insomuch as I am almost quite out of hope to find Conscience any more, since there is none among the very hills and deserts, whither I thought she had been retired

Now, by the opportunity of mine own messenger, I have advantage to salute your Grace with a few perambulatory lines, and to congratulate with you, in the true and bounden zeal of my heart, both for your honours received from home while you were abroad,¹ and for your return again to the gracious and never failing fountain thereof, humbly beseeching your Grace, among the acclamations and joys of your servants, to give me leave to express mine, with a poor present in matter of art which I have gleaned on the way—I hope not altogether unworthy, for the kind of handling², of some little corner among your nobler delights

And so I ever rest,

Your Grace his most faithful and most obliged servant,

HENRY WOTTON

403 TO LORD ZOUCHE

S P Dom James I, cliv, No 80, holograph Wotton on his arrival at Sandwich writes to Lord Zouche, at Dover Castle, of his journey from Italy

From Sandwich, this 25th of November, 1623

MY EVER HONOURED AND EVER MOST DEAR LORD,

Though I am fresh from the sea and my brains out of tune yet because my heart is sound, I will tender it unto your Lordship as that which you have long possessed. It is in truth your own, and all the best affections that it can conceive. Gladder I should have been to have done this duty in person,³ and withal to have offered unto

¹ Buckingham was created a Duke on May 18, 1623

² 'Handling,' i.e. artistic treatment

³ At Dover, Lord Zouche was Warden of the Cinque Ports, and resided at Dover Castle

your most noble Lady¹ the humble devotion of a poor and, I think, an eternal traveller. But the master of the ship seems to have had more fancy to land me in the harbour of his own town.

My journey from Italie may be resolved into a riddle. For we have been long on the way that we might be the sooner at home, having been forced to take some very indirect lines for the avoiding of freebooters and straggling parties, and I am overspent with it, both in my spirits and in my purse, having found everywhere the price of things raised beyond all expectation and example, so I am almost quite out of hope to find Conscience any more, since there is none among the very rocks and mountains whither I thought she had been retired.

I have seen no novelty on the way fit to entertain your Lordship withal, save the English Jesuitesses at Liege,² who, by St Paule's leave, mean to have their share in Church service, as well as in needlework.

Fain I would make your Lordship and myself merry if I knew how, but indeed the consideration of things abroad as they stand is nearer infelicity than sport. God bless His own cause and business and keep your Lordship in His particular love,

To whom I most humbly remain a long devoted poor servant,

HENRY WOTTON

My Lord, this bearer doth speak so much honour of your name, as I was therefore the gladder to pass mine own duty through his hands.

404 TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

Harl MS 1581, f 224, holograph, *Reliq*, 2nd ed, p 482, 3rd ed, p 320, *Cabala* (1654), i, p 196, undated, but written after hearing that Sir Isaac Wake had been appointed ambassador to Venice (see note, p 284)

(January, 1624?)

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

Having some days by sickness been deprived of the comfort of your sight, who did me so much honour at my last access, I am bold to make these poor lines happier than myself, and withal, to represent unto your Grace (whose noble patronage is my refuge, when I find any occasion to bewail mine own fortune) a thing which seemeth strange unto me. I am told (I know not how truly) that his Majesty hath already disposed the Venetian ambassage to

¹ Lord Zouche's second wife, Sarah, daughter of Sir James Harrington of Exton.

² Mary Ward's order (*ante*, i, p 445), a subordinate community of which was established at Liege in 1617.

Sir Isaake Wake¹, from whose sufficiency if I should detract, it would be but an argument of my own weakness. But that which herein doth touch me, I am loth to say in point of reputation, surely much in my livelihood (as lawyers speak) is, that thereby, after seventeen years of foreign service in continual employment, either ordinary or extraordinary, I am left utterly destitute of all possibility to subsist at home, much like those seal fishes, which sometimes, as they say, oversleeping themselves in an ebbing water, feel nothing about them but a dry shore when they awake. Which comparison I am fain to seek among those creatures, not knowing among men that have so long served so gracious a master, any one to whom I may resemble my unfortunate bareness.

Good my Lord, as your Grace hath vouchsafed me some part of your love, so make me worthy in this, of some part of your care and compassion. So I humbly rest,

Your Grace his for ever devoted and most faithful servant,

HENRY WOTTON

405 TO CHARLES, PRINCE OF WALES

Elements of Architecture, British Museum, C 45, c 6, holograph on fly leaf
Printed in edition of 1904. No date, but written on the publication of the book, which was about the beginning of April (*ante*, 1, p 199)

(April^o 1624)

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

I fear I shall much surprise your Highness with a pamphlet of this subject under my poor name, which I undertook since my return, for some diversion of my mind from my infirmity, which I was troubled with, a miserable stopping in my breast, and defluxion from my head.

It was printed sheet by sheet, as fast as it was born, and it was born as soon as it was conceived, so as it must needs have the imperfections and deformities of an immature birth, besides the weakness of the parent. And therefore I durst not allow it so much favour, even from myself, as to think it worthy of any dedication, yet as I have presented the first copy thereof to the King, so is the second due to your Highness. And the rather, because you have taken a view of foreign structure, and have made yourself, besides your civil observations, a good judge of arts. But that which particularly doth make me bold to entertain you there

¹ Sir Isaac Wake (*ante*, 1, p 501) Chamberlain mentions his appointment as ambassador to Venice in a letter of Jan 17, 1624 (*Cal S P Dom*, 1623-5, p 150). His credentials were dated March 31, 1624 (*Cal S P Ven*, 1, p cxliii). For his journey, see *ante*, 1, p 48 n. He arrived in Venice on Dec 16, 1624 (*S P Ven*, Dec 20).

with, is that I have noted in your gracious eyes some favourable aspect towards me, whereby I stand in hope from your Highness of the more indulgent censure of my little pains And so I rest,

Your Highness his true devoted servant,

HENRY WOTTON

406 TO THE EARL OF MIDDLESEX

J Hannah, p xv, 'The original is in Mr Pickering's possession, but the signature has been cut away by the binder' (note by Hannah) Wotton sends the Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Middlesex, a copy of the *Elements of Architecture*¹

<April? 1624>

MY LORD,

I humbly present unto your Lordship this pamphlet, printed sheet by sheet as fast as it was born, and born as soon as it was conceived, so as it must needs have the imperfections and deformities of an immature birth, besides the weakness of the parent And therefore I could not allow it so much favour, even from myself, as to think it worthy of dedication to any Yet my long devotion towards your Lordship, and your own noble love of this art which I handle, do warrant me to entertain you with a copy thereof And so I rest,

Your Lordship's ever devoted servant

407 TO NICOLAS PEY

Reliq, 1st ed., p 510, 3rd ed., p 359 Undated, but written, Isaak Walton says, just before Wotton's installation at Eton (*Walton's Life*) I place it here on Walton's authority, although several of the phrases in this letter occur in a letter of July, 1639 (see below, p 409)

<July, 1624?>

MY DEAR NIC,

More than a voluntary motion doth now carry me towards Suffolk, especially that I may confer by the way with an excellent physician at B^r, whom I brought myself from Venice, where (as either I suppose or surmise) I first contracted my infirmity of the spleen, to which the very seat is generally inclined, and therefore their physicians (who commonly study the inclinations of places) are the likeliest to understand the best remedies

I hope to be back by —

It wrinkles my face to tell you, that my <settlement at Eton(?)>

¹ Another copy of this book, presented to Archbishop Abbot, is preserved in the library of Lambeth Palace, inscribed, 'To the Most Reverend Father in God, the Archbishop of Canterbury, etc, I humbly present this poor pamphlet, with the author's long and true devotion Henry Wotton'

² Bury St Edmunds, where Dr Despotine (*ante*, i, p 506) was living

will cost me £500 That done, my thoughts are at rest, and over my study doo you shall find written, *In idue Rome lum* Let me end in that word, and ever rest

Your heartiest poore friend,

H WOTTON

Postscript I forbear to write further, having a world of discourse to unload unto you, like those that weed not a garden till it be grown a wood

408 TO SIR ALBERTUS MORION

Reliq, 3rd ed, p 544 No address, but plainly to Morton Dated Tuesday, 1624, and probably written about December (see note 3) Wotton forwards a letter to Buckingham, and sends architectural plans

S P This Tuesday morning (December 9) 1624

I send you both the inclosed, unclosed, and my seal withal, that when you have perused them, you may seal them, for because they contain a recommendation of yourself, it were somewhat incongruous to present them open

You had yesterday received them, but that I suspended my hand too long in expectation of James¹, about whom we are yet in much doubt of some misadventure by his stay You see that in the post script to the Duke, I mention the design of Capraiola², which I have left out of his letter, that you may not come unto him with empty hands

It shall be fit for yourself to offer him your service abroad,³ which I have (as you see) offered the Prince through Mr Thomas Caine's⁴ hands, who, I hope, will let his Highness see my letter

And so, languishing to hear somewhat from my nephew, with all my duties remembered to all, I rest,

Your ever true friend,

HENRY WOTTON

Upon the design you must play the mountebank And tell the Duke, that the one paper containeth the plant or ground lines, the

¹ James Vary

Capraiola, the Farnese villa between Viterbo and Rome, built by Giacomo Barozzio da Vignola (1507-78)

² On Feb 9, 1625 Morton was appointed Secretary of State in succession to Sir George Calveit He accompanied Buckingham to Paris in May, and was sent on a mission to the Hague in June (*Gazetier*, v, pp 310, 330, 335)

³ Thomas Carey, one of the grooms of the Bedchamber to Charles, Prince of Wales, and son of Robert Carey, created Lord Leppington, 1622, Earl of Monmouth, 1626 (*DNB*) On Nov 10, 1624, the treaty for the marriage of the Prince of Wales and Henrietta Maria was signed on Dec 4 Chamberlain writes to Caileton, 'Tom Carey is sent to France, with a love letter and a jewel for the bride' (*Cal S P Dom*, 1623-5, p 400)

other, the reared work, in perspective with all the dimensions so exactly, as if it please him, he may easily have a model made thereof in pasteboard

If Mr Thomas Cary should by chance have been sent away again into France, then deliver, with my humble service, the letter to my Lord of Lepington his father, and beseech him to show it to the Prince

409 TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

Harl MS 1581, f 212, holograph, *Reliq*, 2nd ed, p 487, 3rd ed, p 331, *Cabala* (1654), i, p 197 Undated (For conjectural date see note 1)
Wotton thanks Buckingham for some preferment, possibly the Provostship of Eton

(Dec 1624²¹)

MY MOST NOBLE LORD,

When like that impotent man in the Gospel, I had lain long by the pool's side, while many were healed, and none would throw me in, it pleased your Lordship first of all to pity my infirmities, and to put me into some hope of subsisting hereafter Therefore I must humbly and justly acknowledge all my ability, and reputation from your favour You have given me encouragement, you have valued my poor endeavours with the King, you have redeemed me from ridiculousness, who had served so long without any mark of favour By which arguments being already and ever bound to yours, till either life or honesty shall leave me, I am the bolder to beseech your Lordship to perfect your own work, and to draw his Majesty to some settling of those things that depend between Sir Julius Cesar¹ and me, in that reasonable form which I humbly present unto your Lordship by this my nephew, likewise your obliged servant, being myself, by a late indisposition, confined to my chamber, but in all estates such as I am,

Your Lordship's,
HENRY WOTTON

¹ The date of this letter is difficult, it is addressed 'To my singular good Lord, the Earl of Buckingham, Lord High Admiral of England', and as Buckingham was created an Earl on Jan 5, 1617, and a Marquis on Jan 1, 1618, it would appear by the address to belong to the year 1617 On the other hand, the last sentence seems to show that it was written in England, and probably London, and Wotton was in Italy all of the year 1617 On the whole I am inclined to believe that this is the letter mentioned in the above letter to Albertus Morton, and that the address is a slip of the pen

² In regard to Wotton's former reversion to the Mastership of the Rolls

410 TO NICOLAS PEY

Reliq., 1st ed., p. 506, 2nd ed., p. 462 No date Dated '1626' in 3rd ed., p. 321, which is a mistake, as the letter was written shortly after the death of Sir Albertus Morton (see note 4) Wotton at Oxford and Redgrave, death of Morton

(Redgrave, September 1625)

MY DEAR NIC PEY,

This is the account of me since you saw me last

My going to Oxford was not merely for shift of air, otherwise I should approve your counsel to prefer Boughton before any other part whatsoever, that air best agreeing with me, and being a kind of resolving me into my own beginnings, for there was I born

But I have a little ambitious vanity stirring in me, to print a thing of my composition there which would else in London run through too much noise beforehand, by reason of the licences that must be gotten, and an eternal tick in those city stationers, to rumour what they have under press¹

From Oxford I was rapt by my nephew, Sir Edmund Bacon, to Redgrave, and by himself, and by my sweet niece, detained ever since so I say, for believe me there is in their conversations, and in the freedom of their entertainment, a kind of delightful violence

In our way hither we blanch'd 'Pauls Perry', though within three miles of it, which we are not tender to confess (being indeed our manifest excuse), for thereby it appears, the pains of the did not keep us thence

In truth, we thought it (coming immediately from an infected place) an hazardous incivility to put ourselves upon them, for if any sinister accident had fallen out about the same time (for coincidents are not always causes) we should have rued it for ever

Here, when I had been almost a fortnight in the midst of much contentment, I received knowledge of Sir Albertus Morton² his departure out of this world, who was dearer unto me than mine own being in it What a wound it is to my heart, you will easily believe but His undisputable will must be done, and unrepiningly received by His own creatures, who is the Lord of all nature, and of all fortune, when He taketh now one, and then another, till the

¹ Wotton did not publish anything in this year

² 'Blanch'd,' i.e. passed without notice Obs. (N.E.D.)

³ Paulerspury in Northamptonshire, the seat of Sir Arthur Throckmorton, belonging, after his death, to Mary, Lady Wotton, his daughter (*Cal S.P. Dom.*, 1688-9, p. 627)

⁴ Sir Albertus Morton died on Sept. 6, 1625 (*Gardiner*, vi, p. 9, see ante, i, p. 209)

expected day wherein it shall please Him to dissolve the whole, and to wrap up even the heaven itself as a scroll of parchment

This is the last philosophy that we must study upon the earth Let us now, that yet remain, while our glasses shall run by the dropping away of friends, reinforce our love to one another, which of all virtues, both spiritual and moral, hath the highest privilege, because death itself shall not end it And good Nic exercise that love towards me, in letting me know, &c

Your ever poor friend,

H WOTTON

411 TO SIR EDMUND BACON

Letters to B, p 47, *Reliq*, 3d ed, p 439 The death of Lady Bacon

From Westminster, this 16 April, 1626

SIR,

Among those that have deep interest in whatsoever can befall you, I am the freshest witness of your unexpressible affections to my most dear niece¹, whom God hath taken from us into His eternal light and rest, where we must leave her, till we come unto her I should think myself unworthy for ever of that love she bare me, if in this case I were fit to comfort you But it is that only God who can reconso late² us both, who, when he hath called now one, and then another of His own creatures unto Himself, will unclasp the final book of His decrees, and dissolve the whole, for which I hope He will rather teach us to thirst and languish, than to repine at particular dissolutions I had in a peculiar affliction of mine own (all within the compass of little time) much consolation from you, which cannot but be now present with yourself, for I am well acquainted with the strength of your Christian mind

Therefore, being kindly invited by the good Master of the Rolls³ to write by his express messenger unto you, let me (without further discourse of our griefs) only join in this with him, to wish your company divided between him and me

We will contemplate together when we meet our future blessedness, and our present uncertainties, and I am afraid we shall find too much argument to drown our private feelings in the public solicitude God's love, wherein is all joy, be with us

Your ever true and hearty servant,

HENRY WOTTON

¹ Philippa, daughter of Edward, Lord Wotton

² 'Reconso late,' i.e. reconso le The above is the only instance given in the *N E D*

³ Sir Julius Caesar

412 TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

Reliq., 3rd ed., p. 549. Inscribed, 'The copy of my letter to the Duke about the same examination' Wotton sends Buckingham the account (dated May, 1626) of his inquiries in regard to an alleged poisoning plot

(Eton College, May, 1626)

I send unto your Grace by this bearer, Mr Michael Biantwhait the examination of the Lord of Oldebare's daughter¹, touching the roll of names said to be found in Westminster of great personages, which were to be poisoned here while you were in Spain². In the delivery whereof, I have been careful, as an examiner and relater, to set down nothing but her bare and free report, which is the historical part. The critical now remaineth, for after the examination of circumstances there is a liberty of judgement.

I have seen many defamatory and libellous things of this nature, abroad and at home, though for the most part always without truth, yet oftentimes contrived with some credibility. But this appeareth in the whole contexture utterly void of both, even though we had never known your Grace, nay, I will say more, though we had known you to be as bad and as black as this author would paint you. For first, the main ground upon which he would raise this defamation, is the foresaid roll of names, found, forsooth, not in a cabinet, but in a duty street. Now, when we come to hunt it home, the authentical instruments that should give it credit are a carman and a footman, till at last it came to Mr Alexander Heatley, a gentleman indeed (as I have conceived of him) of sound abilities. Then what does he with it? Marry, he thought it so frivolous, that albeit it had passed to him through the hands of a noble gentlewoman of his own country, yet he would not once trouble the late Duke of Richmond³, his master, so much as with a sight of it, though his said master was one of the enrolled. Then, it comes back again, and the gentlewoman conveyeth it by another hand to the late Marquess of Hamilton⁴. What doth he with it? It sleeps in his pocket. There, we are not only at a fault⁵, in the hunter's term, but at a

¹ Anne Lyon, daughter of Sir Thomas Lyon of Auldbur, Master of Glamis (*Peerage of Scotland*, Douglas, ed. Wood, II, p. 564, *D N B*, xxxiv, p. 351).

² In 1626 a Scottish physician and poet, George Eglissham, published a pamphlet called *Prodomus Vindictae*, in which he accused Buckingham of having poisoned James I, and said that he had the intention of poisoning many others. He mentioned as evidence a list of names which had been in the possession of Anne Lyon. As Anne Lyon lived at Windsor, Wotton was instructed to make inquiries about the matter (*D N B*, xvii, p. 166).

³ Ludovick Stuart (1574-1624), second Duke of Lennox created Duke of Richmond 1623.

⁴ James, second Marquess of Hamilton (*ante*, I, p. 487).

⁵ 'Fault,' a break in the line of scent, a check caused by failure of scent (*N E D*).

rest¹, as if we were but playing at tennis I am sorry to charge the memory of that worthy gentleman, to whom I was much bound for his favour, so far as this doctor hath laden him, that, if he thought it more important than Mr Heatley did, either by want of charity he would smother so horrible a practice against the lives of at least a dozen of his colleagues in privy council, or for want of courage not prosecute his own cause, especially, your Grace (whose power this pamphleteer doth allege for the impediment of all prosecution), being then (as appeareth by the examination) in Spain

Much more might be said upon the matter but I value, not only your Grace's, but mine own time, at a greater price Yet I have committed a remembrance or two to this bearer, for whose sincerity I am bound to answer, because I did choose him for a witness in the examination One scruple only I had in point of formality, whether I should address this account or no to the council table, whence I received the commission But considering that it came unto me, though by order from thence, yet under the King's trust, I have directed it to your hands, whom it most concerneth

I had waited with it on your Grace in person, but that, in truth, some straitness by distillations in my breast makes me resolve to enter anew into a little course of physic And so having discharged this duty according to my conscience and capacity, I humbly leave your Grace in God's blessed love, remaining,

Your Grace's ever devoted and professed servant,

HENRY WOTTON

413 TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

Reliq, 3rd ed, p 545 Report mentioned in above letter

May, 1626

THE COPY OF MY REPORT AFTER THE EXAMINATION OF THE LORD OF OLDEBARE'S DAUGHTER

According to his Majesty's good pleasure, signified unto me by an order from his council table, under the 19th of May, and delivered by an express messenger on Monday morning, the 22nd of the said month, at his Majesty's College of Eton, that I should examine the Lord of Oldebare's daughter, now resident in the town of Windsor, in the circumstances of a business which his Majesty had committed to my trust, *videhæc*, concerning a certain roll of names mentioned in a late malicious defamatory pamphlet, which one George Eglissham had scattered in print, pretending therein that it was a roll of divers

¹ 'Rest,' in court-tennis a quick and continued returning of the ball from one player to another (*Century Dict*)

great personages which were to be poisoned by the now Duke of Buckingham, and among those great ones, the said George Eglisham himself for one, which said roll (as the said Eglisham affirmeth) the foresaid daughter of the Lord Oldebare had brought to the late Lord Marquess of Hamilton, her cousin, who was one of the enrolled to be poisoned, grounding this defamation upon the testimony of that roll, brought by the said gentlewoman to the foresaid Marquess. I say, according to his Majesty's command herein, I repaired, when I had first inquired out her lodging, the next day after the receipt thereof, to the said Lord of Oldebare's daughter, by name Anne Lion (though not nominated by the foresaid Eglisham, but under her father's title), at her lodging in Windsor, where I found her accompanied with her younger sister and a gentlewoman of her attendance, who were all three in the room while I spake with her. And I brought in with me Mr. Michael Biantthwait heretofore his Majesty's agent in Venice, is a gentleman of approved confidence and sincerity. At my access unto her, because I was a stranger, and the business somewhat harsh and umbrageous, I laboured to take from her all manner of shadow touching herself, which in truth I found very needless. For after I had showed her my commission, and the places in Eglisham's book wherein she was traduced for a witness of this foul defamation, she was so far from disguising or reserving any circumstance, that she prevented all my inquisitiveness in some questions which I had prepared, making a clear, a free, and a noble report of all that had passed, which she did dictate unto me, as I wrote in her window, in her own words, without any enforcement or interruption, as followeth

'At his Majesty's being in Spain, a carman of one Smith, a woodmonger in Westminster, found a paper, as he said, and gave it to my mother's footman to read, whose name was Thomas Allet, who brought it immediately to me. It was half a sheet of paper laid double by the length, and in it was written in a scribbled hand, the names of a number (above a dozen) of the Privy Council, some words had been written more, which were scraped out. The names were not writ in order as they were of quality. In it, next to the Marquess of Hamilton, was writ, "Dr. Eglisham to embalm him." No mention of poisoning, or any such thing, but very names. I, not knowing what it might import more, the Marquess of Hamilton not being at that instant in Whitehall, sent for James Steward, servant to the Duke of Richmond, and desired him to show his Lord that paper, wherein was his name. He said he would not present it himself, but would give it to Alexander Heatley, his secretary. So he took the paper from me, and within a day or two after he brought it

back to me, and said, the secretary thought it not necessary to trouble his Lord withal, for as he did conceive, some that had a cause to be heard before the Privy Council, or in the Star Chamber, had written these names to help his own memory, to reckon who would be with him or against him. Immediately then I sent the said Allet to David Strachen, servant to the Marquess of Hamilton, and bade him give that to his lord from me immediately, which he said he did, and that his lord read it, and put it in his pocket.

These are the very express and formal words, which this noble gentlewoman, with a very frank and ingenious¹ spirit, as I am bound to testify of her, did dictate to me, in the presence of the above named. Whereby may appear to any reasonable creature, what a silly piece of malice this was, when Mr. Alexander Heatley, a gentleman of sober judgement, to whom the roll was first sent, though that be concealed by Eglisbam, did think it too frivolous to be so much as showed to his master, howsoever named therein. At this first conference, as I was ready to depart, my Lord of Ordebarne's daughter desired of me a view of the book, out of which I had read her some passages, wherein her name was traduced, which could in no equity be denied. So I left it with her till the next day, praying that I might then have her full judgement of it, when repairing again unto her, she told me as freely as the rest, in the hearing of the same company as before, except her gentlewoman, that Eglisbam had gone upon very slight grounds in so great a matter.²

414 TO THE QUEEN OF BOHEMIA

Reliq., 1st ed., p. 494, in part, the whole letter 3rd ed., p. 551. Although the printer of the third edition must have had the MS. of this letter to print from, I give the (as far as it goes) text of the first edition (except certain words that were omitted) as the earlier transcript seems more correct. The letter is endorsed 'The copy of my letter to the Queen of Bohemia.' It is undated, but was written during the Parliament of 1626 (Feb. 6 to June 14), and after all the charges of impeachment against Buckingham had been presented to the House of Lords on May 10. Wotton writes of Buckingham's impeachment, and offers consolation to the Queen, who was now living with her husband in exile and straitened circumstances at the Hague.

(May? 1626)

MOST RESPLENDENT QUEEN, EVEN IN THE DARKNESS OF FORTUNE,

I most humbly salute your Majesty again, after the longest silence that I have ever held with you, since I first took into mine

¹ 'Ingenious,' often used at this time by confusion for 'ingenuous' (*N. E. D.*)

² Proceedings were instituted against Eglisbam, who fled to Brussels. The place and date of his death are unknown.

heart an image of your excellent virtues My thoughts indeed, from the exercise of outward duties, have been confined within myself, and deeply wounded with mine own private griefs and losses¹, which I was afraid, if I had written sooner unto your Majesty, before time had dried them up, would have freshly bled again And now, with what shall I entertain your sweet spirits? It becomes not my weakness to speak of deep and weighty counsels, nor my privateness of great personages Yet because I know your Majesty cannot but expect that I should say somewhat of the Duke of Buckingham, whom all contemplate, I will begin there, and end in such comforts as I can suggest to your present estate, which shall be ever the subject both of my letters and of my prayers But before I deliver my conceit of the said Duke I must use a little preface I am two ways tied unto him, first, for his singular love towards my never forgotten Albertus, therein likewise concurring with your Majesty's inestimable affection² Next, for mine own particular, I hold by his mediation this poor place, as indeed I may well call it, for the benefit, though not for the contentment But if it were worth millions, or worlds, I protest unto your Majesty (to whom I owe the bottom of mine heart) I would not speak otherwise of him, than I conceive I will therefore spend my opinion (which is all my freehold) without fear of Parliaments or hopes of Court

And truly (my most gracious and royal mistress) I cannot weigh his case without much wonder, being one of the strangest (all considered) that I ever yet took into my fancy Not that the Commons³ now should sift and winnow the actions even of the highest of the nobility, not that an obscure physician⁴ then among them (where that profession is very rarely) should give the first onset on so eminent a personage not that such a popular pursuit once begun by one, and seconded by a few other, should quickly kindle a great party These are in their nature no marvels nor novelties Neither can I greatly muse, that in a young gentleman, during the space of thirteen years of such prosperity and power, the height of his place exposing him to much observation and curiosity, the Lower House⁵ likewise opening the way to all kind of complaints (as they did) and examining nothing upon oath (as they never do), there should

¹ The deaths of Lady Bacon and Sir Albertus Morton

Sir Albertus Morton was Secretary to the Queen of Bohemia from 1616 to 1618 (*Ante*, i, p 145, ii, p 94)

² 'Commons,' omitted *Reliq*, 1st ed

³ Samuel Turner, M.D., member for Shaftesbury (*C & F Charles I*, i, p 280 n) On March 11 Dr Turner, 'a man otherwise of no note, told the House that the cause of all their grievances was "that great man, the Duke of Buckingham" (*Gardner*, vi, p 76)

⁴ Lower House, omitted *Reliq*, 1st ed

be matter enough gleaned to make up thirteen objections, and none of heinous degree. Therefore I can pass all this over with easy belief. For where there are such boltings to the quick, there must needs be some bran everywhere. But there is a consideration which doth much confound my judgement. First, for the matter itself that this very nobleman, who at the Parliament of 1628 was so universally applauded, and celebrated in every corner, as a great instrument of the public good (insomuch as for my part I conceived him then to be that which few or none had been in all ages before, no less favourite, I mean, to the people, than to the King) should be now pursued with these dislikes, when for the most part the very same objectors were in the foresaid Parliament, and the very same objections (except one or two) might as well then have been alleged this is,¹ I must confess, to my understanding a labyrinth. Again, when (from the matter turning to the person) I view the fairness and equality of his temper and carriage, I can in truth descry in his own nature no original excitement of such distaste, which commonly arieth, not so much from high fortune, as from high looks. For I most ingeniously avow unto your Majesty, that among all the favourites which mine eyes have beheld in divers courts and times, I never saw before a strong heart, and eminent condition, so clearly void of all pride and swelling arrogance, either in his face or in his fashion.

These are partly the reasons that make me wonder how such offence should grow like a mushroom in a night. But there is one thing above all other that hath stricken deepest into my mind, and made me see how the greatest men have this unfortunate adjunct in their felicity, to be sometimes obnoxious to the foulest and falsest reports, whereof in the person of this very Duke himself, I shall lay a monstrous example before your Majesty, out of mine own particular knowledge and employment.

It pleased my sovereign now being, to direct unto me hither a commission to examine my Lord of Oldebare's daughter, by name Mistress Anne Lion (I think sometimes not unknown unto your Majesty), then resident at Windsor, about an abominable pamphlet published and printed towards the time of the last Parliament, in divers languages, by one Doctor Eglissham, a Scottish physician, who therein chargeth the Duke of Buckingham with such trifles as these the death of the Marquess Hamilton, his near friend and ally, the death of our late King, of ever blessed memory, his most dear master, the intended deaths of divers councillors of estate, his associates

¹ In the first edition of the *Reliquiae* the letter ends here with a note, 'The rest is lost.' The remainder is from the third edition.

painting, in effect, a nature far beyond that of Richard the Third, when he was Duke of Gloucester. And for a witness hereof he traduceth the foresaid gentlewoman, or rather as the main ground of his whole book, which occasioned her examination, at the Duke's pursuit against himself, whereof I send your Majesty a copy herewith as I took it from her own free delivery. Wherein you shall see a bare note of a few councillors' names, found at first, not in the Duke's cabinet, but in the very kennel of King-street by a carman, servant to a woodmonger; secondly, by him brought to a footman by which honorable degrees it came to the gentlewoman all duty. And at last, it is turned by this doctor into (a) bill of personages to be poisoned, out of a very charitable interpretation then reigning in him. I am doubtful what passion it will most stir in your Majesty, when you read the circumstances, whether mere laughter at such a ridiculous slander, or a noble indignation at so desperate impudency. And so not to stay any longer upon this cobweb, I will end with such comforts as I propound to myself in contemplation of your present being.

The first shall be a general impression which we have taken of his Majesty's nature. And it is this, that he is not only (to consider him absolutely in his own composition) of singular virtue and piety, and resolution in good, but likewise (to consider him relatively) he is an excellent husband, brother, and friend. I call favourites the friends of kings, as your Majesty (who is so well versed in the best of books) knows I may do with very good warrant for was not Hushai the Archite so styled to David, and after him Zahud to Solomon? Nay, had not the highest of all examples, in the time of His human lowness, both among the living a beloved that lay on His bosom, and another also whom He calls His friend even when He called him from the dead? Thus much I could not abstain to let fall from my pen, by the way, against all murmurs at any singularity of affection, which abound both in states and families. But of these three relations, I will now only contemplate that which respecteth your Majesty, which indeed is as clear and visible as the rest. For surely all the parliaments that our most gracious Sovereign hath hitherto assembled, and all the actions that he hath undertaken abroad, either of himself or by combinations, and his private counsels at home, have principally levelled at your support and restoration, as the deliberations likewise that went before, in the latter time of your most blessed father. So as your Majesty, in the justness of your cause, and in the sweetness of your nature, doth stand firmly invested in both the titles of as beloved a sister as you were a daughter. And I am confident that our living and loving God, who did accept the zeal of your royal brother, and bless

his own and the public devotions at home, with almost a miraculous conversion of the infirmity which raged into health, and of the sterility which was feared, into plenty, will likewise find His own good time to favour our pursuits abroad

Your Majesty's second comfort, is the universal love of all good minds To which I may justly add, a particular zeal in him who is nearest his Majesty, to foment his best desires towards you, which he hath expressed sundry times within my hearing

The last and invaidesest consolation that I can represent unto your Majesty, is yourself, your own soul, your own virtues, your own Christian constancy and magnanimity whereby your Majesty hath exalted the glory of your sex, conquered your affections, and trampled upon your adversities To conclude, you have showed the world, that though you were born within the chance, yet without the power of fortune¹

And so having sought to redeem so long a silence, I fear, with too long a trouble, I will promise your Majesty to commit no more of the former fault, and humbly beg your pardon for the other, ever and ever remaining,

Your Majesty's poor servant,

with all humble and hearty devotion,

HENRY WOTTON

415 TO SIR ROBERT BRUCE COTTON²

Cotton MS, Jul C III, f 410, holograph, no date, dated 1626² in catalogue of *Cotton MS*

(1626²)

SIR,

If it may please you to lend me for a day your Scottish treatise, you shall command me and anything that I have worth your desiring

Your very willing friend,

HENRY WOTTON

¹ 'A Princess resplendent in darkness, and whose virtues were born within the chance, but without the power of Fortune' (*Life and Death of Buckingham, Reliq*, 4th ed, p 222) 'Quae mihi semper visa est sola sui sexus omnibus malis maior, et ipsa obscuritate illustrior, et quidem intra Fortunae sortem, sed extra imperium posita' (*Plausus et Vota ibid*, p 129) The portrait of the Queen of Bohemia, bequeathed by Wotton to Prince Charles, and now at Hampton Court (*ante*, 1, p 217), is inscribed *Inter Fortunae Sortem, Extra Imperium*

² Sir Robert Bruce Cotton (1571-1681), the famous antiquary, whose library was a great resort of the learned men of the time, and from which they often borrowed books

416 TO CHARLES I

Reliq., 1st ed., p. 359, 3rd ed., p. 243 'A character of Ferdinando di Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, dedicated to the King' Undated, probably written not long after Wotton's appointment to Eton, but subsequent to the death of James I. For lack of any other indications I place it here

(1626?)

Being desirous albeit I dare promise little fruit or pleasure to others by any use of my pen, yet at least to record unto myself some such observations as I picked up abroad in the time of my former travels and employments, I stand obliged in grateful memory, to say somewhat of a prince long since at rest, namely, Ferdinando, Grand Duke of Tuscany, which was the ancient Etruria, whose Palace of Pitti at Florence [when] I came often to review, and still methought with fresh admiration, being incomparably (as far as I can yet speak by experience or report) for solid architecture, the most magnificent and regular pile within the Christian world¹. It pleased him by means of the Cavalier Vinta², his principal secretary of estate, to take some notice of my person, though no intruder by nature, and (God knows) of little ability

The said Duke Ferdinando was reputed a wise and wary Prince, and it was a solid wisdom rather than a formal. He had been long a Cardinal, and at two or three conclaves (as they call them) or elections of Popes, so as he came to the Dukedom well seasoned before with practice, and well broken to affairs, and with such an impression of his first tincture (as falleth out naturally in all things else) that he always maintained a great interest in the Roman Court, as indeed was necessary for a near and jealous confiner. He was in his civil regiment of a fine composition between frugality and magnificence, a great cherisher of manual arts, especially such as tended to splendour and ornament, as picture, sculpture, cutting of crystals, ambers, and all of the softer gems, inlaying of marbles, limning of birds, beasts, and vegetables, embossing, and the like. In all which he drew to him from all parts the most exquisite artificers with a settled pension, and placed them in several compartments of his palace, where he would come oftentimes to see them work for his own delight, and so he did furnish his cabinets with rarities at an easy rate, being, in truth, one of the greatest economists of his age. And as he had much at first of the Deacon, and more of the Prince, so he did now and then not disdain to have a little of the

¹ See *ante*, i, p. 21 n.

² 'Vietta' in *Reliq.* Belisario Vinta (*ibid.*, p. 40)

Merchant 'twas as well as fighting with his galleys After the death of the Duke Francesco his brother, it was a while somewhat an ambiguous deliberative, whether he should divest the cardinal ship, or rule with a double greatness, ecclesiastical and civil But the hope of posterity overbalanced the scale, and so he took to wife the daughter of Lorraine¹, as it were to interest himself now in the borders of France, whereas his name before had spread itself in the body

He was by nature more reserved than popular, and had virtues fitter to beget estimation than love, yet he would duly in his coach take almost every day a review of the city, and receive petitions willingly Besides, I have been showed a strange device of state, namely, an outward hole, like a trunk², in a wall of one of his galleries, the bottom whereof was under lock and key, into which any one might let forth any secret intelligence, and convey it closely to the ears of the Prince enough to disquiet all the days of his life He was served by able instruments of state, and diligently attended in Court, but rather by choice than number, and with more neatness than noise He had a close and intrinsical favourite, by birth a stranger, being born in Piedmont, but by his favour made Archbishop of Pisa, a notable screen between him and his subjects, upon whom the Duke would handsomely bestow all manner of complaint, and he as willingly bear it He was unquestionably the powerfullest of all the Italian Dukes and being centred in the very navel of Italy, thereby the furthest from invasion on all sides, and the most participant of the common interest, which, I believe, among other causes, hath much preserved that State in busy times, yet surely a little overawed or overlooked by the King of Spain, who holdeth in actual possession Pont Heicule, Telemene, and Piombino, which we may perchance not improperly call the fetters of Hetiuria Of stature he was somewhat above the mean, a gross body, not apt to motion, and as quiet a countenance His moneys were the purest and least corrupted within the Italian bounds, and his markets the best ordered for prices of comestible ware, where in all his towns, a man might have sent out a child for any flesh, or fish, at a rated price every morning To which temper more septentrional unlimber nations have not yet bent themselves On the other side, there was nothing brought into Floience from the field, to the least sale, but by a long insensible servitude paid somewhat This was the civil and natural habit of that Prince

¹ Ferdinand I married in 1589 Christine of Lorraine, grand daughter of Catherine de Medici, and cousin of James I

² 'Trunk,' obs name for speaking tube

Del Pozzo (*ante*, 1, p 262)

and more might be said, if I were not pounded¹ within an epistle This Duke, while I was a private traveller in Florence, and went sometime by chance (sure I am, without any design) to his Court, was pleased, out of some gracious conceit which he took of my fidelity (for nothing else could move it) to employ me into Scotland with a casket of antidotes or preservatives (wherein he did excel all the princes of the world), and with a dispatch of high and secret importance, which he had intercepted touching some practice upon the succession to this crown So as I am much obliged to his memory (though it was a painful journey) for that honour, and other favours and beneficences, and especially because I came thereby first into the notice of the King your father, of ever blessed memory when your Majesty was but a blooming rose, which afterwards drew on my employment to the Republic of Venice

417 To CHARLES I

Reliq, 1st ed, p 382, 3rd ed, p 323 The text of the 1st edition is incomplete, and I therefore print that of the 3rd ed This letter is dated 1627 in the 3rd edition, and was apparently written about April (see note 2) Wotton's intention to take orders

(April?) 1627

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

The gracious aspect which I have ever observed in your Majesty towards me, doth bind me (though there were no other reason) next under God, to approve all my actions to your judgement Let me therefore most humbly make known unto your Majesty, that it hath pleased the fountain of all good thoughts to dispose my mind, by His secret providence, to enter into the sacred orders of His Church², having confirmed in me (for which His high Name be ever blessed) the reverence and love of His truth, by a large experience of the abuses thereof in the very seat and sink of all corruption, Rome itself, to which my wandering curiosity carried me no less than four times in my younger years, where I fixed my studies most upon

¹ 'Pounded,' i.e. impounded, confined

² On April 7, 1627, Joseph Mead wrote to Sir Martin Stuteville, that he learned from a letter of Mr B <William Boswell?> 'that Sir Henry Wotton will be shortly in holy orders, having for that purpose leave of the King, which because heretofore he hath been so oft and so long a public person, he was in duty to ask' (*C & T Charles I*, i, p 214) On May 11 an anonymous correspondent writes to Mead, 'Sir Henry Wotton, now a clergyman, is like to be Dean of Canterbury, if not Bishop of Exeter, if he can bring off my Lord Wotton to match his daughter and only child with Lord Denbigh's son' (*Ibid.*, p 224, see also p 267) This, however, is plainly the vaguest and most inaccurate gossip, Sir Henry was not yet in orders, Edward Lord Wotton died in 1626 his successor Thomas had five daughters Lord Feilding married Anne, daughter of the Earl of Portland

the historical part, in the politic management of religion, which I found plainly converted from a rule of conscience, to an instrument of State, and from the mistress of all sciences, into a very handmaid of ambition. Neither do I repent me of bending my observation that way. For though the truth perhaps may more compendiously appear *in ordine doctrinae*, yet never more fully, than when we search the original veins thereof, the increase, the depravations, and decays, *in ordine temporum*.

This is the point wherein I have travelled most, and wherein I will spend the remainder of my days, hoping that the all sufficient God will in the strength of His mercy enable my weakness, either by my voice or pen, to celebrate His glory. Now though I was thus far confident in myself (with all humility be it spoken) that neither my life, nor my poor erudition, would yield much scandal to others, and likewise might well have presumed, that this resolution could no ways offend your Majesty's religious heart, but might rather be secure in your favour and encouragement, yet having been employed so many years abroad in civil use, I thought it undutiful to change my calling, without the foreknowledge and approbation of my dear sovereign. This is the humble message of these few lines unto your Majesty.

The Almighty, who hath endued your Majesty with excellent virtues, and so early taught you the rare consort between greatness and goodness, long protect your royal person and estates under His singular love.

Your Majesty's most faithful and devoted vassal,

H. WOTTON

418 TO CHARLES I

Reliq., 1st ed., p. 422, 3rd ed., p. 329. Wotton's recommendation of William Bedell for the Provostship of Trinity College, Dublin (for date see note 1).

<May?> 1627

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY,

Having been informed that certain persons have, by the good wishes of the Archbishop of Armagh¹, been directed hither with

¹ James Ussher (1581-1656). On the death of Sir William Temple, Provost of Trinity College, in Jan. 1627, Ussher recommended Bedell to the Fellows as Temple's successor. On March 15 Bedell wrote that Ussher had asked him if he would accept the position, adding on May 8 that the Fellows had petitioned the King to nominate him (*Two Brog.*, pp. 266, 270). This letter (dated '1627' in the *Reliquiae*) was probably written early in May, after Wotton had heard of the Fellows' petition. Bedell's son, William Bedell, in his life of his father, says that Charles I 'was graciously pleased, upon the testimony of Sir Henry Wotton, to assent to the Fellows' petition' (*Two Brog.*, p. 24).

420 To CHARLES I

Reliq, 1st ed., p 384 3rd ed., p 327, unsigned Wotton's reasons for taking orders Undated

(1627)

MY MOST DEAR AND DREAD SOVEREIGN,

As I gave your Majesty foreknowledge of my intention to enter into the Church, and had your gracious approvement therein, so I hold it a second duty to your Majesty, and satisfaction to myself, to inform you likewise by mine own hand, both how far I have proceeded, and upon what motives, that it may appear unto your Majesty (as I hope it will) an act of conscience and of reason, and not of greediness and ambition You Majesty will be therefore pleased to know that I have lately taken the degree of deacon, and so far am I from aiming at any high flight, out of my former sphere, that there I intend to rest Perhaps I want not some persuaders, that measuring me by their affections, or by your Majesty's goodness, and not by mine own defects or ends, would make me think that yet before I die, I might become a great prelate And I need no persuasion to tell me, that if I would undertake the pastoral function, I could peradventure by casualty, out of the patronages belonging to your royal College without further troubling of your Majesty, cast some good benefice upon myself, whereof we have one, if it were vacant, that is worth more than my provostship ¹

But as they were stricken with horror, who beheld the majesty of the Lord descending upon the Mount Sinai, so, God knows, the nearer I approach to contemplate His greatness, the more I tremble to assume any cure of souls even in the lowest degree, that were bought at so high a price *Premant torcular qui vindemiarunt* ² let them press the grapes, and fill the vessels, and taste the wine, that have gathered the vintage. But shall I sit and do nothing in the porch of God's House, whereto I am entered? God Himself forbid, who was the supreme mover What service then do I propound to the Church? Or what contentment to mine own mind? First, for

¹ Probably the living of Petworth, severed from the Manor of Petworth at the attainder of the Earl of Northumberland, after the battle of Shrewsbury, and included by Henry VI in his endowment of Eton College In 1693 the Duke of Somerset obtained it from the College, in exchange for the livings of Farnham Royal, Clewer, and Woiplesdon On Sept 1, 1685, Garrard wrote to Wentworth that Richard Montagu, Bishop of Chichester, who held the living of Petworth, wished to succeed Richard Corbet, Bishop of Norwich, 'so he could get a son-in-law of his into the parsonage of Petworth, it being worth £600 a year, and in the gift of the College of Eton, but Sir Henry Wotton hath a great mind to the parsonage' (*Strafford Pp*, 1, p 462)

² 'Et quasi qui vindemiât, replevit torcular' (Ecclesiasticus XXXIII, 17)

the point of conscience, I can now hold my place canonically, which I held before but dispensatively, and withal I can exercise an archidiaconal authority¹ annexed thereunto, though of small extent, and no benefit, yet sometimes of pious and necessary use. I comfort myself also with this Christian hope, that gentlemen and knights' sons, who are trained up with us in a seminary of Churchmen (which was the will of the holy Founder), will by my example (without vanity be it spoken) not be ashamed, after the sight of courtly weeds, to put on a surplice.

Lastly, I consider that this resolution which I have taken is not unsuitable even to my civil employments abroad, of which for the most part Religion was the subject, nor to my observations, which have been spent that way in discovery of the Roman arts and practices, whereof I hope to yield the world some account, though rather by my pen than by my voice. For though I must humbly confess that both my conceptions and expressions be weak, yet I do more trust my deliberation than my memory. Or if your Majesty will give me leave to paint myself in higher terms, I think I shall be bolder against the judgements than against the faces of men. This I conceive to be a piece of mine own character, so as my private study must be my theatre rather than a pulpit, and my books my auditors, as they are all my treasure. Howsoever, if I can produce nothing else for the use of Church and State, yet it shall be comfort enough to the little remnant of my life to compose some hymns² unto His endless glory, who hath called me (for which His name be ever blessed), though late, to His service, yet early to the knowledge of His truth and sense of His mercy. To which ever commending your Majesty and your royal actions, with most hearty and humble prayers, I rest,

Your Majesty's most devoted poor servant

¹ Almost immediately after the foundation of the College Eton was exempted from the jurisdiction of the Archdeacon of Bucks, paying £1 2s 11d to the Archdeacon for this privilege. 'It may be noticed as an instance of the continuity of ecclesiastical institutions in England, that the money is still paid to the Archdeacon year after year. The Provost exercises archidiaconal jurisdiction over the whole parish of Eton, and it is perhaps on this account that he and his predecessors have been considered entitled to a seat in the lower house of the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury' (*Marvell Lytle*, p. 19).

² Three hymns remain of Wotton's composition. (1) A hymn printed by Izaak Walton in the first edition of the *Reliquiae*, p. 529, and there described 'This hymn was made by Sir H. Wotton, when he was ambassador at Venice, in the time of a great sickness there' (Possibly in 1609, see *ante*, i, p. 454 n.) (2) 'A translation of the civ Psalm to the original state' (*Reliq.*, 1st ed., p. 525.) (3) 'A Hymn to my God, in a night of my late sickness' Sent with letter to Izaak Walton of Feb. 9 1638 (Printed *Reliq.*, 1st ed., p. 515, see below, p. 376.)

421 TO SIR THOMAS WENTWORTH, BART

Stafford Pp, 1, p 45 Wotton sends Wentworth (Earl of Stafford, 1640) a book on fish ponds, asks for news of Parliament, and invites him to Eton

From the College, Apr 8, 1628

NOBLE SIR,

Promises are to be kept even to adversaries, then much more to friends, and most to such a friend as I am now saluting, nay, it will abide yet another gradation, that they are to be performed though at an unseasonable time I did promise you, when we were last merry together at Medley's¹ a piece of rural philosophy, Dubravius² his book *de Piscinis*, which I now send you, having borrowed it of Mr Hales³, one of our bursars And therefore when you have perused it at full pleasure, I shall desire it again One thing will appear perchance strange unto you, that a Bohemian gentleman therein named should in one year gather *Duodecim Sesterrium* out of his ponds, which, resolved into our money, I take to be about 6,000 pounds sterling, and that, for ought I conceive only by carp and pike—for so I understand his *Cyprius* and his *Lucios* True it is, that Bohemia and Moravia are the most mediterranean countries of Christendom, and their farness from sea hath taught them the skill of nurturing land fish to an incredible increase, insomuch that they will tell you that an acre of pool there is more worth than an acre of saffron in Austria—who yet say, they have the best of the world But enough of this subject

Sorry I am not to be at London, when my noblest friends are there And yet what should I, that am of so small influence, do at those great conjunctions? We poor cloistered men are best in our own cells, *quædam plantæ*, saith Pliny, *gaudent umbra*⁴ Yet there do still hang, I know not how, upon me, some relics of an hearkening humour, and if I could, in a line or two, be favoured with your

¹ Medley's, a fashionable eating house, or 'ordinary', in Milford Lane (*C d T Times I*, 11, p 408) See Ben Jonson, *Staple of News*, Prologue —

Alas! what is it to his scene to know
How many coaches in Hyde Park did show
Last Spring, what fare to day at Medley's was,
If Dunstan or the Phoenix best wine has?

² John Dubraw, or Dubrawski (died 1558), the historian of Bohemia His *De Piscinis* was published at Zurich in 1557 Isaac Walton quotes from Dubravius in the *Compleat Angler* (Part I, chap viii), an English translation of which was published by George Churchey in 1599

³ The 'ever memorable' John Hales (1584-1656), Fellow of Eton College 1618-49

⁴ 'Umbræque gaudent et aqua ac fimo' *Nat Hist* xxi 35

judgement of the event of this Parliament¹, I should think myself better resolved than if I had gone to ask that question at Delphos, though I could rather wish this turned into a greater favour, and that my ever honoured Lord Cliffoide², yourself, and Sir Gervase Clifton³—that is, the Medley Triplcity—would at some of your playing and breathing days, take in some of this fresh air. A little interposing of philosophical diet may perchance somewhat lighten the spirits of men overcharged with public thoughts, and prevent a surfeit of state. In the meanwhile, the next time you see the last of the three above named, I pray tell him that when he sent his son⁴ hither he honoured, and when he took him away he wounded us. For in this Royal Seminary we are in one thing, and only in one, like the Jesuits, that we all joy when we get a spirit upon whom much may be built. Sir, I have usurped upon too great a part of your time. Pardon me this light diversion, continue to love me, and God's love be with us all.

Your ever vowed poor friend and servant,

HENRY WOTTON

422 TO SIR GERVASE CLIFTON (?)

Reliq, 1st ed., p. 499, 3rd ed., p. 373. Without date or address, but plainly written at about the same time as the above letter to Wentworth, and probably addressed to Sir Gervase Clifton.

(Eton College, April 8, 1628 ')

SIR,

Although I am now a retired and cloistered man, yet there do still hang upon me, I know not how, some relics of an hearkening humour.

The easiest way for you to quench this appetite in your poor friend is to empty yourself into my servant, whom I send to salute you, and to know two things.

First, whether you be of the Parliament yourself? Next, whether I should be sorry that I am not of it? You can by this time resolve me of both. We are here only fed with certain airs of good hope chamelion's food.

More I will not say now, and you see by this little how tender I am to usurp upon your time. Yet before I end let me ask a third

¹ The Parliament of 1628, which met on March 17, passed the Petition of Right, the Remonstrance attacking Buckingham, and was prorogued on June 26 (*Gardiner*, vi, p. 825).

² Henry Lord Cliffoide (1591-1643), fifth Earl of Cumberland.

³ Sir Gervase Clifton, see Appendix III.

⁴ In 1629 Sir Gervase Clifton's son was sent to France with Hobbes as his tutor (*Aubrey's Lives*, edited by Clark, 1898, i, p. 396).

question have you no playing and¹ breathing days? If you be of the House, might you not start hither for a night or two? The interposing of a little philosophical diet may, perchance, lighten a man's spirits, surcharged with public thoughts, and prevent a surfeit of state. Howsoever hold me fast in your love, and God's mercy be where you are

Your poor friend and servant,
alla visceratu,
 HENRY WOTTON

423 TO JOHN DYNELY

Reliq., 3rd ed., p. 557. 'To my most dear and worthy friend, Mr. John Dynely, at the Hague' Dynely was now tutor to the eldest son of the Queen of Bohemia, Wotton sends a message to the Queen about the Eton elections, writes of Dynely's nephew at Eton, &c.

From the College at midnight
 the 12 of August, 1628

MY EVER MOST DEAR JACK DYNELY

The Queen's last letter (wherein with her Majesty did too much honour me), coming when my voices of any value were no more in mine own power, was nearer a torment than a surprisal. It shall teach me to reserve myself, as wiser men do, for such supervenient temptations I must confess, above all strength, if the least possibility had been left. It is true, I could have given him a latter place but in that I should have disgraced the tutor, and disrespected the commander. I have therefore rather chosen to put him in the vanguard the next year, being the son of a soldier, than now in the rear¹. And this is the sum of my humble answer to her Majesty, though in other terms.

Your Anthony² (who is my guest every Saturday night) is well grown in stature, and more in knowledge. I verily believe he will prove both a wise and learned man, and certainly good. We have passed over *quocunque modo* the most troublesome election that I think was here ever seen. Wherein, according to my usual fashion, I have lost four or five friends, and yet, I thank God, not gotten the value of one Harrington. So as they are angry at me on the one side, and they laugh at me on the other. If my most gracious mistress will, in her goodness, be pleased to drown her displeasure till

¹ The Queen had evidently written recommending a boy for an Eton scholarship, probably the son of Sir George Knevett, placed by Wotton at the head of the list at the election in the following year.

² Anthony Dynely, John Dynely's nephew, then a boy at Eton, see below pp. 311, 326.

³ 'Harrington,' a brass farthing token, coined by John Lord Harrington under a patent granted him by James I in 1618. Obs. (N E D).

the next turn, I shall cheerfully in the meantime bear the weight of mine own simplicity

I have gotten, with much ado, some of the Psalms translated by my late most blessed master¹ for the young Prince of Bohemia² (which is one of your memorials that have slept too long by me), and I have ransacked mine own poor papers for some entertainment for the Queen, which shall be sent together, though it be now a misery to revisit the fancies of my youth, which my judgement tells me are all too green, and my glass tells me that myself am gray Till my next, let me trouble you no farther The love of God be with us and we are well

Your poor true friend,

HENRY WOTTON

I hear that one hath offered to the Prince of Orange an invention of discoursing at a great distance by lights Is it true?

A noble lady, who is desirous to bestow her son at Leyden, would fain be first informed what commodity for education the place doth yield, wherein you shall do me and her a great favour

424 TO LORD WESTON

Reliq., 3rd ed., p. 561 'Part of a letter to the Lord Treasurer, Earl of Portland (*ut videtur*)' Sir Richard Weston (1577-1635), Lord Weston 1628, was appointed Lord Treasurer in July, 1628, and the following undated letter of congratulation was probably written during Wotton's illness in 1628, mentioned in the next letter

(Sept (?) 1628)

This is the reckoning of my unpleasant time, whereby your Lordship sees that my silence hath been a symptom (as I may term it) of my infirmity, from all outward respects and duties, contracting my thoughts about myself But can that serve my turn? No, in truth, my good Lord, for I should, while myself was in contemplation, have remembered that I was bound to congratulate with your Lordship even for mine own sake, especially when I found by the long use of two or three physicians, the exhaustion of my pulse as great as other evacuations It would breed wrinkles in my face if I should stay any longer upon this point I will cheer myself that your Lordship did love me, even before I was so worthy of your compassion I have tasted the benefit of your discourse, I have enjoyed your hospitality, I have been by your favour one of your familiar guests, I have had

¹ *The Psalmes of King David* translated by King James, printed 1631 These translations of the Psalms into English, though attributed to James I., were almost all made by William Alexander, Earl of Sterling (*D. N. B.*, i, p. 278)

² Prince Henry Frederick, eldest son of the King of Bohemia (*Ante*, ii, p. 88)

leave to interchange some good tales and stories in your company, and to exercise my natural freedom. Besides, we have been conjoined in a serious business¹, wherein I do even yet hope for some good by your means. So as I have had in your Lordship the interests both of earnest and of pleasant conversation, which gives me the boldness to assure myself that I am still not only within your Lordship's remembrance, but likewise within your loving care.

But I dig in a rock of diamonds

425 TO JOHN DYNELY

Reliq., 3rd ed., p. 559. 'To my very worthy and ever dear friend, Mr John Dynely, at the Hague.' Dynely had hopes of a piece of preferment, the reversion to the place of one of the Six Clerks in Chancery, the Queen of Bohemia had written in his favour, and Wotton advises him to get the Queen to write to Lord Weston and Lord Conway.

From London, ready to return to my College
at Eton, this 13 of Nov. 1628

MY EVER DEAR JACK DYNELY,

Your last of the 6th of October were welcome, beyond all expression, intimating a hope that I shall see yourself shortly, which will be *mille epistolae*. I do not see how you can fail of the thing whereof you write, if you come quickly. The letter in your behalf from our royal mistress to his Majesty here is too faint being moulded in your own modesty, therefore, I have a little invaded it, with some violence unto you. When you consult with me about the personage that should first, or second, or tertiate your business with the King, I must answer as Demosthenes did of action: my Lord Treasurer², my Lord Treasurer, and so again. We contemplate him, not only in the quality of his place, but already in some degree of a privado³, and even the fresh introduction of Sir F. Cottington⁴ to the council table is no small argument of his strength, though otherwise a subject of merit.

I hear likewise that his own foreign employments have given him a great taste of things abroad, so as you will not find him incurious to discourse with you. And I verily believe that he will take an address of you from the Queen unto him, as the principal personage, to the heart, wherein, methinks, it were fit and proper that her Majesty would be pleased likewise to favour you with some lines to

¹ In 1620, when Wotton, Weston, and Conway were sent out by James I to pacify Europe and avert the Thirty Years' War (*Ante*, i, p. 169).

² Lord Weston.

³ 'Privado,' a favourite (*Fennel*).

⁴ Sir Francis Cottington (1578?-1652), Privy Counsellor 1628, Lord Cottington 1631, died a Catholic exile in Spain (*D N B*).

my Lord Conaway¹ because they were joined in ambassage unto her at Prague This is all that I shall need to say, till your own coming Your little Anthony² prospers extremely well, and I dare now say he will prove a good scholar And so being in truth in no very cheerful disposition at the present, but newly come out of two or three fits of an ague, I will trouble neither of us both any further ever resting

Your poor professed friend,

HENRY WOTTON

If the Queen have not heard the epitaph of Albertus Morton and his lady, it is worth her hearing for the passionate plainness

He first deceas'd She for a little tied
To live without him Lik'd it not and died³

Authoris Incerti

Postscript —In a letter under this date to her Majesty I conclude with a supplication, that she will be pleased to receive a page, at the joint suit of the House of Bacons, a boy⁴ of singular spirits, without aggravation of her charge, for he shall want no means to maintain himself in good fashion about so royal a mistress I pray heartily further this motion, and be in it yourself *vincens lacertiarum*

426 TO THE QUEEN OF BOHEMIA

Letters to B, p 151, *Reliq.*, 3d ed, p 442 'The beginning is wanting' (note in *Reliq.*) Wotton asks that Francis Bacon might become one of the Queen's pages No date, but evidently the letter referred to in the last

(London, Nov 13, 1628)

—Yet my mind and my spirits give me, against all the combustions of the world, that before I die I shall kiss again your royal hand, in as merry an hour as when I last had the honour to wait upon your gracious eyes at Heidelberge'

I will now take the boldness to conclude my poor lines with a private and humble suit unto your Majesty, which I bring with

¹ Sir Edward Conway (died 1631), Secretary of State 1623-30 Created Viscount Conway in 1627 (*D N B*) In 1620 Conway and Weston were sent together on an embassy to the King of Bohemia at Prague (see *ante*, i, p 169)

Anthony Dynely, *ante*, ii, p 303

³ This epitaph is published in the first edition of the *Reliquiae* with the signature 'H Wotton', and there is little doubt that Wotton was the author, though the reserve he affects about his writings, especially his poems, kept him from claiming it as his own

⁴ Francis Bacon, son of Sir Robert Bacon, brother and successor of Sir Edmund Bacon Francis Bacon became a page to the Queen of Bohemia, took military service under the Prince of Orange, and died not long after

^{*} In 1616, *ante*, i, p 145, ii, pp 88-91

me out of Suffolk, from Sir Edmund Bacon's house and that whole family, among whom your Majesty's name and virtue are in singular admiration

There is of that house a young plant of some sixteen years, well natured, and well moulded both for face and limbs, and one of the bravest spirited boys in Christendom. It is their joint ambition, and they have made me their intercessor, that your Majesty would be pleased to take him for one of your pages. They want not means otherways to bestow him, but their zeal towards your Majesty, and their judgements guide them to this humble desire, for his most virtuous and noble nature. And lest the ordinary number of your Majesty's attendants in that kind, being perhaps full, might retard their hope of this high favour, I have commission to assure your Majesty that their meaning is not to aggravate your charge, for he shall have yearly a competent provision allowed to maintain him in good fashion. If my niece Bacon, of dearest memory, were alive (whom God took, not long after my nephew Albertus, into his eternal bliss), I am sure she would join in this suit unto your Majesty, that all sexes might enter into the obligation. But it is your Majesty's own goodness from which only we can hope for a favourable answer. And so with all our prayers, and with my particular obliged devotion, I most humbly commit your Majesty to God's reserved blessings, and continual love, ever resting

Your Majesty's poor servant,

In all truth and zeal,

HENRY WOTTON

427 TO SIR EDMUND BACON

Letters to B, p. 49, *Reliq*, 3rd ed., p. 440. Marriage of Wotton's niece, &c

From the College, the 14th of Decemb., 1628

SIR,

I have received from London the favourable lines wherewith you honoured me, then near your departure, which you have somewhat allayed with the promise of your return at the beginning of the next term, which consorteth well with a change of my purpose to Christmas in Kent, born in me as I was reading your letter. For what should I do there in such haste after the nuptials¹, when

¹ Catherine, daughter of Thomas Lord Wotton, married Dec. 4, 1628 Lord Stanhope, son of the first and father of the second Earl of Chesterfield. Lord Stanhope died in 1634, and his wife, after refusing Van Dyck, married John Polyander Kerckoven. She was governess to Mary, Princess Royal, daughter of Charles I., and accompanied the Princess to Holland when she married the Prince of Orange. In 1651 Catherine Kerckoven was arrested for complicity in a royalist

I shall come so as well in Lent ? Much ado there hath been towards the point of conclusion, like that aphorism of Hippocrates, *Nox ante crisin est molestissima* Loves being in this like fevers, as well as in the rest for one definition will serve them both, *cordis accensio*

Jack Dinely is not yet arrived, but we expect him daily, as messenger from the Queen his mistress of her late happy delivery¹, after a foul report that had been maliciously thrown abroad of her miscarriage by a fall The doctor likewise as yet hath given me no answer, but I will quicken him, and put, I hope, into the business

Now, let me tell you, that the noble Sir Gervase Clifton (as in good faith he is *in ipsis visceribus*) hath been lately here with us, at a time when he hath been content to be entertained with the pastimes of children, a Latin and a Greek Hyppolitus How often you were remembered between us is harder for me to tell you than, I hope, for you to believe Among other discourse, he showed me a little excrescence that he hath beginning upon the uttermost ball of his eyes, a filmy matter, like the rudiment of a pin and web, as they call it Whereupon fell into my memory a secret that Mr Bohan had told me his mother knew, how to take away that evil in growth, and perchance much more in the infancy, with a medicine applied only to the wrists And I have heard yourself likewise speak of a rare thing for that part I beseech you, Sir, be pleased with all possible speed to entreat that receipt from Mr Bohan, to whom we shall both be much beholden for it And Sir Gervase Clifton is already so possessed, that he both says and thinks that nothing will cure him better than that which any way shall come through your hand unto him No peace as yet with either of the Kings the more wished I think with France, the liker perchance with Spain² No offices disposed in Court, no favourite but the Lord Treasurer More news in my next For the present, God keep you in his dear love

Servitor e,

H WOTTON

plot, and at the Restoration was created Countess of Chesterfield for life (D N B)

¹ Charlotte, fourth daughter of the Queen of Bohemia was born in Dec 1628, and died in 1681 (*Evelyn Green*, v, pp 469, 485)

² Peace with France was concluded by the treaty of Susa, April 14, 1629, with Spain by the treaty of Madrid, Nov 5, 1630 (*Gardiner*, vii pp 100, 175)

428 To Viscount Wentworth

Strafford Pp, 1, p 48, where this letter is dated 'Nov or Dec 1628' If this date and the address to Viscount Wentworth are correct, it must have been written after Dec 10, 1628, when Wentworth (created Lord Wentworth, July 22, 1628) was made a Viscount Wotton sends Wentworth a present of a cane

(December, 1628)

MY MOST HONOURED LORD,

I was coming this morning to take my humble leave of your Lordship, before your own departure and mine, when I understood that you were at Roehampton But I will not miss my second intent, which was to beg this favour of your Lordship, that you will take a poor cane into your service, who of a long time hath been used to wait upon Privy Counsellors, and in my hands is quite out of countenance¹ Seriously, my noble Lord there is no man living to whom it doth more justly appertain than to your Lordship, by late descent from his love, whose memory you so often revive in your affectionate discourses For myself, I go away guilty of having in this town ill cultivated your neighbourhood, which yet, beside a certain uncompletiveness² that is in my nature, did proceed in truth from a good real respect towards your Lordship, that there was more reason I should consider the distance between our businesses than our lodgings Howsoever I am, in all places,

Your Lordship's at all commands,

HENRY WOTTON

429 To Dr SAMUEL WARD³

Tunney MS 72, f 307, holograph Some difficulty about Ward's nephew, Dr Dorislaus

(February 8, 1629)

SIR,

I have received your letter of the 10th of December, this 8th of February at Eton, which at the first reading did much amaze me, till consulting better with my memorials, I find your complaint fallen upon a strange controversy yet pendant, I know not where The case seemeth unto us here as rare as it doth to you, and perhaps more, because by our nearness, both of place and interest, we see it *sub majori angulo*

¹ The cane had probably belonged to Edward, first Lord Wotton, who became a Privy Counsellor in 1602, and died in 1626

² 'Uncompletiveness,' perhaps uncompetitiveness

³ Samuel Ward (died 1643), Master of Sidney Sussex College (D N B)

For my part, I am yet merely but *intellectus patiens* in the whole business And till farther information I can say no more but this, that your brother's son can receive no wrong in this College while I am in it I will give you some farther account of the matter, as I hope, within little while

Since the lingering of your letter on the way, I hear (and in truth with much compassion) that Doctor Dorislaus¹ is slipped into some trouble with you, at which I wonder extremely, being acquainted with his discretion and temper I will not espouse his cause, though I love his person, but I hope he will wind out of it among so fair interpreters If he be with you again when you receive this (the choice² of which conversation doth increase his value with me), I pray return unto him my very hearty remembrance And so I rest,

Your ever affectionate poor friend to serve you,

HENRY WOTTON

I was infinitely taken with your *Concio ad clerum*, upon a borrowed perusal of it from Mr Hales, and shall think myself furnished till I get a copy thereof in my own power

430 To CHARLES I

Reliq., 3rd ed, p 562 Wotton hears that he is to be appointed to write the History of England, and asks the King for money or preferment to enable him to pay his debts contracted in the public service

Whitehall, Feb 12 Styl vet, 1628<9>

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST SACRED MAJESTY,

It is more to be bound to your Majesty's judgement than to be bound to your favour Therefore I do not only joy, but glory (though still with humble acknowledgement and feeling what myself am) that you have been pleased (as I understand from my Lord of Dorchester⁴) to apply my pen to so noble an end being confident

¹ Isaac Dorislaus (1595-1649), appointed by Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, to his newly founded lectureship of history at Cambridge in 1627 At first Samuel Ward 'extended to him a sympathy and hospitality which contrasted strongly with the treatment which that eminent scholar received from the academic authorities' *D N B* He seems now, however, to have fallen into disfavour with Ward, and shortly after date of this letter he retired from Cambridge In 1649 he went to Holland as special envoy from the Commonwealth, and was there murdered by royalist assassins

² 'Choice' ('choise' in MS), in obs sense of special value, estimation (*N E D*)

³ *Gratia discriminans Concio ad clerum habita Cantabrigiae*, Jan 12, 1625, Londoni, 1626

⁴ Sir Dudley Carleton (Lord Carleton in 1626) became Viscount Dorchester in July, 1628, and was appointed chief secretary of state on Dec 14, 1628 (*Gardiner*, vi, p 372) On Feb 16, 1629, a pension of £500 was granted Wotton, for which he was to surrender his former pension of £200 (*ante*, i, p 117) He was to 'compose the English History, and bestow £100 upon such amanuensis or clerk as he

that the very care not to disgrace your Majesty's good pleasure and indulgent choice of me will invigorate my weakness. But before I enter into the description of others' actions and fortunes (which require a free spirit) I must present at your royal feet, and even claim from your natural equity and goodness, such compensation (as it shall please you) in that which followeth.

I served the King your father of most blessed memory, from the time he sent for me, at the beginning of his reign, out of France (retaining then some gracious remembrance of my service with him in Scotland), twenty years, that is almost now a third part of my life, in ordinary and extraordinary employments abroad. I had many comfortable letters of his contentment, or at least, of his gracious toleration of my poor endeavours, and I had under his own royal hand two hopes in reversion. The first, a moiety of a Six Clerk's place in Chancery. The next, of the office of the Rolls itself.¹ The first of these I was forced to yield to Sir William Beecher, upon the late Duke of Buckingham's former engagement unto him by promise, even after your Majesty had been pleased to intercede for me with your said ever blessed father. And that was as much in value as my Provostship were worth at a market. The other of the reversion of the Rolls I surrendered to the said Duke in the gallery at Wallingford House, upon his own very instant motion (the said Duke then intending it upon the now Attorney, Sir Robert Heath²), though with serious promise, upon his honour, that he would procure me some equivalent recompense, before any other should be settled in the place.

The truth of my humble claim, and of his sincere intentions towards me, I present herewith unto your Majesty, in a letter all under his own hand.

I could likewise remember unto your Majesty the losses I have sustained abroad by taking up moneys for my urgent use at more than twenty in the hundred, by casualty of fire, to the damage of near four hundred pounds in my particular,³ by the raising of moneys in Germany, whereby my small allowance (when I was sent to the Emperor's Court) fell short five hundred pounds, as Signior Burlamachi too well knoweth, and other ways

shall employ therein. By order and power of Lord Viscount Dorchester.
(*Docquet Book*, 12.)

¹ The moiety of a Six Clerk's place granted Feb., 1611 (see *ante*, 1, p. 117). The reversion of the Mastership of the Rolls promised 1620 (*ante*, 1, p. 167).

² In exchange for the Provostship of Eton, promised by Buckingham to Beecher.

³ Sir Robert Heath (1575-1649), Attorney-General from 1625 to 1631. In 1621 he was promised a grant of the reversion of the Mastership of the Rolls, expectant on the death of Sir Julius Caesar (*D. N. B.*, xlv, p. 347).

⁴ In 1618, see *ante*, 11, p. 125.

Now for all this (that I may not press your Majesty with immoderate desires) I most humbly beg from your royal equity, and I may say, from your very compassion, but two things, first, that your Majesty will be pleased, in disposing of the Rolls¹ (to which I was assigned), to reserve for me some small proportion towards the discharge of such debts as I contracted in public service, yet remaining upon interest. Next, that you will be likewise pleased to promise me the next good Deanery that shall be vacant by death or remove whereof I also had a promise from your blessed father then at Newmarket, and am now more capable thereof in my present condition. And thus shall your Majesty restore me both to the freedom of my thoughts and of my life otherwise so intimated that I know not how to unfold it. And so with my continual prayers to the Almighty for his dearest and largest blessings upon your royal person, I ever rest,

Your Majesty's most faithful poor subject and servant,

HENRY WOTTON

431 To SIR EDMUND BACON

Letters to B 52, *Reliq.* 3d ed., p. 443. The Short Parliament of 1629
Foreign news

On the 6 of March, 1628(9)

SIR

I beseech you let these lines with as much affection, though with less civility convey my good wishes after you, which I should myself have brought before your departure.

You seem to have left the town somewhat prophetically, not to be near the noise of a very unhappy morning on Monday last², at which time the Parliament assembling again (which you know had been silenced till that day) was then readjourned by the King's special command till Tuesday next. Whereupon the Lower House fell into such heat (one passion begetting another) that the Speaker³ (who, as discharged by the royal power, did refuse to read a kind of remonstrance which Sir John Eliott⁴ had provisionally set down in paper) was forced into the chain. It is strange to consider the lubricity of popular favour, for he that before during this whole

¹ Sir Robert Heath seems to have resigned the reversion to the Rolls at about this time, for in 1630 it was granted to Sir Dudley Digges (*D N B*, xv, p. 69).

² March 2

³ Sir John Finch (1584-1660), Baron Finch of Fordwich in 1640 (*D N B*). His father, Sir Henry Finch, was Sir Henry Wotton's first cousin.

⁴ Sir John Eliot, 1592-1632 (*ibid.*). This famous scene is described in *Gardiner* (vii, pp. 67-76). On March 10 Parliament was dissolved and did not meet again for eleven years.

session (if so we may call it) and the former was so highly commended, and even in this very act, by some of the soundest and soberest of the House, yet with the general body is so stript of all his credit in a moment, that I have hardly seen in any chemical work such a precipitation. What hath ensued will be better told you by this good captain. Some think the Parliament doth yet hang upon a thread, and may be stitched again together. But that is an any conceit in my opinion, yet the peace of Italy, and the preparations of France against us¹ are voiced so strongly, that I verily believe we shall have a new summons.

The States of the Low Provinces have since their western great prize² newly taken a carrack out of the east of huge value so as their acts are *sub utroque sonantia Phoebus*³

I have not yet sent those verses to Mrs Katharine Stanhope⁴, that she may rather have them in the second edition. For the author hath licked them over, and you shall have a new copy sent you by the next carrier. We have met together once or twice since you going, *loco solito*, but like a disjointed company, wanting one of our best pieces. God send us often cheerfully together, and so I rest,

Your hearty servant,

HENRY WOTTON

When Jack Dinely shall return out of Lincolnshire, I will give you an account what I write by him to the Queen of Bohemia about your spiritous nephew. And I will not forget to rouse the Doctor at Cambridge⁵ in the charitable intention. I pray remember my service to your whole name, and to my noble cousin Sir Diue⁶, to whom I will write the next week.

432 To JOHN DYNELY

Reliq, 3rd ed, p 564 'To my most Worthy Friend, Mr. John Dynely, Esq., at Boston in Lincolnshire' Parliament dissolved, foreign news

March 11, 1628(9)

MY DEAR JACK DYNELY,

You see I keep my familiarity, though you be the governor of Princes. And I see by your letter that I am everywhere in your remembrance, even where so many natural pledges divide you. The Parliament is since your going dissolved by the King upon

¹ On March 5, Richelieu, who had marched into Italy with Louis XIII, forced the Spaniards to raise the siege of Casale. The war of the Mantuan succession did not end until Oct 3, 1630, but peace between England and France was concluded on April 14, 1629.

² Peter Hein's capture of the Plate Fleet in 1628 (*Gau d'amer*, vi, p 374).

³ 'Sub utroque iacentia Phoebus' (*Ovid, Met* i 838) ⁴ See *ante*, ii, p 312 n

⁵ Dr. Collins(?) ⁶ Sir Diue Dynely, Bart., of Kiddlesworth Hall, died 1632

such reason as in good faith all sober minds must approve, even while they wish it otherwise. Never was there such a morning as that which occasioned the dissolution since Phaeton did guide his father's chariot.

We are now cheered with some foreign news but I am still sorry that we must fetch our comfort from abroad, and from the discords of Italy, instead of the harmony of England. Our Lords sit often, and were never more close, insomuch as it is as hard to get anything out of the council chamber as out of the Exchequer.

Sir Henry Vane¹ is suddenly sent extraordinary ambassador to the Hague, with the more wonder, because Sir Robert Cair² is yet there, *omni par negotio*. The other's having been coffeier breeds some conjecture that the business is pecuniary. Nothing is yet done about the Rolls, and those other places in sequence and my Lord of Bristow's³ re entry into the Court (who the last week carried the sword before the King) filleth us with new discourse, as if he should be restored to the Vice Chamberlainship, which yet lieth amortized⁴ in your noble friend.

Mine own businesses stand as they did, and the best is, they are rather stationary than retrograde. I pray remember my hearty affection to your worthy brother, and give him the best hope of his Anthony. And so languishing for you again, I commit you all to God's dear love.

Your faithfullest poor friend,
HENRY WOTTON

433 TO SIR EDMUND BACON

Add MS 34,727, f 53, holograph. 'To my honoured Nephew, Sir Edmund Bacon, Knight and Baronet, at the Roles, London.' Printed *Letters to B*, p 53, *Reliq*, 3rd ed, p 445. Written shortly before Wotton's journey to Kent in June. Frank Bacon, foreign news.

This Monday night late,
(June ?) 1629

SIR,

I know that between us there needs little compliment, for which I am for my part so unproper and so un moulded, that I often

¹ Sir Henry Vane the elder (1589-1655), Coffeier of the Household 1625. In Feb., 1629, Charles I sent him to the Hague to find out from the Prince of Orange and the States what they thought of the Spanish offers of peace. (*Gardiner*, vii, p 101.)

² Sir Robert Kei (1578-1654), Earl of Ancrum 1633. (*D N B*)

³ The Earl of Bristol, who had been in disgrace since his return in 1624 from Spain, was restored to favour in 1628. (*Ibid*, xv, p 59.)

⁴ 'Amortized,' held in commission. (*N E D*)

⁵ Viscount Dorchester, made Vice Chamberlain of the King's Household in 1625, an office to which the Earl of Bristol (then Sir John Digby) was appointed in 1616.

neglect even civil duties as well appeared by my coming from London without taking leave of you. But yet I cannot be wanting unto yourself, nor to the least of your name, in any real service, for that were too much violence to my nature therefore before my coming from Westminster I wrote such letters to the Queen of Bohemia about your spiritous Franck, as I hope (together with the good offices of the bearer thereof) will place him with the Prince of Orange when he hath taken the Busse¹. I could have wished that his lively blood had been a little fleshed at that siege. But Jack Dynelye's long stay at London for his dispatch, and at Gravesende for a wind, hath lost us time. We hear that the King of Spain, upon the peazing² of his affairs in Italy (where a palm of ground importeth him more than a province abroad), was resolved to make the Marquis Spinola Governor of Milan, and that the Count Henry Vanden Berge³ should command the armies in chief under the Infant. If this be so, there will be there *bella plusquam civilia*⁴, for you know he is near of blood to the Prince of Orange, though he hath some a little nearer, for he hath one or two by his own sister, as I remember they told me in his town of Maestrick. The other employment of the Marquis is a counsel plainly taken rather from necessity than reason for otherwise jealousy of state would hardly commit so much power to a Genouese in the confines of his own country, unless I have forgotten my foreign maxims.

I have my head towards Kent, with a hope to see you first there, and afterwards at our election, which will be the third of August. And so with my humble and hearty remembrance to that best of men, and noblest of ladies, I rest

Il visceratissimamente vostro,

HENRY WOTTON

434^a TO THE VISCOUNT DORCHESTER

S P Dom Charles I, cxliv, No 86, holograph. Wotton troubled by his creditors, and perhaps arrested for debt, writes to the Secretary of State, Lord Dorchester.

From Canterburie this 16th of June, 1629

RIGHT HONOURABLE AND MY VERY GOOD LORD,

I most humbly beseech your Lordship that the presenter hereof my worthy friend⁵, may acquaint you with an occasion befallen me,

¹ Hei togenbosch (Bois-le-Duc), besieged by Frederick Henry Prince of Orange in June 1629, and captured after a memorable siege (*Gardiner*, vii, pp 108, 170)

² 'Peazing,' from pease, to pacify (*N E D*)

³ Count Henry van den Beig suffered a check at the siege of Bois le Duc, and retired from the Spanish service (*N B Gen*)

⁴ 'Quatuor autem sunt genera bellorum, id est iustum, iniustum, civile et plusquam civile' (Isidorus Hispalensis, *Etyim* xviii 2)

⁵ Mr Griffith, see below, p 322

wherein I must implore your favour to unsoil¹ me And so committing your Lordship to God's dear blessings and love, I humbly rest,

At your Lordship's commands,

HENRY WOTTON

435 TO THE VISCOUNT DORCHESTER

S P Dom Charles I, cxlv, No 64, holograph Thanks for promises of help

From Canterbury, this 27 of June, 1629

RIGHT HONOURABLE AND MY VERY GOOD LORD,

I am fully informed by Mr Griffithe how sensible your Lordship hath been of that rude affront which was lately done me And in that information he did not omit your noble intentions towards me, as well in curing the cause as in plastering the symptom, for which I must render you most humble thanks, and ever live,

Your Lordship's obliged servant,

HENRY WOTTON

I have now sent up Mr Harison², the bearer hereof, who was a witness of the whole proceeding

436 TO JOHN DYNELY

Reliq, 81d ed, 565 Undated For date see note Messages for the Queen of Bohemia, &c

< July 26, 1629 >

MY SWEET AND DEAR JACK DYNELY,

I am come newly from those ladies³, who think themselves more lovely than before, and perhaps than they are, ever since I showed them your character of their beauties, in your letter from the 'Gally Gravesend'⁴ Never was a town better epitheted They all remember themselves extreme kindly unto you While I was there I should have written letters provisionally to go with Mr Griffith, but my brains are even yet in some distraction among good ideas, whereby I am put now to write these, and other that go with them, in haste, for my said friend hath given me warning that he shall be gone to-morrow morning from London

¹ 'Unsoil, i e assoul

² John Harison, Head Master of Eton, *ante*, i, p 216

³ At Bockton Malherbe

⁴ Dynely had sailed for Holland from Gravesend 'Gally-Gravesend,' cf gally-beggar, gally crow (scarecrow), from gally, obs, to frighten, scare (*N E D*)

I have written to our royal mistress, upon a touch in your last (which found me at Bocton), that I had now sent her my niece Stanhop's picture in little, if an express messenger sent for it, the very night before I came away, by my Lord of Chesterfield¹ (to whom it was promised) had not ravished it out of my pocket. But I shall have it in a greater form at my return thither immediately after our election, which will begin to morrow sevennight² and the Friday morning following Sir George Kevet's son³ is in the head of our list, for *lentum est* to say he shall be, after your late refreshment of the Queen's commands. Sir Edmund Bacon was likewise with me at Bocton, when your letter so overjoyed him that he called in the very instant for some paper to send for the sprituous Frank Bacon from Redgrave. And *sene viene volando*, as fast as he can tuck him up for the soldier. Of whom I will write more by himself. For to discharge the thanks that are due for him is no sudden business. To return to Mr Griffith, no man living ever took a kinder impression than he hath done of his obligations towards you, and it is indeed a piece of his character to take the least kindness to heart. He knows all news. You have him now in your hands. And God be between you both.

Your poor friend *visceratissime*,

H. WOTTON

437 TO SIR EDMUND BACON

Letters to B, p 60, *Reliq*, 3rd ed, p 447. Wotton writes of his journey to Eton after parting with Bacon at Dartford, of Frank Bacon, &c

From the College this Wednesday night
<July 29^o>, 1629

SIR,

The very truth is your love hath prevented me, for I meant by Giovanni to give you some account of what hath passed since our divorcement. When I had slept half an hour after you were gone from Darford I found myself *fresco come una rosa* but I awaked in a strange dream that had seldom before befallen me in an inn, finding nothing to be paid, not so much as for mine own horses, whereby the reason was plain of the paleness of my water which you observed. For none of the tincture of my gold was gone into the reckoning of the drink, as you had handled the matter.

¹ Philip first Earl of Chesterfield (1584-1656), whose son married Catherine Wotton (*ante*, II, p 312)

² The election was fixed for Aug 3 (*ante*, II, p 320), the date of this letter is therefore July 26

³ Sir George Knevett, or Knyvett, knighted 1626 (*Metcalf*, p 187)

At the top of Shooter's Hill my footman stayed, as if he had been watching the beacon rather than for me, and told me there were good provisions made at Sir Adam Newton's¹ for you and me, with kind expectation of us both. But myself being desirous to reach Eton that night, as I did (for my horses, I see, travel best upon another man's purse), I blanched² the house, and sent thither by Giovanni a fair excuse. True it is, we are much of a humour *cento buoi* will hardly draw us in a journey to any strange place.

At that time likewise Will brought me a letter from Mr Griffith, which had been expressly sent to Gravesend the night before, whereby I saw Giovanni had taken a false alarm, for he was not to be gone till the Monday morning following, so as I have had time to ballast him with letters. And I have intimated beforehand to your Jack Dinely your purpose to pass over the spiritous Frank as soon as you can trick him. We are now towards the festival of our election, wherein annually I make a shift to lose four or five friends, and yet do myself no good, so as they are angry with me on the one side, and they laugh at me on the other.

I apprehend this year a great poverty of venison with us. For I came too late to exchange your warrant³, and my Lady Throgmorton's will not serve my turn.

Since my coming, Mr Turvil, a French practical man of good erudition, hath passed a day or two with me, from whom I hear a shiewd point, that the oath of peace (which should have been taken between the two neighbouring Kings upon the same day) is put off for a month. I believe the stop to be in France, to gain time to disturb our treaty with Spain.⁴

Mr Pim⁵ (a man whose ears are open) told me likewise yesterday a strange thing, that the Queen of Bohemia hath newly, being hunting, been chased away herself with some affrightment from Rhenen by certain troops of the enemy that hath passed the Isel,⁶ with whom it was feared the Count Henry Venden Berge would join, and ravage the Velow. Yet withal were come tidings that the Prince of Orange at the Buss had had pailey offered him. But my intelligences are cistern waters, you are nearer the fountain. And not

¹ At Charlton House, near Shooter's Hill, built by Sir Adam Newton (*ante*, II, p. 7), and still in existence.

² 'Blanch, to pass without notice. Obs. (N E D)

³ Warrant for venison from the King's parks and chases.

⁴ *Ante*, II, p. 313.

⁵ John Pym (?).

⁶ The King and Queen of Bohemia had a country house at Rhenen, not far from the Hague, where they spent a good deal of time. On July 14, 1629, the council of the Prince of Orange (who was then besieging Hertogenbosch) requested the Queen to move further from the seat of war, as the enemy had crossed the Yssel, and they feared a sudden attack on her person. The Queen went to Vianen on the road towards Rotterdam (*Everett Green*, v, p. 472).

only *dulcius ex ipso fonte bibuntur aquae*,¹ but *verius* too for both will stand in the verse

Before I end, let me beseech you to remember my humble and hearty devotion (in the very style of Seneca to his Lucilius, and I shall need to say no more) *Optimo Vivorum*² I envy you enjoyments and conversations, and most when they are privatest, for then they are freest I hope the noble Lady will return quickly again to her Hesperian Garden, to whom, I pray, likewise let my humble service be remembered And so I rest,

Excepto quod non simul esset caetera laetus,³

H WOTTON

438 TO SIR EDMUND BACON

Letters to B, p 58, *Reliq*, 3rd ed., p 446 Dated 'Tuesday 1629', probably Tuesday, Aug 15, from the reference to the two following letters about Frank Bacon

From the College, this Tuesday
(Aug 15th), 1629

SIR,

Although I intend to write again speedily, and at a little more ease unto you by James⁴, and then to send you and Sir Gervase Clifton the copy of a letter⁵ which Giovanni tells me you both desire, yet lest you should send over your Frank (who hath from you all his sails and freight⁶) without part of his ballast from me, I have hastened the enclosed letters unto your hand, with the copy of mine to the Queen of Bohemia the others are *ad hanc formam* I could wish that he would begin with Jack Dinely and slide first unseen to Leyden, who will bring him thence to the Queen, and acquaint him with all due respects

I have written to the Countess of Levestain⁷ to cherish him also, a great and assiduous lady with the Queen, and by title, my noble secretary This is all that I need say at the present Doctor Sharpe⁸ and I do threaten you the next Christmas In the meanwhile,

Your humble servant,

HENRY WOTTON

Optimo vivorum, and to his most worthy lady, S

¹ 'Gratius ex ipso fonte bibuntur aquae' (Ovid, *Ex Pont* iii 5 18)

² Sir Gervase Clifton

³ Horace, *Ep* i 10 50

⁴ James Vary

⁵ See below, p 323

⁶ 'Freight,' i e freight Obs (*N E D*)

⁷ Countess von Levenstein, Lady in Waiting to the Queen of Bohemia (*Cal S P Dom*, 1639-40, p 537)

⁸ Leonel Sharpe (*ante*, ii, p 38), Rector of Bocton Malherbe

439 TO THE QUEEN OF BOHEMIA

Letters to B, p 64, *Reliq*, 3rd ed, p 449 Printed from the copy sent to Bacon Wotton introduces Frank Bacon to the Queen

Aug 16, 1629

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

This bearer is that lad, by name Franck Bacon, for whom your Majesty's intercession with the Prince of Orange hath bound so many unto you here It is your goodness that hath done it, and therefore he is addressed by his friends (and by me who am the meanest of them) first through your gracious hands, and laid down at your royal feet

There is in him, I believe, metal enough to be cast into good form, and I hope it is of the noblest sort, which is ever the most malleable and pliant Only one thing I fear, that coming from a country life into the lustre of courts, he will be more troubled with it than with the hissing of bullets

Now when I consider (as I do at the present) that besides your Majesty's ancient favours towards me, and to them that have been and are so dear unto me, some gone, and some remaining, you have lately received the child of my very worthy friend, Mr Griffith, about the Prince your son, and honoured this other with your especial recommendation, in such a forcible and express manner as you were pleased to do it I say, when I consider all this, I cannot but fall into some passionate questions with mine own heart Shall I die without seeing again my royal mistress myself? Shall I not rather bring her my most humble thanks than let them thus drop out of a dull pen? Shall such a contemptible distance, as between Eton and the Hague, divide me from beholding how her virtues overshine the darkness of her fortune? I could spend much paper in this passion, but let it sleep for the present, and God bless your Majesty,

As I am yours,

H WOTTON

After this humble and just acknowledgement of my obligations unto your Majesty, it were a miserable thing for me to tell you that at our late election I have remembered your commandment¹ in the first place, I should indeed rather ask what your Majesty will have next done

¹ About Sir George Knevett's son (*ante*, ii, p 322)

440 TO JOHN DYNELY

Reliq., 3rd ed., p. 567 'To my most worthy dear Friend, Mr. John Dynely, Attendant on the young Prince at Leyden' The Eton election, Frank Bacon

From the College the 16 of August, 1629

MY SWEET JACK DYNELY,

We have newly concluded our anniversary business, which hath been the most distracted election that I verily believe had ever before been seen since this nurse first gave milk, through no less than four recommendatory and one mandatory letter from the King himself, besides intercessions and messengers from divers great personages, for boys both in and out, enough to make us think ourselves shortly Electors of the Empire, if it hold on. Among which confusions I did not forget (as I have written to your royal mistress) to put Sir G. Kevet's son in the head of our list.

After this which I have truly told you, you cannot well expect many lines from me, for as the seas require some time to settle, even when the winds are ceased, so need our brains after such an agitation. Yet somewhat I must say by this bearer. You have gotten a great interest in the whole family, and in all that touch upon it, by the pains which you have taken, and yet they reserve themselves not to be more beholden to you for the introduction than they hope to be for your direction of him there, though he comes, I can tell you, with severe advice from his uncle, that if ever he be an inch from the eye of the Prince (unless with the Queen), either in time of security or danger, *actum est* between them. We leave him now to your moulding, as if he were (as he is indeed) to be melt in a new furnace. There is spirit enough to work upon, though perchance overshadowed with some rural modesty. But that among camps and courts is now and then too soon divested. I shall be glad to hear how he appeareth *de prima vista*, as likewise of little Griffith, after whom I hearken with no less affection.

Dum versor in hac materia I could wish you at some times to quicken your Anthony here with a line or two, which in Persius phrase, *patrum sapient*¹ not truly that I perceive any slackness in him, but you know what our Italian horsemen say, *un caval del Regno vuol anche gli sproni*.

We are divided by sundry reports from you, between hopes and fears, both great, your next will ease us, which will find me in Kent, whither I am turning my head again for a while, that I may be present at my niece Stanhop's good time.

My niece Hester² is absolutely reclaimed from those foolish

¹ 'Quum sapimus patruos' (*Persius*, 1. 11.)

² Hester, daughter of Sir Henry Wotton's nephew, Thomas second Lord

impressions which she had taken, God's name be ever blessed for it, and it is none of the least ends of my going to rivet that business I hope at the next term to do some wonders for myself, so I call them, and so they must be if I do them for among courtiers I am a wonder, as owls are among gay birds Now farewell for the present, let us still love one another, and our dear God love us both

Your truest poor friend,

H W

I had made it a resolution to myself never to write to the Queen without somewhat likewise to the King, but understanding that they are now separated, I have this time forborne to trouble him in so noble an action¹

441 To SIR GERVASE CLIFTON

Lansd MS 238, f 157, transcript 'To my much and ever honoured friend,
Sir Ger Clifton, Knt and Baronet' The Eton election, &c

From the College, 17 of August, 1629

NOBLE SIR,

I may easily borrow too much of your time, but I can do no violence to my own nature in writing to you, because I honour you *in visceribus* I came some while since out of Kent, where I divided between Canterbury and Bocton almost six weeks, which methought was a courteous portion of time from my contemplations And yet thither I am turning my head again in this vacation Your name was there often remembered, and I have part in that music Since my return hither, we have passed the most distracted election that I verily believe had ever been seen since this nurse first gave milk, through no less than four recommendatory and one mandatory letter from the King himself, besides messengers and intercessions from divers great personages, enough to think ourselves great After this you can expect no long letter from me, for as the seas require some time to settle, even when the winds are ceased, so perchance need our brains after such an agitation Yet it ended well, truly I think in the best choice of scholars that hath been made of a long time We have nominated boys of singular hopes for Cambridge If they prove otherwise there, we must ask an old question,

Amphora coepit

*Institut, currente rota, cur uceus exit?*²

Wotton Hester Wotton was baptized Jan 11, 1616 (Transcripts from Registers of Bocton Malherbe, N & Q, 7th ser, x, p 310) She afterwards married the third Viscount Campden, and died in 1649

¹ The King of Bohemia was serving as a volunteer in the army of the Prince of Orange at the siege of Hertogenbosch (Everett Green, v, p 472)

² Horace, *Ars Poet* 22

My noble nephew¹ lets me know the joy of your meetings, I hear it with an envious ear, and wish myself in your company for two ends, first for the benefits and pleasure of your conversations, and next that I might so long forget myself. My servant Giovanin tells me you desire the copy of a certain letter written from a kinswoman of mine to her husband, which I owe you for a better. And yet truly this is such an one as I have often much admired, though I must withal say (without disquieting her ghost) more than I have approved. It is howsoever sent you for your entertainment, and to mollify the trouble of this which comes with it. And so I remain

Your poor faithful servant,

HENRY WOTTON

Sir, I have been cast behind (not knowing till of late where you were) in the office of congratulation with yourself and your son in your new complements². Let me do it in the delicatest piece of all antiquity,

*No(n) mura vestra¹ columbae,
Brachia non hederar, non incunt oscula conchae*

442 TO THE VISCOUNT DORCHESTER

S P Dom Charles I, cxlviii, No 84, holograph. Dated 'Wednesday night, 1629', probably Aug 19. The Eton election

From the College this Wednesday night
(Aug 19th), 1629

RIGHT HONOURABLE AND MY VERY GOOD LORD,

I must beg a favour of your Lordship, that you will be pleased when the Court shall be here *tuen absentiam meam*—that was the ancient phrase. I am summoned into Kent to be there at my niece Stanhope's good time.

We have passed over the most troublesome election I believe hath ever been since this nurse first gave milk, overcharged indeed with

¹ Sir Edmund Bacon

² A copy of this letter is preserved among Sir Gervase Clifton's papers in the British Museum, where it is inscribed, 'A copy of a letter from a wife voluntarily resolved to leave her husband upon a sudden envy yet were (they) afterwards so well reconciled that she died of childbirth by him' (*Lansd MS*, 238, f 153)

³ 'Complements,' i.e. compliments, in the obsolete sense of ceremonies, formalities, here marriages. Sir Gervase Clifton's second wife, Frances, sister of Lord Clifford, died in Nov 1627. His third wife was Mary, daughter of John Egiock, and widow of Sir Francis Leek. She died in 1631. It was no doubt on this marriage that Wotton congratulates him in the above. His eldest son Gervase married Sarah, daughter of Timothy Pusey, of Selston, Notts.

⁴ *vestrae* in transcript

⁵ From the *Allocutio ad Sponsores* of the Emperor Gallienus (died A.D. 268) (*Baehrens, Poetae Latini Minores*, iv, p. 103)

our dutiful desire to satisfy all the King's letters, which were no less than four recommendatory and one mandatory, besides messengers and intercessions from divers great personages, for boys both in and out, enough indeed to make us almost think ourselves great. Of this I must sadly discourse with your Lordship for the good of the College (which I know you tender) when the Court shall be fixed, for it is *opus quietis*. In the meanwhile we have contented all his Majesty's desires, one way or other, the most actually, the rest by promise, and one thing we can say (which is strange in such distraction), that I think there was never made a better choice. We have nominated to Cambridge boys of singular hope. If they prove not afterwards *secondo la perfezione del saggio*, we must ask the old question—

Amphora coepit

*Institut, currente rota, cur urceus exit?*²

Your Lordship after this cannot look for any long letter from me, for as the seas require some time to settle, even when the winds are ceased,¹ so perchance need our brains after such an agitation. You have now with you this bearer, a compendium of colleges and libraries,² and therefore I shall need to say no more. God bless your Lordship, and in that me, for I have an affiance in your love

Your Lordship's, with a very true heart,

HENRY WOTTON

443 TO LADY —

Reliq., 1st ed., p. 444, 3rd ed., p. 350. No date or address. Written before April, 1630 (see note 1, p. 330). Negotiations about the marriage of one of Wotton's nieces

{1629?}

MY MOST HONOURED LADY,

Your young kinsman shall be welcome hither at your pleasure, and there shall want no respects on my part to make the place both fruitful and cheerful unto him.

Touching the other part of your last, wherein I am so much obliged by your confidence, which in truth is the greatest of obligations, let me assure your Ladyship, by all the protestations of

¹ The chance that has preserved these three letters, written at about the same time, in three different collections (the *Reliquiae*, the British Museum, and the Record Office) has exposed Wotton's habit (which he shares with most good letter writers) of using the same happy phrase to more than one correspondent. The phrase itself was Sarpi's 'con tutto cio un' acqua turbata dalli venti, cessati quelli, ancora si muove' (*Lettere*, 1, p. 36).

² Probably John Hales, whom Wotton called 'Bibliotheca ambulans' (below, p. 395). Hales had been chaplain to Lord Dorchester (then Sir Dudley Carleton) at the Synod of Dort 1618-19. His letters to Carleton are printed in his *Golden Remains*, II, pp. 1-97.

a Christian man, that I never heard before the least whispering of that whereof you write concerning my niece neither, in good faith, did I know so much as that there was a Lord T Your Ladyship sees in what darkness, or with what incuriosity, I live

I shall, ere it be long, be myself in Kent among my friends, but I will write more speedily, according to your command

In the meanwhile (if I may be pardoned so much boldness) I could wish your Ladyship would take some hold of one well known in Court on both sides, namely master Nicolas Pey he is a right honest and discreet man in himself, and of great trust with my Lady T the grandmother¹, under whom my niece was bred, and likewise with her father and mother, and I am not tender that your Ladyship should tell him you have understood so much from me, if it please you to send for him And so I most humbly rest,

Your Ladyship's with all devotion to serve you,

H WOTTON

444 TO SIR EDMUND BACON

Letters to B, p 66, *Reliq*, 3rd ed, p 451 The election of scholars at Eton, the landing of Gustavus Adolphus in Germany

From your College this 27 July, 1630

MY NOBLE NEPHEW,

I am sorry that your cast of Bucknames² cannot be served at this election, for to choose one of them (and that must have been in a low place) had been uncomfortable, they will fly best at ease together Yet I have thought of a way the next year, in all event not to fail, which is, to divide them between Westminster and Eton Their election precedeth ours some three weeks, and truly upon my late observation there I must needs say that school mouldeth good scholars, and of certainer preferment to either of the universities (for some go to Oxford, and some to Cambridge) than this, out of which the issue is always hard, and the entrance not always easy Glad I am to hear by your letter that you have gotten so good a schoolmaster, that they may be well mued³ in the meanwhile Betwixt this and the next turn I shall lay you down an infallible course for them And this must content their good father at the present

¹ Lady Throckmorton, wife of Sir Arthur Throckmorton, and mother of Mary, wife of Thomas Lord Wotton Lord Wotton died April 2, 1630

² This probably refers to the election to scholarships at Eton of the sons of Captain Bokenham, a friend of Sir Edmund Bacon's, to whom in his will he left ten pounds and a damask sword (*Wills and Inventories from the Registers of Bury St Edmunds, &c*, Camden Soc, 1850, p 217) 'Cast' is the term in hawking for a couple (*N E D*)

³ 'Mued,' i e mewed, moulted

If your Mason's brother¹ (who was here on Sunday) had stayed till the next morning, there was some practicable hope to have sped the boy this year to Cambridge, but some unfortunate haste, and despatch of so many places as fell open, carried him away

If you had not intimated your own coming to London, you might perchance have been troubled with me in the country. But I will now languish for the hour you promise this place of seeing you here, where your venison (which we enjoy by exchange from Master Vice Chamberlain)² hath given us all occasion to remember you thankfully as a benefactor to this board. I will entertain you with no home novelties, but let me tell you a flesh piece of no small noise from abroad. The King of Sweden³ hath landed with 200 ships a great army of some 40,000 in Germany, with intention (if the party of our Religion be not all drowsy) to redress the common cause, or at least, to reintegrate his near kinsman in Mecklenburg,⁴ confiscated, you know, by the Emperor. And the opportunity is fair, while the Austrian power is diverted for the help of Spain into Italy.⁵ God bless it, and cherish it as His own business, and in His dear love I leave you, ever remaining,

Your faithful servant,

HENRY WOTTON,

as intricate as a flea in a bottom of flax

So, I will write to you at large after our election, when my brains are settled

445 TO CHARLES I

S P Dom Charles I, cclxxxi, No 105. Dated there [1630]. A letter sent with the first part of Wotton's *Philosophical Survey of Education, or Moral Architecture* (*ante*, i, p 207)

(1630)

*Mallem Augusti iudicium quam Antonii beneficium*⁶

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

It was an ancient rule of state (as your Majesty I am sure hath read) that every particular man should yield *otii sui rationem*,⁷ which

¹ Perhaps Charles Mason, who was elected to King's College in 1632 (*Harwood*, p 232)

² Viscount Dorchester

³ Gustavus Adolphus landed on the coast of Pomerania June 24, 1630

⁴ The Duchy of Mecklenburg was given to Wallenstein by the Emperor in 1629 (*Gardiner*, 30 *Yrs*, p 116)

⁵ In the war of the Mantuan succession (*Ibid*, 121)

⁶ Seneca, *de Benefic* i 15 5 (*Ante*, ii, p 254)

⁷ 'Etenim M. Catonis illud, quod in principio scripsit *Originum suarum*, semper magnificum et praeclarum putavi, "clarorum virorum atque magnorum non minus otii quam negotii rationem exstare oportere"' (*Cic Pro Cn Plancio*, 27 66)

pointed at a great natural principle, that the vacantest thoughts are everywhere the woist This hath moved me to present unto your Majesty a little foretaste of a work, long intended, and much pressed by my friends, who overween¹ my weakness, which, if it may receive from your royal judgement the least encouragement, will be so far from fearing vulgar censures, that your Majesty may easily make it bold enough to be dedicated to yourself, as the subject thereof will well bear, for your Majesty is the common parent in your regal capacity And you are in your natural (I speak it from my soul and conscience) one of the virtuoussest examples in the highest place that ourselves or any other nation hath ever had So as that there cannot but stream from your sovereign person many sweet beams of goodness into the public nurture, which is the theme that I handle And truly (if mine own conceit doth not hang in my light) I hope to do my country as much service therein as in whatsoever else my poor pen and declining years could be employed After this (if God produce² my time) I will wholly apply myself to the story of our Church and State, from the beginning of Henry VIII (which my Lord of St Albons left imperfect) and so forward And thus your Majesty hath an account both of what I am doing and what I mean to do The Lord cover your Majesty with His continual love, according to the continual prayers of

Your poorest servant,

HENRY WOTTON

446 TO CHARLES I

Reliq, 1st ed, p 311, 3rd ed, p 75 'Epistle Dedicatory' to the *Survey of Education* No date

<1630?>

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

I need no other motive to dedicate this discourse, which followeth, unto your Majesty than the very subject itself, so properly pertaining to your sovereign goodness for thereby you are *pater patriae*. And it is none of the least attributes wherewith God hath blessed both your royal person and your people, that you are so. On the other side, for mine own undertaking thereof, I had need say more I am old and childless, and though I were a father of many, I could leave them nothing, either in fortune or in example But having long since put forth a slight pamphlet about the *Elements of Architecture*, which yet hath been entertained with some pardon among my friends, I was encouraged, even at this age, to assay how I could build a man for there is a moral, as well as a natural or artificial compile

¹ 'Overween,' i e to think too highly of Obs (*N E D*)

² 'Produce,' i e prolong

ment, and of better materials which truly I have cemented together rather in the plain Tuscan (as our Vitruvius termeth it) than in the Corinthian form. Howsoever, if your Majesty be graciously pleased to approve any part of it, who are so excellent a judge in all kind of structure, I shall much glory in mine own endeavour. If otherwise, I will be one of the first myself that shall pull it in pieces, and condemn it to rubbage¹ and ruin. And so, wishing your Majesty (as to the best of Kings) a longer life than any of the soundest works of nature or art, I ever rest

Your Majesty's most devoted poor subject and servant,

H. WOTTON

447 TO SIR GERVASE CLIFTON

Clifton Hall MS Undated (for date, see note 2) A new play
(1631?)

SIR,

I should have seen some pictures and other rarities in the house of Robinson², one of the King's players, as to morrow, who an hour since sent me word that he cannot be at home to receive me, by reason of a new play which they are to repeat to morrow in the afternoon, and which they are publicly to act on Wednesday—the rarest thing, as he conceiveth, that hath ever been seen on a stage, called *The Italian Night Masque*³. Now, if any other occasion shall put off your departure so long (for I have too much logic to reckon this *inter causas per se*), I will countenance myself that day with your company, and be ever glad of the least motive to pick a quarrel for a new meeting

Your vowed servant,

HENRY WOTTON

448 TO LORD WESTON(?)

Reliq., 1st ed., p. 451, 3rd ed., p. 355. Unsigned, no date or address. This and the following letter occur in the *Reliquiae* immediately before a letter dated 1633, and for want of other indications I place them here. Wotton writes to some important personage (probably Lord Weston, see note) about a scholarship election

(July, 1632)

MOST DEAR LORD,

While I had your Lordship (as I am always bound) in my meditation, and somewhat under my pen (wherewith I hope in due

¹ 'Rubbage,' i. e. rubbish. Obs. (N. E. D.)

² Richard Robinson, one of the King's players 1611-42, died 1648. (F. G. Fleay, *Chronicle History of the London Stage*, 1890, p. 375.)

³ Probably *The Unfortunate Pety*, licensed June 13, 1631, and entered in the Stationers' Register, Sept. 9, 1633, with the additional title of *The Italian Night Piece*. Fleay identifies this play with Fletcher and Massinger's *Double Marriage* (F. G. Fleay, *Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama*, 1891, i, pp. 210, 215.)

time to express how much I honour your noble virtues¹, I am (as if I had not been overladen before) surprised with a new favour (for that is the true title of your commands) touching a fine boy of this College, whom I perceive by your letters of the thirtieth of the last month to pertain to your care *Quid multa?* It shall be done only in one thing I must crave pardon to pass a little gentle expostulation with your Lordship You are pleased in your letter to except my inconveniences, as if in the nobleness of your nature (notwithstanding your desire) you would yet allow me here a liberty of mine own judgement or affection No, my good Lord, that privilege comes too late even for yourself to give me, when I once understand your mind For let me assure your Lordship that I have such a conscience and real feeling of my deep obligations towards your noble person, as no value nor respect under heaven can purchase my voice from him on whom you have bestowed it It is true that the King himself, and no longer than three or four days before the date of your letters (so nimble are the times), did write for another But we shall satisfy his Majesty with a pie election², and yours shall have my first nomination, which, howsoever, will fall timely enough for him within the year For there belongs (after they are chosen) a little soaking, as well as a baking before, into our boys And so not to insist any longer upon such a poor obedience, I humbly lay myself, and whatsoever is or shall be within my power, at your Lordship's feet, remaining

Your Lordship's in the truest and heartiest devotions

449 TO THE LORD TREASURER WESTON

Reliq, 1st ed, p 388, 3rd, p 333 Undated, written after July 23, 1628, when Weston was made Lord Treasurer, and before Feb 17, 1632-3, when he became Earl of Portland, probably in January of 1633 (See note 1, p 336) Wotton sends Lord Weston a flattering portrait of his character, and hints at his own claims on the Treasury

(Jan, 1633)

MY MOST HONOURED GOOD LORD,

I most humbly present (though by some infirmities a little too late) a strange New Year's gift unto your Lordship, which I will presume to term the cheapest of all that you have received, and yet of the richest materials In short, it is only an image of yourself, drawn by memory from such discourse as I have taken up here and there of your Lordship, among the most intelligent and unmalignant men,

¹ This may refer to Wotton's eulogy of Lord Weston (see next letter)

² 'Pie election,' i.e. boys nominated *extra numerum* by the request of the King (R. A. Austen Leigh, *A List of Eton Collegers, 1661-1790*, p. xi)

which to pourtrait¹ before you I thought no servile office, but in genuous and real And I could wish that it had come at the day, that so your Lordship might have begun the new year somewhat like Plato's definition of Felicity, with the contemplation of your own idea

They say that in your foreign employments under King James your Lordship won the opinion of a very able and searching judgement, having been the first discoverer of the intentions against the Palatinate, which were then in brewing, and masked with much art And that Sir Edward Conway got the start of you both in title and employment at home because the late Duke of Buckingham wanted then for his own ends a martial secretary They say² that under our present Sovereign you were chosen to the highest charge at the lowest of the State, when some instrument was requisite of indubitable integrity and provident moderation, which attributes I have heard none deny you They discourse thus of your actions since, that though great exhaustions cannot be cured with sudden remedies, no more in a kingdom than in a natural body, yet your Lordship hath well allayed those blustering clamours wherewith, at your beginnings, your house was in a manner daily besieged They note that there have been many changes, but that none hath brought to the place a judgement so cultivated and illuminated with various erudition as your Lordship, since the Lord Burghley under Queen Elizabeth, whom they make your parallel in the ornament of knowledge

They observe in your Lordship divers remarkable combinations of virtues and abilities, rarely sociable In the character of your aspect, a mixture of authority and modesty In the faculties of your mind, quick apprehension and solidity together In the style of your port and train, as much dignity, and as great dependency as was ever in any of your place, and with little noise or outward fume That your table is very abundant, free and noble, without luxury That you are by nature no flatterer, and yet of greatest power in the Court That you love magnificence and frugality both together That you entertain your guests and visitors with noble courtesy, but void of compliment Lastly, that you maintain a due regard to your person and place, and yet are an enemy to frothy formalities

Now, in the discharge of your function, they speak of two things that have done you much honour, namely, that you have had always a special care to the supply of the navy, and likewise a more worthy

¹ 'To pourtrait,' i. e. to portray Obs. (*Century Dict*)

² This repeated use of 'they say' may have been borrowed by Wotton from Shakespeare (*Henry VI*, Part II, act iii, scene ii) —

They say, by him the good Duke Humphrey died,
They say, in him they fear your Highness' death,

They say, in care of your most royal person, &c

and tender respect towards the King's only sister, for her continual support from hence, than she hath found before. They observe your greatness as firmly established as ever was any in the love and (which is more) in the estimation of a King, who hath so signalized his own constancy, besides your addition of strength (or at least of lustre) by the noblest alliances of the land¹

Among these notes it is no wonder if some observe that between a good willingness in your affections to satisfy all and an impossibility in the matter, and yet an importunity in the persons, there doth now and then, I know not how, arise a little impatience, which must needs fall upon your Lordship, unless you had been cut out of a rock of diamonds, especially having been before so conversant with liberal studies and with the freedom of your own mind²

Now after this short collection touching your most honoured person, I beseech you give me leave to add likewise a little what men say of the writer. They say I want not your gracious good will towards me according to the degree of my poor talent and travails, but that I am wanting to myself. And in good faith, my Lord, in saying so, they say truly, for I am condemned, I know not how, by nature to a kind of unfortunate bashfulness in mine own business, and it is now too late to put me in a new furnace. Therefore it must be your Lordship's proper work, and not only your noble, but even your charitable goodness, that must in some blessed hour remember me. God give your Lordship many healthful and joyful years, and the blessing of that text, *Beatus qui attendit ad attenuatum*³. And so I remain with an humble and willing heart, &c

450 TO SIR EDMUND BACON

Letters to B, p. 69, *Reliq.*, 3rd ed., p. 452. Wotton thanks Bacon for some bounty, probably a loan of money.

Feb 13, 1632 (8)

NOBLE SIR, AND MY MOST DEAR NEPHEW,

We were for three weeks together so besieged at your Eton, first with an overflow of water from the west, and then with a deep snow out of the east (contrary quarters conspiring against us), that our ordinary boats, which usually go and return twice a week, could not pass under the bridges, whereby such a letter from you as never man received lay silent at my chamber in St Martin's Lane, till

¹ Weston's eldest son Jerome married June 25, 1632, Frances, daughter of the third Duke of Lennox. His daughter Elizabeth married the second Viscount Netterville, Mary the second Lord Aston of Forfar, and Anne the second Earl of Denbigh. (*D N B*)

² For Wotton's real opinion of Lord Weston, who 'made a scorn of his poverty and a sport of his modesty', see below, p. 375.

Ps xli, 1

mine own coming to London, to the utter condemnation of my unthankfulness in the meantime, which truly I should fear, but that it is the natural property of the same heart, to be a gentle interpreter, which is so noble an obliger

Now, Sir, after I had received and read your letter, I took some days to deliberate what I should do, and to let my judgement settle again, which was distracted with so kind a surprisal Should I use a feathered quill to write unto you, or fly myself to Redgrave? For you had given me wings At last I resolved upon both First, to make this true protestation by writing from my very bowels, where it is engraven, that though your bounty (considered in all the circumstances, as well the form as the matter, and the very opportunity of the time wherein it came, and especially without any imaginable pretence of desert in myself) hath been such as never befell me before, nor can ever befall me again yet have you therewith not enriched, but stripped and despised me for ever, nothing that was before, either in my power or possession, being after this mine own, for it is all yours, if it were both the Indies So as your kindness, howsoever flowing from a tender affection, yet is with me like hard wax dropped and sealed together

The next after this shall be to follow it myself but therein (after the Spanish phrase) I will take language at the Rolls¹, where I shall understand more punctually about what time you purpose to be here For I aim at the convoying of you up to your Eton, about which I will write more by the next carrier, and prepare yourself, Sir, with patience while we live, to be troubled weekly with my letters, wheresoever I am, even when I shall have no more to say than this, which is the least that can be spoken, that I am,

Yours,

HENRY WOTTON

451 TO SIR EDMUND BACON

Letters to B, p 72, *Reliq*, 3rd ed, p 454 (The holograph MS of the latter part of this letter is in *Add MS 34727*, f 59) Medical experiments, news of London

From St Martins by the Fields,
this 18 of April, 1633

TO MY NOBLE NEPHEW LONG AND CHEERFUL YEARS

SIR,

By beginning first with philosophy I will discover the method of my nature, preferring it before the speculations of State

¹ The house of Sir Julius Caesar, Master of the Rolls A letter of Sir Edmund Bacon's to his sister-in-law, Jane, Lady Bacon (Lady Cornwallis) is dated 'Rowlis May 14, 1628' (*Letters of Jane, Lady Cornwallis*, p 191)

Take any vegetable whatsoever (none excepted in the effect, though some difference in the degree), express the juice, put that in any vessel of wood or stone with a narrow neck and mouth, not closed at the top, but covered with anything, so as it may work out above, set it afterwards in some cold hole in a cellar, let it stand there some three weeks or a month, till by fermentation it have both purged itself upwards and by sediment downwards. Then decant from it the clear juice and put that in a limbeck *in Balneo Maris*, or in *Balneo Roris*. The first that riseth will be *aqua ardens*, useful perchance according to the quality of the plant, as of worm-wood for the stomach, of succory, or any of those *incubae*, for the liver and on the sides of the limbeck will hang a salt, this is the extracting of salt without calcination, which otherwise certainly must needs consume all the active powers of any vegetable and leave nothing but a plastick and passive virtue.

For the point of preserving that salt afterwards from resolution by air into water, I hold it impossible, notwithstanding the proper examples that you allege, which yet must of necessity yield to it. For as your excellent uncle says, and says well, in not the least of his works (though born after him) of his experiments, 'all is predatory'¹

I have forgotten (for *memoria primo senescit*) whether I told you in my last a pretty late experiment in arthritical pains, it is cheap enough. Take a roasted turnip (for if you boil it it will open the pores and draw too much), apply that in a poultice to the part affected, with change once in an hour or two as you find it dried by the heat of the flesh, and it will in little time allay the pain.

Thus much in our private way, wherein I dare swear, if our medicines were as strong as our wishes, they would work extremely.

Now, for the public, where peradventure now and then there are distempers, as well as in natural bodies.

The Earl of Holland² was on Saturday last (the day after your post's departure) very solemnly restored at council table (the King present) from a kind of eclipse, wherein he had stood since the Thursday fortnight before. All considered, the obscuration was long, and bled both various and doubtful discourse, but it ended well. All the cause yet known was a verbal challenge sent from him by Mr Henry German³ in this form to the now Lord Weston⁴, newly

¹ Francis Bacon. Mr C C J Webb has kindly supplied me with the following note: 'aer enim communis tanquam ius indigens est, atque omnia avidè arripit, spiritus, odores, radios, sonos et alia' (*Historia Vitae et Mortis*, canon vii, *Ellis Spedding*, II, p 217), 'depraedatus' is used in the immediate context (p 216) in similar sense, not of air but of 'spiritus' cf *infra*, canon ix (p 217).

² Henry Rich Earl of Holland (*ante*, I, p 218), a rival and enemy of the Lord Treasurer Weston, now Earl of Portland.

³ Henry Jermyn first Earl of St Albans, d 1684 (*D N B*).

⁴ Jerome Lord Weston (1605-68), succeeded his father as second Earl of

returned from his foreign employments, that since he had already given the King an account of his embassy he did now expect from him an account of a letter of his, which he had opened in Paris, and he did expect it at such a time, even in the Spring Garden (close under his father's window), with his sword by his side

It is said (I go no farther in such tender points) that my Lord Weston sent him by Mr Henry Percy¹ (between whom and the said Lord Weston had in the late journey (as it seems) been contracted such friendship as overcame the memory that he was cousin german to my Lord of Holland) a very fair and discreet answer that if he could challenge him for any injury done him before or after his embassy he would meet him as a gentleman, with his sword by his side, where he should appoint But for anything that had been done in the time of his embassy he had already given the King an account thereof, and thought himself not accountable to any other This published on Thursday was fortnight, the Earl of Holland was confined to his chamber in Court, and the next day morning to his house at Kensington, where he remained without any further circumstance of restraint or displeasure Saturday and Sunday On which days being much visited, it was thought fit on Monday to appoint Mr Dickenson, one of the Clerks of the Council, to be his guardian thus far, that none without his presence should accost him This made the vulgar judgements run high, or rather indeed run low, that he was a lost and discarded man, judging as of patients in fevers by the exasperation of the fits But the Queen, who was a little obliquely interested in this business, for in my Lord of Holland's letter which was opened she had one that was not opened, nor so much (as they say) as superscribed, and both the Queen's and my Lord of Holland's were enclosed in one from Mr Walter Mountague² (whereof I shall tell you more hereafter)—the Queen, I say, stood

Portland 1635 (*D N B*) In July, 1632, he was sent to France and Italy for the purpose of paving the way to a better understanding between Charles I and Louis XIII On his return through France he intercepted and opened a letter of Holland's addressed to a French minister With it was a letter from the Queen, which he did not read The letters proved to be harmless, but showed that the Queen's faction, who were enemies of Portland, were in correspondence with the enemies of Richelieu in France Charles I supported Weston, and commanded him to refuse any challenge which might be sent him Holland challenged Weston, and Charles ordered him, with Henry Jermyn (who carried the challenge), to be placed in confinement The Queen's followers and the enemies of Portland crowded to the house where Holland was confined, in order to show their dislike of the Lord Treasurer This was stopped by Charles, and Holland was summoned before the Star Chamber It was thought that he would be deprived of his offices, but owing to the entreaties of the Queen he escaped with a reprimand from the Lord Keeper (*Gardiner*, vii, pp 217, 218)

¹ Henry Percy, son of the ninth Earl of Northumberland, created Baron Percy of Alnwick 1643 (*D N B*)

² Walter Montague (1603?–1677), son of first Earl of Manchester (*D N B*)

nobly by him, and as it seems pressed her own affront. It is too intricately involved for me so much as to guess at any particulars. I hear generally discoursed that the opened dispatch was only in favour (if it might be obtained) of Monsieur de Chateau Neuf¹ and the Chevalier de Jars (who had both been here), but written with caution (and surely not without the King's knowledge), to be delivered if there were hope of any good effect, and perchance not without order from his Majesty to my Lord Weston afterwards to stop the said letters, upon advertisement that both Chateau Neuf and de Jars were already in the Bastille. But this I leave at large, as not knowing the depth of the business.

Upon Monday was sevennight fell out another quarrel, nobly carried (branching from the former) between my Lord Fielding² and Mr Goring³, son and heir to the lord of that name. They had been the night before at supper, I know not where, together, where Mr Goring spake something in diminution of my Lord Weston, which my Lord Fielding told him it could not become him to suffer, lying by the side of his sister. Thereupon these hot hearts appoint a meeting next day morning, themselves alone, each upon his horse. They pass by Hyde Park, as a place where they might be parted too soon, and turn into a lane by Knightsbridge, where, having tied up their horses at a hedge or gate, they got over into a close, there stripped into their shirts, with single rapiers, they fell to an eager duel, till they were severed by the host and his servants of the Inn of the Prince of Orange, who by mere chance had taken some notice of them. In this noble encounter, wherein blood was spent, though (by God's providence) not much on either side, there passed between them a very memorable interchange of a piece of courtesy, if that word may have room in this place. Says my Lord Fielding, 'Mr Goring⁴, if you leave me here, let me advise you not to go back by Piccadilly Hall⁵, lest if mischance befall me, and be suddenly

¹ The Marquis de Chateauneuf came to England as French ambassador in 1629, and the Chevalier de Jars apparently came with him. Chateauneuf gained the favour of the Queen, and when on his return to France he and De Jars were discovered to have joined in the intrigues against Richelieu, and were imprisoned, the Queen is supposed to have written (in the letter intercepted by Weston) to intercede in their favour (*Gardiner*, vii, pp 104, 217). De Jars remained in prison until 1638, when Richelieu released him in order to oblige the Queen (*Ibid*, viii, p 378).

² Basil Lord Feilding (died 1674), son of the first Earl of Denbigh. His first wife was daughter of the Earl of Portland (*D N B*).

³ George Goring (1608-57), afterwards the Royalist general who commanded the left wing at Marston Moor (*Ibid*).

⁴ Here the holograph in *Add MS* begins.

⁵ Piccadilly Hall, or House, built about this time on the present site of Panton St out of Haymarket (*Knight's London*, i, pp 300, 301). Clarendon describes it as 'a fair house for entertainment, and gaming, and handsome gravel walks with shade, and where were an upper and lower bowling-green,

noised (as it falleth out in these occasions now between us), you might receive some harm by some of my friends that lodge thereabouts'

'My Lord' (replies Goring), 'I have no way but one to answer this courtesy I have here by chance in my pocket a warrant to pass the ports out of England, without a name' (gotten, I suppose, upon some other occasion before), 'if you leave me here, take it for your use, and put in your own name' This is a passage much commended between them, as proceeding both from sweetness and stoutness of spirit, which are very compatible On the solemn day of Saturday last, both this difference and the original, between the Earl of Holland and the Lord Weston, were fairly reconciled and forgiven by the King, with shaking of hands and such symbols of agreement, and likewise Sir Maurice Drummond¹, who had before upon an uncivil rupture on this part, between him and my Lord of Carlisle², been committed to the Tower, was then delivered at the same time, and so it all ended, as a merry fellow said, in a Maurice But whether these be perfect cures, or but skinnings over and palliations of Court will appear hereafter nay, some say very quickly, for my Lord Weston's lady being since brought to bed of a daughter, men stand in a kind of suspense, whether the Queen will be the godmother after so crude a reconciliation, which by the King's inestimable goodness I think may pass in this forgiving week

For foreign matter, there is so little and so doubtful as it were a misery to trouble you with it The States' confuted treaty³ is put to the stock, and the Prince of Orange (by account) gone to the field two days since, having broken the business (as they say) by three demands the resignation of Breda and Guelder, the dismantling of Rheyneberg, and the equality of free exercise of religion on either side The States are strong in aims, weak in money, owing above six hundred thousand pounds stealing in bare interest besides the capital The enemy hath neither money, nor men, nor agreement *Arena sine calce*⁴, yet I hear (and *ex bonis codicibus*) that the States are absolutely resolved to besiege no town this year, unless it be some such place as may haply fall gently into their lap They will range with divided troops

whither very many of the nobility and gentry of the best quality resorted, both for exercise and conversation' (*History*, ed Macray, 1888, i, p 318)

¹ Sir Maurice Drummond, knighted 1625 (*Metcalfe*, p 185)

² James Hay first Earl of Carlisle (died 1636) (*D N B*)

³ After the victory of Gustavus Adolphus at Leipzig, and the capture of Maastricht by the Prince of Orange in 1632, the Archduchess Isabella began to treat for peace, but these negotiations came to nothing (C M Davies, *History of Holland*, 1841-4, ii, p 590)

⁴ '*Arena sine calce*,' said by Caligula of the works of Seneca (Suetonius, *Calig* 53)

I will have a care in my letters to the King's only sister¹ (for that is now her published style, even in sermons) so to commend your Franke² unto her (whom she was wont to call, when he went first over, her little pig) that he may speedily have a captain's place

God bless him, and bless your whole name, to which I am so much tied both by the alliance of the sweetest niece that ever man had, and by your own kindness since her departure to heaven And so I rest,

Your indissoluble servant,

HENRY WOTTON

Your Hester³ is re entered into the green sickness, *faute de je scay quoy*

I pray burn this hasty letter when you have read it

SIR,

If you have (as I remember once you told me) the will of Sir William Pickering⁴, I pray favour me with a copy of it for a certain purpose, out of which if I pick any good you shall be partaker of it

I have been for the most part sick since I wrote last unto you, but am now cheerful again

452 TO SIR EDMUND BACON

Letters to B, p 88, *Reliq*, 3rd ed, p 460 Another duel, the King's journey to Scotland, foreign news

From my Lodging in St Martins lane
by the Fields, April 25, 1638

TO MY NOBLE NEPHEW MANY CHEERFUL YEARS.

SIR,

It is worth the noting how commonly the casual firings of houses in towns do follow one another, and so (methinks) do the inflammations of spirits in courts For after the solemn quenching of our late quarrels there is fallen out a new, and shrewdly pursued, between Mr Harbert Price, a sewer to the Queen, and Mr Eliot, page to the King

The beginning, they say, was upon very slight occasion, but because a young lady is an ingredient in the story I will pass it over To field they went two days since upon hot and hasty

¹ The Queen of Bohemia, who was now a widow, her husband, Frederick V, died at Bicharach, Nov 19, 1632

² Frank Bacon, *ante*, ii, p 311

³ Hester Wotton, *ante*, ii, p 326

⁴ Edward Lord Wotton's first wife was Hester, daughter of Sir William Pickering

blood (which somewhat saves it from a deliberate duel), both shooting the bridge in several boats, yet the matter being before suspected, my Lord Chamberlain sent one Mr Haies (a Scottish man, and a good surgeon, though of late an ordinary courtier on the Queen's side) in quest of them, who found them both on the Surry side, a mile or two below bridge, closed, and (I hear) on the ground, but Mr Price already hurt in three places, in one of his sides, in his face, and in three of his fingers the other is come off untouched This Price hath been formerly bred a soldier, and sometimes (they say) a lieutenant in the Low Provinces Mr Eliot scarce yet a man in years, but for height and strength at his full prime, and in both above the common scantling The King is herewith highly offended, succeeding so freshly upon the late reconcilements and it is doubted they will at least lose their places

The journey to Scotland¹ continueth hotly, and his Majesty removeth house to Theobalds, that way, on Saturday come fortnight But first must be censured the Bishop of Lincoln² for too many words, and the citizens of London in their undertakings in Ireland³ for too few deeds, which, I believe, will both trench deep I shall stay long enough in London (not intending to be gone before the King's remove) to tell you the event and truly without your beneficent courtesy I had been wrapped in a strange riddle, for I could neither have stayed nor departed

I received the Communion in St Bartholomew's on Sunday last (being Easter Day) in the same pew with your Hester and her mother⁴, your Hester either becomes a little tincture of the green sickness well or that becomes her well well she looks, I am sure, and in my fancy draws towards the countenance of her sister Stanhop more and more, but stealingly My niece Margaret⁵ is come home from her artisan⁶ in Southwark, with some pretty amendment The manner of his cure in those imperfections is somewhat strange, he useth no bindings, but oils and strokings, of which

¹ Charles I went to Scotland this year, entering Edinburgh on June 15

² John Williams, who was still in disgrace with Charles I In 1628 a charge was brought against him, before the Star Chamber, of having betrayed secrets entrusted to him as a Privy Counsellor In 1633 this case came up again (*Gardner*, viii, p 251)

³ The county of Londonderry had been granted to the principal companies of the city of London, on the condition that they should colonize it with Protestants The conditions of their charter were not fulfilled, and in 1635 the Star Chamber condemned the city to a fine of £70,000 and to the forfeiture of the land (*Ibid*, p 59)

⁴ Mary, daughter of Sir Arthur Throckmorton of Pauleispuys, and wife of Thomas second Lord Wotton

⁵ Margaret Wotton, sister of Hester, born 1617, married Sir John Tufton Kt

⁶ 'Artisan,' in obsolete sense of one who practises an art, here physician

I take him to be (in all my reading) both the instrument and the author. My niece Ann¹ will prove one of the handsomest creatures of the world, being much grown, and having rectified a little squinting or oblique look which she had in one of her eyes, so far as the remainder will turn to a beauty. Her mother hath of late been much troubled (and I think as much in her fancy, which is the greater cure, as in her body) with a pain in her right side, which changeth place, and therefore is sure but a flatuous² infirmity yet it hasteneth her removing to better air.

From my Lady, my sister³ at Canterbury, we hear nothing, I believe she is in travail with her own thoughts, about defacing the inscription of the tomb, as far as *Catholico* and *Catholica* amount unto. And I could wish, as she took your advice in the intention and word upon the marble, she had done so in the rest but in that you were no apt counsellor.

Now for foreign matters. We have fair tidings from Germany that the Princes hold fast together, and things go well⁴, and I am of opinion that when those parts have learnt as well as the lower provinces to spend a summer upon the siege of a town, the war will nestle there as well as below. For they abound in strong places, and war itself is a great refiner of spirits in little time.

The States are in the field earlier than heretofore, and in all judgement it importeth no less than the countenancing and covering of a general revolt of the *Geheerten* Provinces⁵, as they call them of that moire in my next. And so, Sir, leaving you in our blessed Saviour's love, I rest,

Your *viscerato servidore*,

H. WOTTON

SIR,

When I have sent you (as I will do by the next carrier) a new character I will open my files

¹ Anne Wotton (sister of Hester and Margaret), born 1622, married Sir Edward Hales, Kt., of Tunstall, Kent.

² 'Flatuous, i. e. flatulent' Obs. (*N E D*)

³ Margriet, daughter of Lord Wharton, and second wife of Edward first Lord Wotton. 'The Lady Wotton was fined £500 the last week in the High Commission Court for an inscription she put upon her deceased lord's tomb, viz that he died a true Catholic of the Roman Church, and for removing the font to set up the said tomb, he having desired to be buried as near the place he received his baptism as he might' Feb 6, 1633 (*C & T Charles I*, II, p 227, see also *Foley*, I, p 206)

⁴ The League of Heilbronn was signed on April 23. 'The four circles of Swabia, Franconia, and the Upper and Lower Rhine formed a union with Sweden for mutual support' (Gardiner, *30 Yrs*, p 164)

⁵ There was a certain amount of discontent in the Flemish Provinces at this time, and a general revolt against Spain was expected. But the disaffection was confined to the nobles, and the lower orders remained faithful (*Davies, History of Holland*, pp 589, 590)

453 TO SIR EDMUND BACON

Letters to B, p 94, *Reliq*, 3d ed, p 463 Foreign news, some new inventions, &c

St Martin's lane by the Fields,
the 3 of June, 1633

TO MY NOBLE NEPHEW LONG AND CHEERFUL YEARS

SIR,

This other day at the Cock pit in Shoe lane (where myself am *rara avis*) your nephew Mr Robert Bacon¹ came very kindly to me, with whom I was glad to refresh my acquaintance, though I had rather it had been in the theatre of Redgrave

I asked him of his brother, your Frank, and he told me he had been so hindered by winds as he thought he was not yet gotten over, at which I was sorry, for he hath lost the honour of taking Rheinberge² He may come yet timely enough to see Guelders yielded, and after that to have his share in Juliers, which they write from the camp will be the next piece, and so the States will be masters of all the tract that lies between the Maese and the Rhene, and backed with one of the fattest provinces of Christendom Besides, we hear they have recovered their former footing in Brasil³, and beaten the Spanish fleet It is hard to say into what these prosperities will run out, for surely, if they can establish a right correspondency with the upper armies of Germany, and either both hold out or neither agree without the other, even this summer will breed notable effects, and among other, I hope, the restitution of the Palatinate, where, as much as the Swede had taken is offered for 16,000 dollars, whereof the half is paid already by the Duke of Simmern⁴, administrator to the young Palatine in his minority, and the other moiety is expected from hence One thing I must not omit to tell you, that the said young Prince was at the siege of Rheinberge to initiate him in action The young Cardinal Infante⁵ is come, you know, to Milan, and they say will there reside as Governor till he can recover Casale and Pignerolo and purge Italy of the French so as I believe he will come to Brussels (for thither he finally tends) in the Spanish pace Having thus a little skimmed over our foreign news, give me leave now to entertain you with

¹ Robert Bacon, son of Sir Robert Bacon, Sir Edmund Bacon's brother

² Rheinberg and Fort Philippine in Flanders were the only places taken by the Prince of Orange in this year (Davies, *History of Holland*, II, p 591)

³ At Olinda in Pernambuco (*Ibid*, p 578)

⁴ Uncle of the young Count Palatine Charles Louis, the Swedes agreed to hand over to him the strong places they held in the Palatinate for a small sum of money, which was paid by Charles I (*Gardiner*, VII, p 343)

⁵ Ferdinand, brother of Philip IV He succeeded the Infanta Isabella (who died Nov 22, 1633) as Governor of the Flemish Provinces (*Ibid*, p 346)

some novelties of art I send you herewith two printed caps, a triangular salt cellar, and the top of an amber ring. The caps is a pretty fresh invention¹ of a very easy rate, for they will run shortly at some sixpence apiece, and they say the sale is monopolized by a woman at Amsterdam, which may come to some pretty perfection in the ornament of curtains and valances of beds, or in some fine historified table-cloth for a banquet, or the like. In the invention of the salt cellar you have an interest yourself, for I remember, Sir, you showed me a whole furniture of marble salt-cellars for a table of your bespeaking. But there is one that hath only gone beyond you in the cheapness of the material, for this which you now receive is but of seacoal, and it is strange to see what a polishment so base a stuff doth take, like the ennobling of a clown. To the broken ring there belongs a little more discourse. I bought it for a trifle in Lombard Street long since, because it had a fly entombed in the sealing part, which, if it had been precisely in the middle, would have showed like the sculpture of the signet itself. Now a while since, by a fall from a table to the ground it brake, though in a boarded room, whereupon there fell a conceit into my mind that the ring was artificial amber, and not natural, as indeed my servant Giovanni and I have since plainly discovered.

Now I cannot choose but smile when I think how much more the first seller of it might have had from me for the falsehood (if he would have said so) than for the truth: for surely many rare things may be made of this composition, and entire insectiles² of any greatness, and in any posture be enclosed therein, which I am sure will inflame you, as it hath set me on fire already, to find the way how to clarify the *pasta*, which seems to be of resin, and perchance some dust of true amber. And thus you see what easy ways I take to please myself, while I am conversing with you. Let me add to these a strange thing to be seen in London for a couple of pence, which I know not whether I should call a piece of art or nature: it is an Englishman, like some swabber of a ship come from the Indies, where he hath learned to eat fire as familiarly as ever I saw any eat cakes, even whole glowing brands, which he will crush with his teeth and swallow. I believe he hath been hard famished in the Terra de Fuego, on the south of the Magellan strait.

Sir, I have heard (I know not by whom) that you had a purpose to be here this Whitsuntide³, but imagining that at least Mr Chitock may meet you by the way, I have ventured the trouble

¹ Calico printing, first invented in Holland at about this date

² 'Insectiles,' i.e. insects. Obs. (N. E. D.)

³ Whitsunday fell on June 9 in 1688

of these lines unto you For mine own estate, I must acquaint you (because whether well or ill, I am yours) that of late I have been much troubled with certain splenetic vapours, mounting to the top of my stomach when it is empty, for which I am in a course of gentle physic at the present, remembering that of Galen, *ego soleo hortari amicos meos, ut in melancholicis affectuibus abstineant a validioribus remediis* My best physic will be your company,

To whom there is none bound in true service than

HENRY WOTTON

454 'DOCTIS ADVENIS'

Tychonis Biae, *Astronomiae Instauratae Mechanica*, Vandesburgi, 1598
Bodleian Archives, D 32 Holograph on reverse of title-page In this
rare and beautiful book, bought by Wotton from the library of the
Doge Marino Grimani (see *ante*, 1, p 78) and presented to the Bodleian,
are two holograph Latin poems of Tycho Biae addressed to the Doge
Grimani, and a MS list of fixed stars, besides many coloured plates of
astronomical instruments

Anno unici Mediatoris inter Deum et homines.

СИОІОСХХІІІ,

Ipsis Augusti Mensis

Eidibus

〈Aug 13, 1633〉

HENRICUS WOTTONIUS.

DOCTIS ADVENIS

52

Sciat lector hunc librum completi partim *Mechanica* typis excusa coloribusque depicta quibus *Ticho Brahe*, Nobilis Danus, usus est ex sua propria inventione, sumptuque Regio in rimandis Coeli aëcanis, partim, piosphonetica duo epigrammata cum inerantium *Stellarum* octavi orbis accurato *Canone* propria eiusdem manu exalata (quem Cimbricum Ptolemaeum merito vocemus), Et ab ipso Scriptore *Marmno Grimanno Venetorum* tum *Principi* oblata, haud dubie hoc consilio ut *Bessoriana Venetus* Bibliotheca conderentur, quae quum postea inter alios MS codices casu coempta in possessionem meam devenissent, ex *Musaeolo* nostro *Etonae*, *Oxonum* *Almam* olim *Altricem* meam transferri curavimus, eiusdemque Praecelebri Bibliothecae perpetuo consecrari volumus¹ *Κεμήλιον* ob Authoris Memoriam ingentis Pretii,

Ob Donatoris, Nullius

¹ In 1604 Wotton had presented to the Bodleian a MS of the *Koran* (*Annals of the Bodleian Library*, Maciay, 1890, p. 31)

455 To JOHN DYNELY

Reliq., 3rd ed., p. 569 'To my most dear and worthy friend, Mr John Dynely, Secretary to the Queen of Bohemia' Written while on a visit to some friends of Dynely's Foreign news, Wotton's *Plausus et Vota*

From you know where, Dec 10, 1633

MY DEAR J DYNELY,

(For I am loath to lose the possession of our familiarity) you left me here your letters and your love *in deposito*, and I have since received other from you, somewhat of a sad complexion, touching the affairs of Germany as then they stood But more newly we hear that Bernhard of Weimar doth miracles upon the Danuby, the river sometimes of our merry passage¹

We wish in this house (where you have placed me with much contentment) that every molehill that he takes were a province, and that the Duke of Bavaria were not only fled to Saltzburg (as is voiced), but even to the capital of Rome, and all others with him that adore the purple Beast

Here we live in daily (*sed hoc lentum est*), let me say, in hourly (*quoniam et illud frigidum*)², nay, in continual remembrance of our royal mistress, the very triumph of virtue I have at the present written to her Majesty, as I shall do often, being now in the proper place of her addresses, and of such opportunity to express our zeals as hath left a lazy pen no imaginable excuse hereafter

Through your hand I now send her my late panegyric³, which I blush to tell you how well it takes here with some indulgent and merciful readers

The interpretation to her Majesty of as much therein as concerneth herself⁴ I can commit to no spirit more sweetly than to yours, who are so conversant with her virtues

With us here things stand as you left them Most indubitably an infinite affection in the King towards so precious an only sister, but I know not well how our times will sort with your propositions Yet I hope well, as Abraham did when he wanted a sacrifice, *Deus providebit*⁵ And so for this time, in confused haste I rest,

Your ever vowed poor friend,

HENRY WOTTON

I have written to the Queen touching James Vary, who commits

¹ In 1620, when Dynely went with Wotton to Vienna (*Ante*, i, p. 170 n) Bernhard of Weimar captured Ratisbon in November 1633

² 'Nimis ille quidem lentus in dicendo, et paene frigidus' (Cicero, *Brut* 48)

³ *Ad Regem e Scotia Reducem Henrici Wottoni Plausus et Vota* (*ante*, i, p. 206) On Dec 6, 1633, Garrard wrote to Wentworth that it had been published that week (*Strafford Pp.*, i, p. 167)

⁴ See *ante*, ii, p. 297

⁵ *Gen.* xxii, 8

himself to your affectionate memory And we languish for a return from you

I play remember my humble service to his Majesty's most worthy resident¹ with you, to whom and to my noble secretary² I will write by the next occasion

456 To —

Reliq, 1st ed, p 456, 3rd ed, p 357 Sent with a copy of Wotton's *Plausus et Vota*, dated '1633', probably written in December, when the book was published

<Dec ? 1633>

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

I received such a letter from you touching my poor pamphlet of *Architecture*, which I yet preserve among my precious papers, as I have made it a resolution to put nothing forth under my name without sending one of the first copies unto your indulgent hands

There is borne a small welcome to the King from Scotland³ (whom I have not yet seen since his return), I know not how, out of a little indignation They have sent us over from Leiden, from France, from Polonia, &c, a tempest of panegyrics and laudatives of their Princes, whereupon I debated with myself What? Have we not as good a theme and theatre as they? Or do we want sense, or zeal to express our happiness? This stirred my very bowels, and within a while my pen, such as it is I confess the subject is so high as I fear may condemn my obscurity to have undertaken it, but withal so true as I hope will not misbecome mine ingenuity Howsoever, I submit it to your judgement and if in charity you shall be pleased to like anything in it, I humbly beseech you that you would be pleased to take some occasion of speaking favourably of it to the King himself, for though I aim at nothing by it, save the very doing of it, yet I should be glad to have it impressed by better judgements than my own And so I must humbly rest,

At, &c

457 To —

Reliq, 2nd ed, p 488, 3rd ed, p 332 No date or address, perhaps to the same person as the letter above Wotton sends a present of pictures, and asks for news

SIR,

I send you by this bearer (to keep you in mirth) a piping shepherd, done by Cavalieri Bassano⁴, and so well as may merit some

¹ Sir William Boswell

² Countess von Levenstein (*ante*, II, p 324)

³ Charles I left Edinburgh on July 18, on his return home (*Gardiner*, VII, p 290)

⁴ Cavaliere Leandro Bassano (1560-1623)

place in your chamber, which I hear is the centre of good music, to which, out of my pieces at home, I have commended James¹ to add a *Mesara* playing upon a timbail, done by Alessandro Padovano², a rising Titian, as we esteem him

Good Sir, let us know some true passages of the plight of the Court. I have laid about for some constant intelligence from foreign parts, being strangely relapsed into that humour in my old age. Shall I tell you why? In good faith, for no other use that I mean to make of news, but only that when God shall call me to a better I may know in what state I leave this world.

Your affectionate friend to serve you,

H. WOTTON

458 To —

S P Dom Charles I, cclxvii, 85, dictated. Recommendation of Lawrence Lister, Scholar of Eton

At his Majesty's College of Eaton,
this 14th of May, 1634

Being requested to deliver my opinion of Lawrence Lyster³, at the present one of the scholars of his Majesty's College at Eaton, for the comfort of his friends, who are desirous to be truly informed what they may conceive of him for his future application, I must in all truth testify that for outward behaviour and proficiency and goodness of disposition he is one of the hopefullest and fittest boys of the said school to be chosen at the next election of this year for Cambridge, being already of our highest form, and the last year nominated for preferment if place should fall out, and every way so qualified as is worthy of the best commendation.

459 TO SIR FRANCIS WINDEBANK⁴

S P Dom Charles I, cclxxxiv No 68, holograph. Wotton arrested for debt. Dated 'Thursday morning', and endorsed March 12, 1634-5 (March 12 fell on Thursday in 1634-5 O S)

From my chamber and prison, this Thursday morning,
(March 12, 1635)

RIGHT HONOURABLE AND MOST WORTHY SIR,

I humbly beseech you to receive into your tender and generous heart (for those attributes are indissociable) a feeling of my miserable

¹ James Vary

² Alessandro Varotari, *il Padovano* (1580-1640)

³ Lawrence Lister, son of Sir William Lister, Kt, Fellow of King's College, elected to King's College, 1635, died 1639 (*King's College Catalogue*)

⁴ Sir Francis Windebank (1582-1646) succeeded Lord Dorchester (Sir Dudley Carleton) as secretary of state in 1632. He was in Venice in 1607, where he made Wotton's acquaintance, and Wotton bequeathed to him some pictures (*ante*, i, p. 217). He fled abroad in 1640, and died in Paris in 1646 (*D N B*)

case in a point, if not of life, yet of liberty, which is next to life, and of honour, which is above life Thus it hath befallen me On Friday of the last week, coming homewards from Wallingford House, where I had been to attend my Lord Treasuer's leisure and health, I was, in the midst of St Martin's Lane, arrested on the way in my coach, like a stroke of thunder, by a number of Westminster bailiffs, upon a debt driven to an execution for £300 in the principal, besides some other pretended interest and charge in the pursuit They would have carried me immediately to the Gatehouse, or to some alehouse, but being too stubborn to yield to that, I got them to attend me gently to my lodging, where I have lived ever since under the custody of some of those rude and costly inmates But they stick not to let me know that this cannot last, for unless the party at whose suit it hath been done be some way satisfied, I must within a while train my chain after me into some dungeon Which would be strange both to myself and perhaps to the world, especially being due unto me out of his Majesty's exchequer, partly upon my foreign accounts, and partly upon my pension (granted first by King James of blessed memory, and augmented by my present Sovereign²), some hundreds above three thousand pounds, as truly as this hand wherewith I write it is mine own I have stood suspiring and languishing for the recovery of my noble Lord Treasurer, but his infirmity lingereth, and mine can endure no truce of time And my Lord Cottington³ sends me word that he, in this interim, can do nothing Therefore, dear Sir, in honour, in love, in pity, and in all the affections of humanity, be pleased to convey my case unto my most dear and most gracious Sovereign, who, I am confident will not suffer me out of his royal and excellent nature, after more than twenty years of public service abroad, both in ordinary and extraordinary ambassages to great Princes and States, to be smitten in mine old age (according to the prophet's expression) into the place of dragons⁴ And so, Sir, I heartily commit you

¹ The Earl of Portland (Lord Treasurer), who had been ill for some time, died on March 18 After his death the Treasury was put into commission, and Windebanks was one of the commissioners, with Laud, Cottington, Manchester, and Coke (*Gardiner*, vii, pp 378, 379) On March 12 Garrard wrote to Lord Wentworth, 'Sir Henry Wotton is at this time under an arrest for three hundred pounds upon execution, and lies by it He was taken coming from the Lord Treasurer's, soliciting a debt of four thousand pounds due to him from the King' (*Strafford Pp*, i, p 338)

² Pension of £200 a year granted in April, 1611, increased to £500 in 1629 (*ante*, p 316 n)

³ Sir Francis Cottington, Lord Cottington (1578?-1652), Chancellor of the Exchequer 1629-42 (*D N B*)

⁴ 'Though thou hast sore broken us in the place of dragons, and covered us with the shadow of death' (*Ps* xlii, 19)

to all cheerful joys, and myself to the meditation of mine own misery¹

Remaining all yours that remains of me,

HENRY WOTTON

460 To SIR GERVASE CLIFTON

Clifton Hall MS Sir Gervase Clifton at Eton, letters of Francis Bacon, the fleet, foreign news

From your College,
This 6th of June 1635

RIGHT NOBLE SIR,

I shall yet, before the expiation of this short lived term, make a start to London, to give you many many thanks for furnishing my poor rooms in my absence with as absolute a master of them as myself. Nay more indeed, for I am only so by the Fellows' election, and you shall be even so, both by theirs and mine, whether I be here or not. If there were nothing else to be said, you have paid richly for your lodging with a letter which you left behind you. In answer thereof I have sent you a rhapsody of the late Lord of St Albans' letters², for any of mine are too weak an exchange. I shall bring with me (though that be not the proper humour of cloistered men) some curiosity to know what will become of our fleet³. That business was hatched in an eagle's nest, above my reach. And I confess it is not fit for me at this age to climb for aeries, yet there hangs still upon me, since my foreign vagations, I know not how, a little concupiscence of novelty. I am glad to hear that the late success of Chatillon⁴ hath soldered again the

¹ On March 16, 1634-5, a 'Protection' for the space of a year was granted to Wotton by Windebank (*Docquet Book*, xl), and he was no doubt released. The money owing him from the Government was never paid, but possibly his friends helped him with his debts. A Clogie, Bedell's son-in-law, in his *Life of Bedell*, says 'in his adversity D B was much afflicted for him, and not unmindful of him when his potent friends forgot him, to let such an able statesman die in prison, having superexpended himself for the public, as many public ministers of State often do to their own ruin' (*Two Biog.*, p. 91). Wotton, of course, did not die in prison, but it is possible that Bedell helped him at this time.

² In the British Museum (*Lansd MS 288*) is a collection of letters 'to and from persons of eminence in the reigns of Elizabeth, James I, and Charles I, made by some person in the service of Sir Gervase Clifton'. Besides the copy of a letter from Sir Henry Wotton (*ante*, ii, p. 327), this collection contains eighteen of Bacon's letters, none, however, to Wotton, and all printed by Speeding from other sources.

³ The Ship Money fleet sailed June 6, 1637, and after accomplishing nothing of importance was dispersed Oct 8 (*Gardiner*, vii, pp. 384, 390).

⁴ On May 20, 1635, Maréchal de Châtillon, in command of a French army, defeated the Spanish troops under the Prince of Carignan at Avesin in the Ardennes (*Martin, Histoire de France*, xi, pp. 481, 482).

Princes of Germany, who were tied before together but with mouth-glue

I do contemplate the Pope (according to the Italian comparison) as perplexed now as a flea in a bottom of flax, and I believe we shall have black consistories shortly, I mean till midnight, as they call them God make them (in the wish of the prophet) like a wheel,¹ full of agitation and giddiness, and give us rest in His love

Your poor hearty servant,

HENRY WOTTON

461 TO SIR GERVASE CLIFTON

Clifton Hall MS Addressed 'To the right noble Knight, my ever honoured Friend, Sir Gervas Clifton, knt, Baronet, in St Martin's lane by the fields' Wotton unable to come to London, 'a rustic evasion'

From his Majesty's College,
this eve of Midsummer Day, 1635

MOST DEAR SIR, AND EVER MUCH HONOURED,

I fear my letters will appear unto you like the births of vipers, wherein they say the latter always devour the former For whereas I verily thought (as I wrote before) to have fallen at least upon the skirts of the last term, I am sorry to tell you in this that I can hardly be in London before your going—and when you are gone, for me let the streets be paved with grass I must here moulder and fence out² my time, lacking indeed a little wanton money to move, for that is the organ of agitation But wheresoever you shall be, noble Sir, give me leave, as often as I can find opportunity, to excite with somewhat your unvaluable lines, wherein there is such a spirit of life and love as methinks they set back mine yet while I read them, contrary to that notorious passage of Aristophanes, who, I remember, in his comedy of the *Frogs*, upon some cold expression, makes one cry out that he was a year the older for hearing it³ Believe it, Sir, your friends whom you will favour are far from that danger

Now for your last entertainment of this retired place, what shall I return unto you? You shall see our emptiness Instead of more substantial matter I am fain for exchange to send you a fresh apothegm, or at least freshly brought to me from Windsor by one who perchance had noted me to take some delight in such ware

¹ 'O my God, make them like a wheel, as the stubble before the wind' (*Ps lxxxiii, 13*)

² 'Fence out,' to spend or lay out money, old slang (*N E D*)

³ *οταν τι τούτων των σοφισμάτων ιδω,*
πλείν η νιαντῳ πρεσβυτερος απέρχομαι (*Frogs, 17, 18*)

In that town is a good hearty old gentleman, by name Mr Hudson, who chauntably employed a plain poor man to cleave his wood, and in such other mean offices about his house. This man hearing that the gentleman was not well, asked one of his nearer servants how his master did, who told him he kept his bed. '*Marry,*' quoth he, '*I am glad of that*', whereupon the poor fellow being called to some account as an unthankful and ill-natured person that had sustenance from him, maintains his saying with such an apology as was enough to make him well, though he had not been so before. For being questioned by Mr Hudson himself why he should bear him such bad affection, '*truly Sir,*' said he, '*I am mistaken, for when your servant told me you kept your bed, I must confess I said I was glad of that, for I can assure you I was fain to sell mine the last week.*' And so with this not unpleasant rural evasion, I commit you to your journey with your whole family, and to God's dearest blessings over you all, remaining,

Your faithful poor servant,
HENRY WOTTON

SIR,

If before your going I might press upon you so much favour I would beg your opinion in a line or two whether we shall have a single Lord Treasurer shortly, and if so, whether spiritual or temporal, which is a providence that may concern a poor man in his arrearages

462 To WILLIAM JUXON (?)

S P Dom Charles I, ccxcix, No 14, holograph Wotton congratulates his correspondent (probably Juxon¹) on his prospective appointment to the Lord Treasurership

From his Majesty's College at Eton,
this 4th of October, 1635

RIGHT HONOURABLE AND MY VERY GOOD LORD,

Since I saw your Lordship I have been sick two or three times, but I am (God be praised) well and cheerful again, save some weakness in my legs, which like pillars and posts are the first parts that yield in an old fabric

I have another infirmity in my fortune, almost stronger than the care of my health, wherein, under his Majesty (who hath lately given me great assurance of his gracious love), I chiefly depend on your Lordship. Therefore, good my Lord, give me leave to con-

¹ William Juxon (1582-1668), Bishop of London 1633, was at this time Laud's candidate for the Lord Treasurership in opposition to Cottington. He was formally appointed on March 6, 1636 (*Gardiner*, viii, p 141). In 1660, at the Restoration, Juxon was made Archbishop of Canterbury.

giatulate your assumption to the Treasurership of this Kingdom before I actually hear it, for we that have been long students in philosophy use to anticipate effects in their causes, and to foresee promotions latent in habilities. I make the more haste, because I have occasion herein to congratulate with myself for the good which I expect from your Lordship, out of your noble feeling of my necessities, after so long employments abroad. And when his Majesty shall have promoted your Lordship to the said high place and charge, I will give him (how obscure soever I am) most humble thanks for that act of his judgement and goodness, because I find within my readings that *qui honorem aut beneficium digno dat omnes obligat*¹. God bless your Lordship,

To whom a poor humble devoted servant,

HENRY WOTTON

463 TO THE EARL OF CORK

Lismore Pp., 2nd Ser., iii, p. 219. Endorsed '13 January, 1635' (date of receipt). Wotton recommends a tutor for the sons of Lord Cork.

(London, November 24, 1635)

RIGHT HONOURABLE AND MY VERY GOOD LORD,

I write this unto your Lordship on Monday morning, the 24th of November, from London, whence I am returning to morrow, after three weeks absence, to my poor cell again at Eton, where I hope to find your sweet children² as well as I left them.

I have for my part been in this fuming city with little contentment, having, except very few days, been for the rest confined to my chamber with an extreme defluxion from my head, which is a familiar that ever haunteth me here, especially in winter. Yet I have had your Lordship's commands in my meditation, touching your two designed travellers³, wherein I will deliver my opinion.

¹ 'Beneficium dignis ubi des, omnes obliges'. Pub. Syri Mimi *Sententiae* (ed. Otto Friedrich, 1880, p. 33).

² Richard Boyle first Earl of Cork (1666-1643) sent in Sept. 1635 two of his sons, Francis (afterwards Viscount Shannon) and Robert (1627-91) (afterwards the famous physicist and chemist) to be educated at Eton. With them went Robert Carew, as attendant and tutor, and they were conducted to England by Thomas Badnedge, Lord Cork's favourite gentleman. Under the date of Oct. 2, 1635, Lord Cork notes in his diary, 'Badnedge delivered my two youngest sons Francis and Robert at Eaton College unto the charge of my worthy friend and countryman Sir Henry Wotton, Provost of Eaton, and to the tuition of Mr. John Harrison, chief schoolmaster there. God bless and prosper them in true religion and learning' (*Lismore Pp.*, 1st Ser., iv, p. 129). For details of Wotton's reception of the Boyles at Eton, see *ibid.*, 2nd Ser., iii, pp. 215-45, and Dorothea Townshend, *The Great Earl of Cork*, pp. 310-23.

³ Lord Cork was sending two of his elder sons, Lewis (1619-42), Baron of Bandon Bridge and Viscount Boyle of Kinalmeaky 1627, and Roger (1621-79), created Baron Broghill 1627, Earl of Ossery 1660, on the foreign tour, and had asked Wotton to recommend a tutor to accompany them.

with Kentish freedom (for that your Lordship knows is our proper attribute) that I think (it) is verily your good fortune to have missed Monsieur Batier (who, I hear, besides his present engagement abroad, is more engaged if he were nearer in a wife), in whose room I shall humbly present unto your Lordship one (as I conceive after a careful and strict examination of all circumstances) born for your purpose, namely this bearer, Monsieur Marcombes¹. He had been, if not himself with your Lordship before now, yet at least my letters had been with you on his behalf, but that we have stood, I know not how, in a kind of hovering conceit that your Lordship would be shortly here in person. And divers in vulgar voice have entituled you (though I believe against your own mind) to the vacant Treasurership of this kingdom, of which, though I saw no perfect ground, yet I was content to be carried with the current of that noise, till of late Mr Perkins² having kindly visited me, and conferring together of your Lordship (as became your devoted servants), I found him in discourse not forward to believe that you would be here before the spring, or at least not before Christmas. Which the foresaid Monsieur Marcombes hearing (for he was present at our conference, being well known to us both), I fell to ask him (and in a manner to wish him) whether he would not be content to transport himself immediately to your Lordship in Irelande, which he very willingly entertained, according to some speech that I had before had with him which, though I liked well as an argument of his zeal and good affection towards your service, yet if I thought him not every way unexceptionable, I would rather first have treated with your Lordship by letter about him, that your acceptance³ or refusal might have been the freer, though God forbid your Lordship should be bound either way by my judgement. For I hold it both good manners and good caution, in such a case as this of trust, to make choice of such a person as I dare recommend to your wisdom and reason, as well as to your favour.

He is by birth French, native in the Province of Auvergne, bled seven years in Geneve, very sound in religion, and well conversant with religious men, furnished with good literature and languages, especially with Italian, which he speaketh as promptly as his own, and will be a good guide for your sons in that delicate piece of the

¹ Monsieur Marcombes, who accompanied the two Boyles abroad. On Jan 14, 1685-6, Lord Cork writes 'Monsieur Macrobyus arrived at Dublin, and brought me commendatory letters to be tutor and guide to my sons Lewis and Roger in their foreign travels from Sir Henry Wootton, Sir Thomas Stafford, Philip Burlymachie, and Mr Wm Perkins' (*Lismore Pp*, 1st Ser., iv, p 149). For Robert Boyle's character of Marcombes, see *Philaretus* (Boyle's Works, 1744, i, p 10).

² William Perkins, Lord Cork's tailor.

³ 'Acceptation,' i.e. acceptance. Obs. (*N E D*)

world He seemeth in himself neither of a lumpish nor of a light composition, but of a well fixed mean He hath given good proof, both of his discretion and fidelity, in my Lord of Middlesex¹ his house, and is well reported And I do not merely take him upon credit, for I have had sundry meetings with him, and find him in his discourse very apposite and sweet, and indubitably of good observation in civil nurture Lastly, I believe my Lord of Dungarvan² will afford him his good word, or his good opinion with your Lordship, for he hath had the honour to be known unto him, as both he himself and Mr Perkins tell me I cannot conclude without acquainting your Lordship with one circumstance for mine own discharge in this great obligation of confidence which you have laid upon me That before I would yield to be the recommender of him for the disposing and moulding (as it were) of your two sons abroad (in whom I hear there are such hopeful seeds already of virtue and nobleness) I took from him (though truly without any imaginable distrust of his integrity) a solemn vow and oath that he would be faithful and diligent in this employment And so leaving your Lordship and all yours (whether they be fixed or planetary) in God's dear love, I humbly rest at your commands,

HENRY WOTTON

I shall give your Lordship in my next an account of your Etonians, when I have seen them again and more and more tested their spirits

464 TO THE EARL OF CORK

Lasmore Pp, 2nd Ser, III, p 226 Endorsed 'Eaton 19 January, 1635 (date of receipt) from Sir Henry Wotton, Eaton, the 5th of December, 1635'

(Eton College, Dec 5, 1635)

RIGHT HONOURABLE AND MY VERY GOOD LORD,

While the beauei, Monsieur Marcombes, was fitting himself to post into Ireland with a letter from me unto your Lordship, and another to my truly noble Lady of Dungarvan³ (dated both on the 24^o of November from London), myself being the next day after returned to mine own privacy, I was surprised with a fresh assault of obligations from your Lordship in diuers kinds First, in making me so quickly partaker of your own joys touching the said lady, to whom God send many such pretty cheerful troubles as she is likely to have shortly And I wish from a grammatical College not im-

¹ Lionel Cranfield (1575-1645), created Earl of Middlesex 1622

² Richard Boyle (1612-98) second Earl of Cork and first Earl of Burlington, eldest son of the first Earl and called Viscount Dungarvan

³ Elizabeth, daughter of Wotton's friend, Henry Lord Clifford (*ante*, II, p 307), on July 5, 1635 she married Lord Dungarvan

properly that the most of them may be of the masculine gender. Next, I must return to your Lordship many humble thanks for continuing your trust upon me, which is as much to my nature as if you bound me in fetters of diamonds. Thirdly, I find myself more and more fastened unto your Lordship by your provident advice concerning some casual discourse which fell out here between Mr Badnage¹ and me, who, according to that impression which I took of his fair nature, seemeth to have informed your Lordship much more of my poor demonstrations towards your sweet children than I, and much less than they deserved. Touching that business, I shall immediately after this wait on your Lordship with another letter, having as much to do at the present as is possible for a man to have that loves to do so little.

As for this gentleman the bearer, though your Lordship in the conditional clause of your last, beginning thus 'If you have not already made choice of a fit tutor to travel with my two other sons,' had not left me at large, yet I have such a grounded opinion in the choice before settled as by your favour is unremovable without your own express dislike upon the view which I dare venture I have not entered into any particular covenants with him, which might prejudice your goodness and his ingenuity. For I find him not greedy, save as far as decent respects will require, which will be best proportioned by your own honour and wisdom. I would wish your Lordship on that point not to trust me, but rather in the valuation of men than of money.

I had now written again to my most honoured Lady of Dungaiven, but that I was loath to tell her (though alterations are not strange in natural bodies, either young or old) that your sweet-spirited Francke, and her favourite, hath been, since my return hither, somewhat troubled with a flux, the frequent infirmity (as I remember) of that kingdom where he was born. But he hath taken by my advice a little physic, both to purge the acrimony of that stimulating humour, and withal to fortify his stomach, where the cause lieth. Of which potion, though he threw out the half as soon as he had taken it, and the remainder some half an hour after, yet the virtue of the medicine had first got into his veins, and gave him so quiet repose this last night as we hold him free.

Let me assure your Lordship that (by these mine own and the schoolmaster's solicitude in such cases, as belong both to our duties and to our affections) you have placed about your children one of the most loving and zealous servants² that I have ever observed in life. And so God bless you, Lordship again and again, to whom I

¹ Thomas Badnedge (*ante*, II, p. 355.)

² Robert Carew (*ibid*.)

remain in my poor ways an humble, devoted servant in the old Kentish plainness,

HENRY WOTTON

(Postscript) From the College this 6th of December, 1635

My good Lord, I have commended seriously, and with promise of a good reward, your spirity Robin to the master of our choristers here, who maketh profession (and hath in one or two before given good proof thereof) to correct the errors of voices and pronunciation, for which he shall have fit hours assigned him ¹ And you shall hear likewise from their servant that your Lordship, in your last unto him, hath given him commissions to provide here for your children (if there be any) one to initiate them in the French tongue It may be done time enough at your pleasure, but I will pray your Lordship to ponder some reasons that I shall, in my next, present unto your judgement touching that point, of which I have a little discoursed with Monsieur Marcombes

465 TO THE EARL OF CORK

Lismore Pp, 2nd Ser, III, p 259 Endorsed '4 July, 1636, from Sir Henry Wotton by Richard Carew of Kelly' The Boyles in Sussex, misconduct of their tutor, Robert Carew

From the College, this 6 of June, 1636

RIGHT HONOURABLE AND MY VERY GOOD LORD

I had from your Lordship a letter on Wednesday last by this very bearer, in six days from Dublin How soon should I have had it if (as our poets say) his knees had been green ² So far as I cannot but observe, as I began in Mr Badenage, that all which comes from your Lordship are indued with a strange spirit of diligence—unto which said letter before I yield you my humble answer I am desirous to say somewhat of your travellers and of your Etonians

I was thirsty to hear from Monsieur Marcombes how the two noble brothers did sort with a foreign air, when the last week I received a letter from him of the 12th of April—so long it had slept on the way from Paris, whence the next morning they were preparing towards Geneva, all in perfect health

They had, from their first landing at Diepe, seen no marks of war in their journey but dearth And I hope shall find it forwards no worse One thing I must not forget to tell your Lordship, that the King of Fraunce hath so raised all the moneys, as the French crown doth run at full eight shillings sterling through his kingdom, which,

¹ Robert Carew wrote to Lord Cork, Nov or Dec, 1635, Sir Henry Wotton hath made choice of a very sufficient man to teach them to play on the viol and to sing, he doth also undertake to help my Master Robert's defect in pronunciation (*Lismore Pp*, 2nd Ser, III, p 225)

for such provision as they had taken up before the edict, will do them no harm, but in these fresh supplies, upon dormant bills of exchange or of credit, which perchance they took from London with them, not deeming of any such alteration, I do not see how some loss will be avoided. The best is they have at home a wise and loving father, which is a sure mint. God have them in his blessed custody, for they are as hopeful plants as the world can yield. Next, concerning the two nearer pledges of your trust under my care, I received some days since from my Lady Goring, then sister¹, some few lines expressing a desire to have them with her at this time of our vacation, when our school annually breaketh up two weeks before Whitsuntide, and pieceth² again a fortnight after, which just and kind motion was to me an absolute command. And so I sent them to her at Lewes in Sussex, together with the captain of our school, a well learned and well tempered boy, whose friends dwell in that shire, so as he may serve them both for a good guide and companion. It will be a solace for my Lady, and for them a fine refreshment. And I am glad to tell your Lordship that she will see Franck in better health and strength than he hath been in either kingdom before. And Robert will entertain her with his pretty conceptions³ now a great deal more smoothly than he was wont. We expect them both again, under God's favour, on Saturday come sevensnight.

Now, touching the private subject of your Lordship's last to me Truly, my good Lord, I was shaken with such an amazement at the first percussion thereof, that, till a second perusal, I was doubtful whether I had read right. For we are all here so well persuaded of young Mr. Carie's discretion and temper and zeal in his charge, and in the whole carriage of himself, as it will be hard to stamp us with any new impression. Yet because your Lordship's letter was so confident, I bestowed a day in a little inquisitiveness, and found indeed that between him and a young maid, daughter to our under-baker, and almost (like fathers), I do not altogether (I must confess) (think) unhandsome, nor so far otherwise as she thinks herself, there had passed long since certain civil, which she was content

¹ Lettice, third daughter of the Earl of Cork, married 1629 George Goring (1608-57), son of George Goring, Lord Goring 1628, Earl of Norwich 1644

² 'Pieceth,' from the obs use of piece, to unite, come together, assemble (N E D)

³ Robert Carew writes of Robert Boyle Oct. 19, 1635 'Sir Hary Wotton was much taken with him for his discourse of Ireland and of his travels, and he admired that he would observe or take notice of those things that he discoursed of. He is mighty courteous and loving towards them, and lent a chamber furnished until we could furniture so their own chamber (we enjoy it yet, which is a great favour), and did invite my masters to his table several times' (*Lismore Pp*, 2nd Ser., III p. 217)

to call amorous language But it is near half a year that he hath not been with her—time enough, I dare swear, to refrigerate more love than was ever between them So as in that point your Lordship may quiet your thoughts Yet glad I am for the letter you were pleased to write, because it will give me an apt occasion, at his return, to warn him how careful and vigilant he ought to be in preserving his person from scandal, when such a levity as this (whether serious or sportful) is flown over so suddenly to your Lordship, of whose good opinion it behoveth him to stand in much awe When I have spoken with himself, I shall write again to your Lordship, beseeching you in the meanwhile to keep him in your favourable conceit¹ For truly there cannot be a more tender attendant about your sweet childien, insomuch as when Franck was sick of no deep infirmity he was (never) out of his sight, nothing but tears, distilling no doubt from a good nature I am glad to see your Lordship casting an eye towards England, and yet I could have wished that you should settle in that soil upon which the conqueror's foot did never tread But I shall not need to despair that your Lordship will be there likewise ready for any fair temptation, notwithstanding those few thousands which Dorsetshire must swallow with the envy of Kent'

I had now done for the present, but that I must first deliver an unfortunate misadventure which hath befallen this good spirited gentleman Mr Carew, who, bringing back letters to your Lordship from your two Etonians at Lewis, and from their sweet sister, and from his own son, hath by a shallow pocket lost them on the way, together with one of mine (the least of the whole loss), which I had written provisionally to your Lordship for fear he should not return this way, but might perchance light on some shipping in the Sussex harbours It were injustice in your Lordship to be offended with this mishap, for he hath sufficiently tormented himself But now the last hope is, that peradventure they may fall into the hands of some person of humanity, and so be sent over, according to their addresses I have troubled your Lordship too long Let me end in your love, and ever rest your faithful poor servant,

HENRY WOTTON³

¹ Wotton was deceived in Carew, whom Robert Boyle describes as 'one that wanted neither vices nor cunning to dissemble them' (*Philaretus*, p 7). He was a gambler, and either through him or an Italian servant of Wotton's Francis Boyle was induced to back a bill In Nov., 1638, the Boyles were removed from Eton, the bill for their diet, apparel, tutelage, and the keep of Carew came to £914 3s 9d (*Lismore Pp*, 1st Ser., v, p 64)

² Lord Cork was born at Canterbury He had recently purchased from the Earl of Bristol the estate of Stalbridge, near Sherborne, in Dorsetshire

³ In the *Reliquiae*, 1st ed., p 497, 3rd, p 372, is printed the following 'Extracted from a letter of the Earl of Cork to Sir Henry Wotton, Dec 22, 1636

'Honourable Sir,—For this time, I pray you, accept in good part from me

466 TO THE QUEEN OF BOHEMIA

Reliq., 1st ed., p. 393 undated, dated 'July, 1636', 3rd ed., p. 336 The new Lord Treasurer Juxon

(July, 1636)

MOST RESPLENDENT QUEEN, EVEN IN THE DARKNESS OF FORTUNE,

That was wont to be my style unto your Majesty, which you see I have not forgotten. For though I have a great while forbore to trouble you with any of my poor lines, yet the memory of your sweet and royal virtues is the last thing that will die in me. In these months of my silence I have been busy (if any work of my brains may be termed a business) about certain compositions of mine own, partly imposed, and partly voluntary, whereof some would fain be struggling into the light, but I do check their forwardness, because I am afraid they will be born before their time. In the meanwhile, I have gotten a subject worthy to exercise my pen unto your Majesty, which is the choice of the new Lord Treasurer, upon which place your Majesty hath always some dependence in your domestic affairs. I believe your Majesty hath never personally seen him therefore I will take the boldness to paint him before you, though I must speak, as yet, more out of the universal opinion than from my own experience, for your Majesty knows my nature, I am always one of the last intruders. Now the best and the shortest draft that I can make of him will be this: there is in him no tumour, no sourness, no distraction of thoughts, but a quiet mind, a patient care, free access, mild and moderate answers.¹

To this I must add a solid judgement, a sober plainness, and a most indubitable character of fidelity in his very face, so as there needs not much study to think him both a good man and a wise man. And accordingly is his family composed, more order than noise, and his nearest instruments carefully chosen, for he wanted no officers. But above all, there is a blessed note upon him, that his Majesty hath committed his moneys where he may trust his con-

a bottle made of a serpentine stone, which hath the quality to give any wine or water that shall be infused therein, for four and twenty hours, the taste and operation of the spaw water, and is very medicinable for the cure of the spleen and the gravel, as I am informed, but sure I am, that Sir Walter Rawleigh put a value upon it, he having obtained it amongst the spoils of the Governor of St Omy (St Thomé), in his last fatal expedition, and by his page understood the virtues thereof, and that his captain highly esteemed it. And surely, some good cures it hath wrought since it came into my hands, for those two infirmities, &c.

¹ 'The Bishop was modest and unassuming, and had shown himself to be possessed of habits of business in his management of the property of St John's College during the time of his Presidentship. He had neither wife nor family to tempt him to amass wealth, and his honesty was beyond dispute' (*Gau dines*, viii, p. 141)

science Upon the whole matter, it is no marvel that the charge lay a full year under commission

For the King himself (as we hear) did openly profess that he had spent the most of that time, not in deliberating whom he might choose, but in wooing of him whom he had chosen to undertake it for it is a hard matter indeed (if so good a King had not been the orator) to draw a man out of the settled repose of a learned life into such an ocean of public solicitude, able to swallow an ordinary spirit But God, who hath raised him to it, hath made him fit for it

This is all that I was in travail to advertise your Majesty upon the present occasion, my next will be touching the two sweet Princes¹ your sons, whose fame I have only hitherto enjoyed in the common voice, having by some weakness in my legs and other symptoms of age, and by mine own retired studies, been confined to privacy But I hope to make known unto them how much I reverence my royal mistress, their mother, and the images of her goodness, at the solemn meeting the next month in Oxford For an academy will be the best Court for my humour And so I humbly rest,

Your Majesty's ever faithful ever devoted poor servant,

II WOTTON

467 TO WILLIAM JUXON

Reliq., 1st ed., p. 427, 3rd ed., p. 338 Undated, probably written in 1636, after Juxon became Lord Treasurer (March 6) Wotton sends a copy of his *Elements of Architecture*

(1636?)

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GOOD LORDSHIP,

I was in hope long since to have waited on your Lordship with an account, I dare not say of any fruit, yet at least of some use of my private time, but through certain fastidious fumes from my spleen (though of late I thank God well allayed) I have been kept in such jealousy of mine own conceptions that some things under my pen have been born very slowly In the meanwhile, remembering an old pamphlet of mine, of the *Elements of Architecture*, which I cannot in any modesty suppose that your Lordship had ever seen, though it hath found some vulgar favour among those whom they call gentle readers, I have gotten such a copy as did remain to present unto your Lordship, and because my fortunes were never able to erect anything answerable to my speculations in that art,

¹ The Queen's two sons, Charles Louis (who succeeded his father as titular Elector Palatine in 1632) and Prince Rupert, came to England in Nov., 1635 In August, 1636, they visited Oxford with Charles I, and the degree of M.A. was conferred on Prince Rupert (*Gardner*, viii. p. 151)

I have newly made, at least an essay of my invention, [at least] in the structure of a little poor standish¹, of so contemptible value as I dare offer it to your Lordship without offence of your integrity. If I could have built some rural retreat worthy of your reception, according to the six precepts of my master Vitruvius, I would have invited and entertained your Lordship therein how homely soever, yet as heartily as you were ever welcomed to any place in this world, and I would then have gloried to have under my roof as worthy a counsellor and treasurer as ever served the best of kings. But as I am, I can say no more for your Lordship's gracious respects and goodness towards me than that I live in a tormenting desire some way to celebrate the honour of your name, and to be known

Your most humble, professed and obliged servant,

H WOTTON

468 To —

Reliq., 1st ed., p. 451, 3rd ed., p. 356. No date or address. (For conjectural date see note 2.) Advice on foreign travel

(1636?)

WORTHY SIR

All health to yourself and to yours both at home and abroad. Sorry I was not to be at Eton when Mr B — your nephew, and my friend, came thither to visit me, being then in procinct¹ of his travels. But I had some good while before, at another kind visitation, together with your sons and Mr S², given him a Catholic rule, which was given me long since by an old Roman courtier with whom I tabled in Siena, and whose counsels I begged for the government of myself at my departure from him towards the fore said Court, where he had been so well versed. '*Signor Arigo*' (says he), 'there is one short remembrance will carry you safe through the whole world.' I was glad to hear such a preservative contracted into so little room, and so besought him to honour me with it. 'Nothing but this' (saith he), '*gli pensieri stretti, et il viso sciolto*' that is, as I use to translate it, 'Your thoughts close, and your countenance loose'³. This was that moral antidote which I imparted to Mr B

¹ 'Standish,' in stand.

² 'Mr B' and 'Mr S' probably refer to Michael Bianthwaite and James Scudamore. Bianthwaite went to Paris as tutor to James Scudamore, son of John first Viscount Scudamore, who was English ambassador in France 1635-9. This visit from 'Mr B' and 'Mr S' which Wotton refers to was probably before their journey to Paris in June, 1635, as Wotton says the visit was 'some good while before'. I place this letter here for want of other indications as to date. Much of the advice in this letter was repeated by Wotton in his letter to Milton in 1638 (see below, p. 382).

³ 'In procinct,' i.e. in preparation for.

⁴ Advice of Scipione Alberti (*ante*, i, p. 22). George Heibart included the translation of this saying in his *Iacula Prudentum* (*Remains*, 1648, p. 296).

and his fellow travellers when they were last with me, having a particular interest in their well doings, both as they are yours and as they have had some training under my poor regiment, to which ties of friendship you have added a third, that they are now of the College of Travellers, wherein, if the fruit of the time I have spent were answerable to the length, I might run for a Deacon at least

If I had not been absent when Mr B came last I would have said much more in private between us, which shall be supplied by letter if I may receive a safe form of address from you I continue mainly in the same opinion which I touched unto them, that after their impinging in France I could wish them to mount the Puenies into Spaine In that Court (as I hear) you have an assured friend, and there they may consolidate the French vivacity with a certain *sosiego* (as they call it), till they shall afterwards pass from Barcelona over to Italy, where lies the true mean between the other two humours You see, Sir, by this discourse that I am in mine own country at leisure, I pray pardon it, whatsoever it be, because it proceedeth from hearty goodwill And so I rest,

At your commands,

HENRY WOTTON

SIR,

My servant, the beare, hath somewhat to say unto you about a piece of painting, which I would fain send to your house in the country, covered till it come thither, because it is soberly naked, and ready to be set up, being in a gilded frame already

469 To THOMAS JOHNSON

S P Dom Charles I, cccclxiii, No 14, dictated Addressed, 'To my very loving and learned friend Mr Johnson, apothecary, at his house on Snowe Hill, London ¹

2nd of July, 1637

MY GOOD FRIEND MR JOHNSON¹,

I have addressed this my servant unto you at the present with two or three requests First, that you would direct him where he may buy one of your Gerrards², well and strongly bound, next, where I may have for my money all kinds of coloured pinks to set in a quarter of my garden, or any such flowers as perfume the air Thirdly, I pray let me consult with you whether you know any sick of that fastidious infirmity, which they call *melancholia hypochondriaca*, wherewith I have been troubled of late, but more with a symptom

¹ Thomas Johnson (d 1644), botanist and royalist soldier, M D Oxford 1643, died from the effects of a wound received at the defence of Basing House (D N B)

² Gerard's *Herball*, of which Thomas Johnson published an enlarged and corrected edition in 1633 (*Ibid*)

very frequent in that passion (as the great Fernelius¹ describes it) namely, with certain very noisome odours, which the spleen sends up with offence of my scent and taste, and yet without any imaginable taint of my breath or anything perceivable by another. I go seeking and begging examples to comfort my fancy, wherein you will do me a singular pleasure, either with your own former observation or inquiry of the like case, especially if withal you shall please to add what has done any such patient most good. These are the troubles that I am now bold to give you.

Your willing and well wishing friend,

HENRY WOTTON

470 TO ARCHBISHOP LAUD

Reliq, 1st ed, p 440, 3rd ed, p 347. Negotiations about an Eton Fellowship
From the College this 30 of July, 1637

IT MAY PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

We very humbly acknowledge that your Grace hath made us confident in your favour, both by your former letters (which are the true images of your mind) and by that report which Mr Weaver² and Mr Harrison³ brought us from your most revered person yet, till after the term, when we might suppose your Grace some what freer than before (though ever environed with more honour than ease), we were tender to trouble you with any prosecution on our parts of your good intents towards this collegiate body, about the yet unperfected though well-imprimed business of New Windsor⁴. But now, after due remembrance of our humble devotions, I am bold to signify unto your Grace in mine own, and in the name of the rest, that having (according to the full liberty which you were pleased to yield us) consulted with our counsel at law about some convenient form for the settling of that which his Majesty hath already granted by your Grace his intercession, we find the King can no way be bound but by his own goodness, neither can we wish his Majesty in better or in safer bonds, therefore we hope to propound an expedient, which, to my understanding, will (as astronomers use to say) save all appearances, namely, &c⁵ < >

¹ John Francis Fernel, or Fernelius (1497-1558), French medical writer. His *Universa Medicina*, ed 5, was published at Frankfort, 1592.

² Thomas Weaver, elected Fellow of Eton 1612, Vice-Provost (*Harwood*, p 63, John Harrison (*ante*, 1, p 216).

⁴ The parishioners of Windsor had petitioned Charles I to increase the value of the living of Windsor by annexing to it some ecclesiastical benefice. It was decided that a Fellowship of Eton should be reserved for this purpose, and the Rev John Cleaver, Vicar of Windsor, was elected at the next vacancy (*Macnail Lyte*, pp 234, 235).

⁵ So in 3rd edition of *Reliquiae*, the paragraphs are run together without any break in the 1st ed, but this is corrected in the *Errata*.

Master Cleaver's election shall be the more honoured, by being a single example, in whose person we are sorry for nothing, but that he needs not thank us for his choice. And so doubting as little of your Grace his favour as we do of your power in the consummating of our humble, and as we hope they will appear, of our moderate desires, I ever with most hearty zeal remain

At all your Grace his commands,

H WOTTON

471 To ARCHBISHOP LAUD

S P Dom Charles I, ccclxv, No 56 Dictated, no date, endorsed 'Received Aug 10, 1637' The Provosts of Eton and King's Colleges write to their acting Visitor about a disputed election (See next letter)

(Eton College, August, 1637)

After all due reverence, and our most humble duties remembered,

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

There is fallen out a difficulty, at this time of our annual election, in the case of a boy, by name Dudley Avery, otherwise of good hope and desert, which doth arrest our proceeding till we shall receive from your Grace an interpretation of our power, which we most humbly beg by this bearer¹, father of the said child, whose brother² is the King's agent at Hamborough, and he himself an instrument of singular use to the Queen of Bohemia in her domestic affairs, for which respects we are the more desirous to gratify him. The case itself will best appear to your Grace by the enclosed draft of a counsellor-at-law. And so, with our joint prayers most heartily committing your Grace to God's dearest love, we rest,

Your Grace his in humblest devotion,

HENRY WOTTON

S COLLINS

472 To JOHN DYNELY

Reliq, 3rd ed, p 570, dated 'August 18', written in 1637, as the endorsement of the letter above shows. The case of Dudley Avery

Dictated from my bed, Aug 18 (1637)

SIR,

I am glad of this opportunity to acquaint you, before your going, with the cause why Mr Avery's son did fail at our late election

When the boy came before us, being asked the ordinary questions

¹ Probably Samuel Avery, Alderman of the City of London (*Cal S P Dom* 1625-49, p 681). Laud was now acting as Visitor to Eton in the place of the Bishop of Lincoln, Williams, who was suspended from the exercise of his functions and imprisoned by the Star Chamber on July 11, 1637 (*Gazettes*, viii, p 254)

² Joseph Avery, the King's agent at Hamburg, and deputy of the English Merchant Adventurers there (*Cal S P Dom*, 1639, p 54)

Quod est tibi nomen? Quot annos natus es? Quo anni tempore? Quo comitatu? Quo oppido? Quare villa? (To all which his answers must remain upon record in our indentures of that year, if he be chosen), he stopped a little at the two last, and then (as if he had meant to suffer like a martyr for the truth) he told us flatly that he was born in the Low Countries at Delft. This retrenched all farther examination of him, for thereby he was ineligible, our statutes only admitting the English shires, with exclusion, not only of Ireland and Scotland but even of Wales, and much more of any foreign province. Hereupon we called in his father, who handsomely skirmished in his behalf that children born of English parents in the Staples of Merchants abroad were by an Act of Edward III habilitated¹ to all purposes at home as well as the inward natives. And thereupon he went and took counsel of Mr Newbury, steward of Windsor, and no obscure lawyer, who did set down his judgement in writing clearly for him, that all local statutes are void which are either against the common law or against a general precedent statute, as he said this was. Now although we could have been glad all to be left as free as your Airsmen leave our will, yet considering that our local statutes were long after the foresaid Act of Disabilities, and that how invalid soever they may appear to some other man, yet that they bind us at least in conscience, especially after so long custom. These points I say considered, the last good will we could express towards the father was to offer him (as I did) to propound the case to my Lord of Canterbury, our Visitor paramount, and now in ordinary (the Bishop of Lincoln being in an unvisitable case himself), that so his Grace might relieve him with his interpretation wherein I got the Provost of King's to concur with me, and so I drew a letter with all possible advantage on his side, enclosing therein the favourablest branch of our statutes. This letter Mr Avery carried to Croydon with paternal affection and haste, and brought us back an answer² to this substance that though his Grace should be heartily willing, in respect of the father's relation to her Majesty of Bohemia (as I had represented him), to do anything for the child, yet being a binding precedent against custom he could not suddenly determine the point, being at that time without civil lawyers, by whose advice his court was guided, and therefore, if we would defer our election till Michaelmas, he would then orderly decide it. But we being by other statutes bound not to

¹ 'Habilitated,' i.e. qualified. Obs. (N.E.D.)

² A transcript of this letter of Laud's (dated Aug. 10), preceded by Humphrey Newbury's judgement, is in the Record Office (*S.P. Dom. Chas. I.*, ccclxv, Nos. 56, 57.)

prolong our election an hour after such a time as was already near spent, and to tell you *in situ*, being loath to leave ourselves so long upon interpretation we gave it over. I understand since a circumstance that must needs trouble Mr Avery more than the business itself that it failed by his fault, and not the boy's. For after our usher (the child's tutor) had instructed him that by no means he should confess his foreign birth, his father, whom the boy had not acquainted with his tutor's instruction, not knowing our statutes, bade his son answer, when he should be asked the last question, that he was born *in comitatu Hollandiae*, and so the child trusting his father more than his tutor fell through the basket.¹

With this story I have entertained you at large, because, besides my zeal towards anything that our royal mistress can wish to be done, I was engaged in a promise to yourself, whom I will follow with letters to her Majesty by the conveyance of Sir Abraham Williams², and with a little nuptial present to yourself, which you had had with you if a friend of mine who should have made it ready, had not been scared from London.³ And yet (to show you my poverty) it is only a pair of sheets which I mean to send, with this mark at the corners, *pro Dmleams*. In the meanwhile, God hold you and your love in His love, wherein, after the uncertain traverses of courts below, dwelleth all abundance and infallibility above.

By your ever the same affectionate poor friend,

HENRY WOTTON

473 TO SIR RICHARD BAKER⁴

Reliq. 1st ed., p. 445, 3rd ed., p. 351. Wotton thanks Sir Richard Baker for his *Meditations on the Lord's Prayer*. As this book was published in 1637, Wotton's letter probably belongs to this year.

<1637 ?>

SIR,

I conceive that you have been pleased, out of our ancient friendship (which was first, and is ever best, elemented in an academy), and not out of any valuation of my poor judgement, to communicate with me your Divine Meditations on the Lord's Prayer,⁵ in some several sheets, which have given me a true taste of the

¹ The name 'Avenue' appears among the names of the Eton Commensals in 1637 (Wasey Steery, *A List of Eton Commensals*, 1904).

² Sir Abraham Williams, agent for the Queen of Bohemia in England.

³ Perhaps Izaak Walton, who is believed (though on no positive evidence) to have kept a haberdasher's shop in Fleet Street near Chancery Lane. Wotton is not likely to have had many friends among haberdashers, and the above may perhaps be taken as some slight confirmation of this belief. London was ravaged by the plague in 1637.

⁴ Sir Richard Baker, see Appendix III. Baker was now in the Fleet Prison.

⁵ *Meditations and Disquisitions upon the Lord's Prayer*, 1636(7).

whole, wherein I must needs observe and much admire the very character of your style, which seemeth unto me to have not a little of the African idea of St Augustine's age, full of sweet raptures and of researched conceits, nothing borrowed, nothing vulgar, and yet all flowing from you (I know not how) with a certain equal facility so as I see your worldly troubles have been but pressing irons to your heavenly cogitations

Good Sir, let not any modesty of your nature, let not any obscurity of your fortune, smother such an excellent employment of your erudition and zeal, for it is a work of light, and not of darkness. And thus wishing you long health, that can use it so well,

I remain your poor friend, to love and serve you,

H. WOTTON.

474 TO SAMUEL COLLINS¹

Reliq., 3rd edition, unpag'd 'To the right Worthy Provost and Professor Regius of Divinity in Cambridge' Books of controversy Wotton sends Dr Collins a portrait of Sarpi

From the arms of your good nurse, who fed you
with her best milk Jan 17, 1637(8)

SIR,

Though my feet cannot perform that counsel which I remember from some translation in Syracides, *Teras lumen sensati viri*,² yet I should at least have often visited you with my poor lines But on the other side, while I durst not trust mine own conceit in the power of my present infirmity, and therefore have seldom written to any, I find myself in the meantime overcharged with diverse letters from you of singular kindness, and one of them accompanied with a dainty peaceful piece, which truly I had not seen before, so as besides the weight of the subject it was welcome even for the grace of newness Yet let me tell you, I could not but somewhat wonder to find our spiritual Seneca³ (you know whom I mean) among these reconcilers, having read a former treatise of his (if my memory fail me not) of a contrary complexion Howsoever, now let him have his due praise with the rest for showing his Christian wisdom and charity But I fear, as it was anciently said by a Roman General, that *bellum sese alit*,⁴ so it will prove, though in somewhat a different sense, likewise

¹ Dr Samuel Collins, Provost of King's College, see Appendix III

² *Ecclesiasticus* vi 36 'Et si videris sensatum, evigila ad eum, et gradus ostiorum illius exerat pes tuus'

³ Dr Joseph Hall (1574-1656), Bishop of Exeter 1627, of Norwich 1641 'He was commonly called our English Seneca for the pureness, plainness, and fullness of his style' (Fuller's *Worthies*, 1811, i, p 566)

⁴ Marcus Porcius Cato, "Bellum" inquit "se ipsum alit." (*Lucy*, xxiv. 9 12)

PORTRAIT OF FRA PAOLO SARPI

(From the picture, by an unknown painter, in the Bodleian Library)

as true of this Church warfare, that the very pleasure of contending will foment contention till the end of all flesh^{*}

But let me leave that sacred business to our well meaning Fathers

And now, Sir, having a fit messenger, and not long after the time when love tokens use to pass between friends, let me be bold to send you for a New Year's gift a certain memorial, not altogether unworthy of some entertainment under your roof, namely, a true picture of Padre Paolo the *Servita*, which was first taken by a painter whom I sent unto him from my house then neighbouring his monastery I have newly added thereunto a title of mine own conception, *Concili Tridentini Eviscerator*, and had sent the frame withal if it were portable, which is but of plain deal, coloured black like the habit of his order¹ You have a luminous parlour, which I have good cause to remember, not only by delicate fare and freedom (the prince of dishes), but above all, by your own learned discourse, for to dine with you is to dine with many good authors In that room I beseech you to allow it a favourable place for my sake And that you may have somewhat to tell of him more than a bare image, if any shall ask, as in the *Tale* of Cebes, *Τίνος ἐστὶ τόδ' ἄγαλμα*,² I am desirous to characterize a little unto you such part of his nature, customs, and abilities, as I had occasion to know by sight or by inquiry He was one of the humblest things that could be seen within the bounds of humanity, the very pattern of that precept, *quanto doctior tanto submissior*³ And enough alone to demonstrate that knowledge well digested *non inflat* Excellent in positive, excellent in scholastical and polemical divinity A rare mathematician, even in the most abstruse parts thereof, as in algebra and the *theoriques*⁴; and yet withal so expert in the history of plants as if he had never perused any book but nature Lastly, a great canonist, which was the title of his ordinary service with the State, and certainly in the time of the Pope's interdict they had their principal light from him When he was either reading or writing alone his manner was to sit fenced with a castle of paper about his chair and over head for he was of our Lord of St Alban's opinion, that all air is predatory, and especially hurtful when the spirits are most employed You will find a scar in his face, that was from a Roman assassinate, that would have killed him as he was turned to a wall near to his convent and if there were not a greater Providence about us it might often have

¹ For the history of this portrait see Appendix III, under Sarpi

² A reference to the *Πινάξ* of Cebes, Wotton is quoting from memory, *τι ποτέ ἐστιν ὁ μῦθος*, are the words of the stranger in the dialogue (*Πινάξ* iii)

³ 'Ut recte praecepere videantur qui monent, ut, quanto superiores sumus, tanto nos geramus submissius' (*Cic de Offic* i 26)

⁴ 'Theoriques,' i.e. theories, theoretical branches of knowledge

been easily done especially upon such a weak and wearyish body. He was of a quiet and settled temper, which made him prompt in his counsels and answers, and the same in consultation which Themistocles was in action, *αὐτοσχεδιάζειν ἱκανότατος*¹, as will appear unto you in a passage between him and the Prince of Conde. The said Prince, in a voluntary journey to Rome came by Venice, where to give some vent to his own humours he would often divest himself of his greatness, and after other less laudable curiosities, not long before his departure, a desire took him to visit the famous obscure *Servita*, to whose cloister coming twice he was the first time denied to be within, at the second it was intimated that by reason of his daily admission to their deliberation in the palace he could not receive the visit of so illustrious a personage without leave from the Senate, which he would seek to procure. This set a greater edge on the Prince when he saw he should confer with one participant of more than monkish speculations. So after leave gotten he came the third time, and then besides other voluntary discourse (which it were a tyranny over you to repeat) he assailed him with a question enough to have troubled any man but himself, and him too if a precedent accident had not eased him. The question was *διαπρήδην* this, he desired to be told by him before his going who was the true unmasked author of the late Tridentine history?²

You must know this, that but newly advertisement was come from Rome that the Archbishop of Spalato being then returned from England, in an interview between him and the Cardinal Ludovico, nephew to Gregory the XV, the said Cardinal, after a complimentary welcoming him into the lap of the Church, told him by order from the Pope that his Holiness would expect from him some recantation in print³, as an antidote against certain books and pamphlets which he had published whilst he stood in revolt. Namely, his first *Manifesto*⁴, item, two sermons preached at the Italian Church in London,⁵ again, a little tract, entitled his *Scogli*,⁶ and lastly, his greater volumes about Church regiment and controversies⁶. These were all named. 'For as touching the Tridentine history, his Holiness' (says

¹ *Κράτιστος δὴ οὗτος αὐτοσχεδιάζειν τὰ δέοντα ἐγένετο* (*Thuc.* 1. 135.)

² 'Memorandum, that the recantation was to my knowledge never printed at Rome or elsewhere, through more haste belike to his death, or otherwise upon further consideration that things extorted with fear carry no credit, even by the Praetor's Edict' (Wotton's note in margin). This recantation, however, was printed at Rome in 1628 '*M. A. de D. sui Reditus ex Anglia Consilium exponit*', and an English translation was published at Douai, in the same year.

³ *Marc. Ant. de Dominis suae perfectionis consilium exponit*, London, 1616.

⁴ *Predica Rom.* vii. 12, 'La prima Domenica dell' Avvento 1617'. I cannot find a reference to any other sermon published by De Dominis.

⁵ *Scogli del Cristiano Naufragio*, &c., 1616.

⁶ *De Republica Ecclesiastica*, London, 1617 and 1620, 3 vols.

the Cardinal) 'will not press you to any disavowment thereof'¹ though you have an epistle before the original edition, because we know well enough that Friar Paolo is the father of that biat' Upon this last piece of the aforesaid advertisement the good father came fairly off, for on a sudden laying all together, that to disavow the work was an untruth, to assume it a danger, and to say nothing an incivility, he took a middle evasion telling the Prince that he understood he was going to Rome, where he might learn at ease who was the author of that book, as they were freshly intelligenced from thence²

Thus without any mercy of your time I have been led along from one thing to another, while I have taken pleasure to remember that man whom God appointed and furnished for a proper instrument to anatomize that pack of reverend cheaters, among whom (I speak of the greater part, *exceptis sanioribus*) religion was shuffled like a pair of cards and the dice so many years were set upon us And so wishing you very heartily many good years, I will let you breathe till you have opened the enclosed, remaining,

Your poor friend to serve you,
HENRY WOTTON

475 TO LORD COVENTRY³

Reliq., 1st ed., p. 442, 3rd ed., p. 349 Unsigned, no date, but probably the letter mentioned in the postscript of No. 476, and written therefore early in 1638. A letter to the Lord Keeper with a petition about College business, from the Provost and Fellows of Eton

(January ? 1638)

RIGHT HONOURABLE AND OUR VERY GOOD LORD, THE LORD
KEEPER,

It is so open and so general for any that fly unto your Lordships tribunal to receive there a fair and equitable measure as it hath (we know not how) wrought in us a kind of unnatural effect, for thereby we have been made the sower to render your Lordship our most humble thanks in our own proper case, because we knew not how to single it from the common benefit which all find in your goodness. But we can now forbear no longer to join among ourselves, and with the universal voice, in a blessing upon your name

And as we bring a true and humble acknowledgement in our

¹ 'Quod metus causa' Note of Wotton's

² *Ante*, II, p. 251

³ Sir Thomas Coventry (1578-1640), Lord Keeper 1625, Lord Coventry 1628
(D N B)

particular, that this College is bound to celebrate your honour for that charitable injunction wherewith you have sustained a great and important portion of the livelihood of so many young plants of good literature, till a farther discussion of your right, so we likewise most humbly beseech your good Lordship, in the sincerity of our own desires of quietness, and in the confidence of our cause, that you will be pleased to entertain with favour a petition which our Counsel will present unto your Lordship for some day of hearing that shall best sort with your great affairs. And so with all our joint and hearty prayers, both of young and old, for your long preservation, we rest,
Your most humble and devoted servants

476 TO SIR EDMUND BACON

Letters to B p 100 *Reliq*, 3rd ed, p 466 Wotton's health, prospects and literary plans

From your College, this Ash-Wednesday,
(Feb 7), 1637(S)

Oh my most dear nephew (for so I still glory to call you, while Heaven possesseth her who bound us in that relation), how have I of late, after many vexations of a fastidious infirmity, been at once rent in pieces by hearing that you were at London 'What' said I, 'and must it be at a time when I cannot fly thither to have my wonted part of that conversation wherein all that know him enjoy such infinite contentment?' Thus much did suddenly break loose from the heart that doth truly honour you. And now, Sir, let me tell you both how it hath gone with me and how I stand at the present. There is a triple health, health of body, of mind, and of fortune, you shall have, a short account of all three.

For the first, it is now almost an whole cycle of the sun since, after certain fits of a quotidian fever, I was assailed by that splenetic passion, which a country good fellow that had been a piece of a grammarian meant when he said he was sick of the *flatus*, and the other hard word, for *hypochondriacus* stuck in his teeth. It is the very *Proteus* of all maladies, shifting into sundry shapes, almost every night a new, and yet still the same, neither can I hope that it will end in a solar period, being such a saturnine humour, but though the core and root of it be remaining, yet the symptoms (I thank my God) are well allayed. And in general I have found it of more contumacy than malignity. Only since the late cold weather there is complicated with it a more asthmatical straitness of respiration than heretofore yet those about me say I bear it well, as perchance custom hath taught me, being now familiarized and

domesticated evils in the tragedian's expression, *Iam mansueta mala*¹ And thus much of the habit of my body On the other side, my mind is in a right philosophical estate of health, that is, at an equal distance both from desire and hope, and ambitious of nothing but of doing nothing and of being nothing Yet I have some employment of my thoughts to keep them from mouldering, as you shall know before I close this letter But first, touching the third kind of health My condition or fortune was never better than in this good Lord Treasurer's² time the very reverse of his proud predecessor, that made a scorn of my poverty and a sport of my modesty, leaving me in bad case, and the world so, as though we now know by what arts he lived, yet are we ignorant to this hour by what religion he died, save only that it could not be good, which was not worthy the professing³ This free passage let me commit to your noble breast, remembering that in confidence of the receiver I have transgressed a late counsel of mine own, which I gave to a young friend, who, asking me casually of what he should make him a suit, as he was passing this way towards London, I told him that, in my opinion, he could not buy a cheaper nor a more lasting stuff there than silence For I loved him well, and was afraid of a little freedom that I spied in him

And now, Sir, I must needs conclude (or I shall burst) with letting you know that I have divers things in wild sheets that think and struggle to get out of several kinds, some long promised and some of a newer conception But a poor exercise of my pen (wherewith I shall only honour myself by the dedication thereof unto your own person) is that which shall lead the way by mine and your good leave, intending (if God yield me His favour) to print it before it be long in Oxford, and to send you thence, or bring you a copy to our Redgrave What the subject is you must not know beforehand for I fear it will want all other grace if it lose virginity⁴ And so the Lord of all abundant joy keep you long, *con quella buona sera*, which this my servant did relate unto me,

Who live, at all your commands,

HENRY WOTTON

Postscript —Mr Clever', one of the now Fellows of this College

¹ The phrase 'mansuetum id malum' occurs in *Livy*, iii 16

² Juxon

³ The Earl of Portland (*ante*, ii, pp 334-6) He professed himself a Catholic on his death-bed (*Gardner*, vii, p 378)

⁴ Wotton did not publish anything in this year, but is referring perhaps to his unfinished essay 'The Great Action between Pompey and Caesar, extracted out of the Roman and Grecian writers by H W Kt for an Historical exercise' 'The dedication to Sir Edmund Bacon, Knight and Baronet,' was printed in the *Reliquiae*, 1st ed, p 337, 3rd ed, p 239

⁵ Clever (*ante*, ii, p 366)

(where have been divers changes since it had the honour and the gladness to receive you), being this day returned hither from the excellent Lord Keeper, to whom we had addressed him about a business that concerneth us, tells me even at this instant in the account of his journey that it pleased his good Lordship to inquire of him twice or thrice very graciously touching my health. I beseech you (my noble nephew) let his Lordship see if it please you, this whole letter (for I dare trust his indulgent goodness, both with my liberties and with my simplicities) and that will tell him my present estate, which, by making it any part of his care, is for ever at his most humble service

477 TO IZAAK WALTON

Reliq., 1st ed., p. 513, 3rd ed., p. 361, no date, but probably written at about the same time as No. 476 as the description of Wotton's illness is the same. A hymn sent to Walton

(Eton College Feb. 1638?)

MY WORTHY FRIEND,

Since I last saw you I have been confined to my chamber by a quotidian fever, I thank God of more contumacy than malignity. It had once left me, as I thought, but it was only to fetch more company, returning with a succew of those splenetic vapours that are called *hypochondriacal*, of which most say the cure is good company; and I desire no better physician than yourself. I have in one of those fits endeavoured to make it more easy by composing a short hymn, and since I have apparelled my best thoughts so lightly as in verse, I hope I shall be pardoned a second vanity if I communicate it with such a friend as yourself, to whom I wish a cheerful spirit and a thankful heart to value it, as one of the greatest blessings of our good God, in whose dear love I leave you, remaining

Your poor friend to serve you,

H. WOTTON

A HYMN TO MY GOD IN A NIGHT OF MY LATE SICKNESS

Oh thou great Power! in whom I move

For whom I live, to whom I die,

Behold me through Thy beams of love,

Whilst on this couch of tears I lie,

And cleanse my sordid soul within

By Thy Christ's blood, the bath of sin

No hallowed oils, no grains I need,

No rags of saints, no purging fire,

One rosy drop from David's seed

Was worlds of seas to quench Thine ire

O precious ransom ! which once paid,
 That *Consummatum est* was said,
 And said by Him that said no more,
 But sealed it with His sacred breath
 Thou then that hath dispoinged my scoie,
 And dying wast the death of death,
 Be to me now, on Thee I call,
 My life, my strength, my joy, my all

HEN WOTTON

478 To DOCTOR CASTLE¹

Reliq, 1st ed, p 458, 3rd ed, p 358 The first of ten letters to Dr Castle all undated save one For lack of other indications of date or order I place these letters to Castle in the sequence in which they were printed in the *Reliquiae* Wotton refers to a report of his death

⟨Eton College February 1638 ?⟩

WORTHY SIR

Till the receipt of your last, and the like from others of both universities and one from Brussels, *eiusdem argumenti*, I thought, in good faith, that as I have lived (I thank God) with little ambition, so I could have died with as much silence as any man in England But I now see that the most unvaluable things may serve to make a noise

And I have now no more to say, but that while the foresaid report shall be false the underwriter is

Truly yours,
 H WOTTON

479 To DOCTOR CASTLE

Reliq, 1st ed, p 476, 3rd ed, p 362 'To Doctor C' No date, but as Wotton repeats in this letter the anecdote in No 476, and the same description of his illness, it was no doubt written at about the same time Wotton asks for news, and writes of his illness

⟨Eton College, February 1638 ?⟩

WORTHY SIR

I cannot (according to the Italian phrase, at which I have been often ready to laugh, among a nation otherwise of so civil language) accuse² the receipt of any letter from you since your remove from these parts, save of two by this bearer, my servant and yours, as all mine shall be Neither can I satisfy my imagination (so far I am

¹ Dr John Castle, see Appendix III

² *Accusare una lettera*, to acknowledge the receipt of a letter

from quieting my desire) where a third (which you intimate in your last) may yet lie smothered in some pocket, for which I should have made a great research if that were not the diligentest way to miss it. The truth is, as I do highly estimate every line from your pen so on the other side I am as jealous that any of them should stray. For when a friend of mine, that was lately going towards your city, fell casually into some discourse with me how he should clothe himself there, I made some sport to tell him (for a little beguiling of my melancholy fumes) that in my opinion the cheapest stuff in London was silence. But this concerneth neither of us both, for we know how to speak and write safely, that is, honestly, always, if we touch any tender matter let us remember his motto that wrote upon the mantel of his chimney, where he used to keep a good fire, *optimus secretariorum*.

I owe you abundant thanks for the advertisements in your last, so clearly and judiciously delivered. You cannot do me a greater favour, for though I am a cloistered man in the condition of my present life, besides my confinement by infirmity, yet having spent so much of mine age among noise abroad, and seven years thereof in the Court at home, there doth still hang upon me, I know not how, a certain concupiscence of novelties.

I am sorry I have nothing in that kind at the present to interchange with you.

In mine own sickness I had of late, for one half night and a whole day following, a perfect intermission, like a truce from all symptoms. But some of them are returned again, and I am afraid it will be hard to throw out altogether this same saturnine enemy, being now lodged in me almost a full year.

In your way of applying the leeches I have found sensible benefit.

If I could get a lodging near Paul's Church I would fain pass a week there yet before the great festival.¹

Pardon me good Sir, this communication with you of my domestic purposes, and pardon me likewise the use of another man's hand in this letter, for a little ease of mine own head and eyes. And so I rest,

Your hearty friend and servant in all occasions,

SIR,

H. WOTTON

Your subscription of Aldrovandus² putteth me in mind of a mishap which befell me in the time of my private travels. I had been in a long pursuit of a much commended author, namely Johannes

¹ Probably Easter, which fell on March 25 (O.S.) in 1638, though Wotton is possibly referring to the creation of Prince Charles (Charles II) as Prince of Wales, which was celebrated with considerable pomp at Windsor in May, 1638, see below, p. 387.

² Ulisse Aldrovandi (1527-1607), author of a famous Natural History

Britannicus *de re Metallica*, and could never see him but in the library of the brave monks of Mont' Oliveto in the *Contado di Siena*, where, while I had taken order to have him transcribed, Aldrovando passing that way borrowed him from the monastery, and I sending not long after unto him in Bologna my friend found him newly dead And this was the period of my fruitless curiosity

480 TO DOCTOR CASTLE

Reliq, 1st ed, p 479, 3rd ed, p 365, 'to Doctor C' The third of the letters to Dr Castle

(February, 1638?)

WORTHY SIR,

I see by your letters, by your discourses, and by your whole conversation, that you are a friend of great learning, and (which are commonly consociated) of as great humanity, which shall make me study by any means, within the narrowness of my fortune and judgement, to deserve your love

The rest I leave to this bearer, my servant, as I am yours,

H WOTTON

481 TO DOCTOR CASTLE

Reliq, 1st ed p 484, 3rd ed, p 365 Wotton describes his illness in the same phrases as in Letter 476

(Eton College, February, 1638?)

WORTHY SIR,

Henceforward no complimentary forms between us Let others repute them according to the Latin denomination, fine civil fillings of speech and letters,¹ for my part, in good faith *ex diametro*, I ever thought they were mere emptinesses Yet they may chance serve between some natures to kindle good will, but I account our friendship no longer *in fieri*

You have so represented — unto me as methinks I see him walking, not like a *funambulus* upon a cord, but upon the edge of a razor² What shall I retribute to you from hence? Nothing but a pretty accident in a sad subject There was, you know, inhabitant in —, a young widow of value, who lately dying at London, whither she went to solace with some of her friends, left

¹ *Complementa*

² Possibly John Willrims, Bishop of Lincoln, who being still in disgrace with the Court, put himself on the side of the Puritans, and was attempting to mediate between them and the High Church party His *Holy Table, Name, and Thing*, published in Nov 1637, advocated a compromise of the controversy about the position of the Communion Table He was now in the Tower, where he remained until 1640 (*Gardner*, viii, pp 253-6, *Stratford Pp*, ii, p 149)

order by will that her body should be buried in her dwelling parish, as it was this week, where — made the funeral sermon, who had been one of her professed suitors and so she did not want a passionate eulogist, as well as an excellent preacher

For the estate of mine own body, it is not so well as my servant seems by your letter to have laid it before you It is true that the symptoms are well allayed, or otherwise peradventure custom hath taught me to bear them better, being now familiarized and domesticated evils, *iam mansueta mala* Yet still the hot fumes continue in the night, and the salivation by day, but in somewhat a lesser measure, besides a straitness of breathing, which I should be glad to know whether you observe in other hypochondriacal patients And if you can advise me of a good *erynum*¹, I have a strong fantasy, *ex Fernelio*², that it will discharge my head but such juices and expressions as he appointeth are not now to be had Sir, pardon me this trouble, and God have you in his love

Your affectionate friend to serve you unceremoniously,

H W

482 TO DOCTOR COLLINS

King's College MSS Letters, IV, No 6 transcript A formal letter from the Provost of Eton to the Provost of King's College, about the election of a scholar from Eton to King's College

From the King's College in Eton,
this 4th day of April (1638)

SIR,

Having lately notice from you of a Scholar's place now void in your College (the which within certain days is to be filled) I have therefore, according to your notice given, and the statutes of both our Colleges, sent you the name of the Scholar lately elected for that place (that is to say), John Akester⁴ *aetas xvii, Fest Nativitat Com Surrey, Villa, Putney* And so with my very hearty commendations I commit you to God

Your very loving friend,

HENRY WOTTON

¹ 'Erynum' or 'Elyngium', sea holly, formerly used as a diuretic (*Fennell*)

² *Ex Fernelio*, see *ante*, II, p 366 n

³ 'Expressions,' i.e. things pressed or squeezed out Obs (*N E D*)

⁴ John Akester, or Alcester, elected from Eton to King's College 1638 'Went away Scholar' (*Harwood*, p 238) Another similar formal letter from Wotton to Collins (dated 1637) is preserved at King's College (*Letters*, IV, No 8)

483 TO JOHN MILTON

Poems of Mr John Milton, 1645 'The copy of a letter writt'n by Sir Henry Wootton, to the author, upon the following Poem' Reprinted, *Reliq*, 1st ed, p 432, 'To Master——', 3rd ed, p 342, 'To Mr Milton' Wotton thanks Milton for sending him *Comus*, and advises him about his Italian journey

From the College this 13 of April, 1638

SIR,

It was a special favour when you lately bestowed upon me here the first taste of your acquaintance, though no longer than to make me know that I wanted more time to value it and to enjoy it rightly, and in truth, if I could then have imagined you farther stay in these parts, which I understood afterward by Mr H¹, I would have been bold, in our vulgar phrase, to mend my draught (for you left me with an extreme thirst), and to have begged your conversation again jointly with your said learned friend at a poor meal or two, that we might have banded² together some good authors of the ancient time among which I observed you to have been familiar

Since you going you have charged me with new obligations, both for a very kind letter from you dated the sixth of this month, and for a dainty piece of entertainment³ that came therewith Wherein I should much commend the tragical part if the lyrical did not ravish me with a certain Dorique⁴ delicacy in your songs and odes, whereunto I must plainly confess to have seen yet nothing parallel in our language, *ipsa mollities* But I must not omit to tell you that I now only owe you thanks for intimating unto me (how modestly soever) the true artificer For the work itself I had viewed some good while before with singular delight, having received it from our common friend Mr R in the very close of the late R's poems⁵

¹ No doubt John Hales, whose name was added in old handwriting in a copy of the *Reliquiae* (1672) in the possession of Henry Todd (Todd's *Milton*, 1806, vi, p 180 n) Warton first suggested Samuel Hartlib, but omitted this suggestion in the 2nd ed. of his *Comus*

² 'Banded,' i.e. bandied Obv. (N E D)

³ *A Maske presented at Ludlow Castle*, 1634, &c The anonymous edition of *Comus* published by Henry Lawes

⁴ 'Dorique,' i.e. Theocritan or pastoral, cf *Lycidas*, 189, 'With eager thought waibling his Doric lay' *Paradise Regained*, iv 257, 'Aeolian charms and Dorian lyric odes' Wotton, as far as we know, was the first person of eminence who recognized Milton's genius

⁵ These initials are somewhat puzzling, and have given rise to considerable discussion among Milton's commentators Warton's explanation is almost certainly the correct one 'Mr R' was probably John Rouse, Bodley's Librarian, to whom Milton wrote a Latin Ode in 1647 Milton was incorporated M.A. at Oxford in 1635, and had probably made the acquaintance of Rouse at the Bodleian But Humphrey Robinson, by whom the first edition of *Comus* was printed, and Robert Randolph, the younger brother of Thomas Randolph, have been suggested (N & Q, 1st Ser, vii, pp 111, 140) The late

printed at Oxford, whereunto is added (as I now suppose) that the accessory might help out the principal, according to the ait of stationers, and to leave the reader *con la bocca dolce*

Now, Sir, concerning your travels, wherein I may challenge a little more privilege of discourse with you I suppose you will not blanch Paris in your way, therefore I have been bold to trouble you with a few lines to Mr M B¹, whom you shall easily find attending the young Lord S² as his governor, and you may surely receive from him good directions for the shaping of your farther journey into Italy, where he did reside by my choice some time for the King, after mine own recess from Venice

I should think that your best line will be through the whole length of France to Marseilles, and thence by sea to Genoa, whence the passage into Tuscany is as diurnal as a Gravesend barge I hasten, as you do to Florence, or Siena the rather, to tell you a short story from the interest you have given me in your safety

At Siena I was tabled in the house of one Alberto Scipioni, an old Roman courtier in dangerous times, having been steward to the Duca di Pagliano, who with all his family were strangled, save this only man that escaped by foresight of the tempest With him I had often much chat of those affairs, into which he took pleasure to look back from his native harbour, and at my departure toward Rome (which had been the centre of his experience) I had won confidence enough to beg his advice how I might carry myself securely there, without offence of others or of mine own conscience 'Signor Arrigo mio' (says he), '*i pensieri stretti e il viso sciolto* will go safely over the whole world' Of which Delphian oracle (for so I have found it) your judgement doth need no commentary, and

R's poems printed at Oxford' can hardly refer to anything but Thomas Randolph's *Poems with the Muses Looking-glass and Amyntas*, Oxford, 1638 Thomas Randolph died in 1635, there is no record of any other volume of poems by an author whose name begins with R having been printed at Oxford in this period The difficulties in the way of this explanation are two no copies of Randolph's *Poems* bound up with *Comus* have ever been found, and the book was certainly not published in this form Rouse, in sending the book to Wotton, must himself have had Lawes's edition of *Comus* stitched up at the end The books are of the same size—both small quartos The second difficulty is more serious It was on April 6 that Milton sent *Comus* to Wotton, who replies that he had seen it 'some good while before' But Randolph's *Poems* bear the date 1638, which would generally mean after March 24 How then could Wotton have received the book some good while before? Either Rouse had procured some advance sheets to send to Wotton, or else the printer of Randolph's *Poems* dated them, not according to the legal year (beginning March 25), but according to the ecclesiastical reckoning, by which the year began on Jan 1 Mr F Madan kindly informs me that books were occasionally so dated at this time, and Randolph's *Poems* may therefore have been published as early as January, 1638, more than three months before the above letter

¹ Michael Branthwaite.

² 'Lord S' This must be Mr James (not Lord) Scudamore (*ante*, II, p 364 n).

therefore, Sir, I will commit you with it to the best of all securities,
God's dear love, remaining,

Your friend as much at command as any of longer date,

HENRY WOOTTON

Postscript — Sir, I have expressly sent this my footboy to prevent your departure without some acknowledgement from me of the receipt of your obliging letter, having myself through some business, I know not how, neglected the ordinary conveyance. In any part where I shall understand you fixed, I shall be glad and diligent to entertain you with home novelties, even for some fomentation of our friendship, too soon interrupted in the cradle.¹

484 To DOCTOR CASTLE

Reliq., 1st ed., p. 486, 3rd ed., p. 366 'To Doctor C' Undated, but written in the spring of 1638 (See note 2)

(April 1638)

WORTHY SIR,

I now return unto you your secret papers again, whereof, lest I should violate the communications of such a friend, I have not so much as reserved a copy (though I might have done it, by your leave), but I have perused them so often as I think I can say them without book. The scene² seemeth since then much changed to the worse, yet I hope all will resolve into nothing, and that when things appear most tempestuous, they will be nearest a calm, according to your great aphorism in physic, *non ante crisin est molestissima*.

I beseech you, Sir, not to conceive by the tardity of my answer unto you any faintness in the acknowledgement of your favours, but to prosecute your friendly intelligence upon occasion, even when I shall be on the other side of you,³ as perchance I shall be shortly in my genial soil, for I will teach the footposts of that place to find your lodging. And so leaving you in God's dear love, I rest,

Your professed poor friend and servant,

H. WOOTTON

¹ Milton evidently set a high value on the above letter, printing it in his first volume of collected poems, and speaking of it as follows in his *Defensio Secunda*, published in 1654, 'Abeuntem, vir clarissimus Henricus Woottonus, qui ad Venetos Orator Iacobi regis diu fuerat, et votis et praeceptis, eunti peregrine sane utilissimis, elegantibus epistola perscriptis, me amicissime persequutus est' (*Ioannis Miltoni Defensio Secunda*, 1654, p. 88). Humphrey Moseley, who printed the first edition of Milton's poems, mentions this letter, in his 'Address to the Reader', as 'that unparalleled attestation of that renowned Provost of Eaton, Sir Henry Wootton'.

² The scene in Scotland. The 'Covenant' against the Prayer Book and the Bishops was issued on Feb. 27, and practically the whole Scotch nation united in opposition to Charles I.

³ In Kent, and therefore on the other side of London.

485 TO DOCTOR CASTLE

Reliq 1st ed., p. 487, 2d ed. p. 367 Undated printed after above letter
Wotton recommends his cousin John Gainsford, to Dr. Castle

(Eton College April 1688)

SIR,

Let me pray you that the subject of these lines may be only to recommend unto your counsel and good affection the bearer of them, Mr John Gainsford¹, the nearest kinsman on my mother's side that I have living, and yet my nearer friend so as I have more than a single interest in his health he is much travailed with an exorbitant effusion of — which, though it be a natural preventive to some evils, yet surely without either stop or moderation, must needs exhaust his spirits He hath had heretofore some taste of your acquaintance at large, and you have left in him *illos aculeos*, which you do in all that (after the Scottish phrase) get but a gripe of you, for you are indeed a wounding man, as my servant Nicholas² saith, to whom I showed your last letter This my dear cousin in one thing especially is capable of good hope from your advice, that he believes in it by my discourse with him, who truly must confess that I have received much benefit by yours, touching my splenetical infirmity, which differeth from his no more than the stopping or running of the same spout Besides this, he is the fitter for you to work upon because he hath yet tried no remedy, not so much as the ordinary diversion of opening another vein Sir, I commend him most heartily into your hands, and because you have two capacities (as our lawyers speak), a political and philosophical, from both which I draw much good, give me leave to entertain you with a letter of some few novelties from Oxford, received as I was thinking to shut up the present, which shall end in ever professing myself,

Your very hearty poor friend,

H WOTTON

¹ Probably John Gainsford, third son of Richard Gainsford, of Cosens Manor, Kent (Berry's *Kent*, p. 451) Wotton's maternal grandmother, Lady Finch, was Catherine, daughter of Sir John Gainsford (*ante*, II, p. 124)

² Cicero says that Eupolis wrote of Pericles 'cum delectatione aculeos etiam relinquere in animis eorum, a quibus esset auditus' (*Brut* ix.)

³ Nicholas Oudart (d. 1681), brought to England by Wotton from Brabant, Latin Secretary to Charles II 1666-81 (*D N B*).

486 To —

Reliq, 1st ed, p 504, 3rd ed, 376 Without date or address—perhaps to Doctor Castle For conjectured date see note 1 News from Scotland, &c
(May ? 1638)

SIR,

I had sooner given you an account of your two last kind letters, even for mine own sake, upon whom otherwise you should have had just cause to bestow no more of your excellent intelligence, but that I have had this my servant (and I can assure you as much yours) every day upon his wings towards you a pretty while

To abbreviate compliment, which never agreed with my nature, in a few plain words both myself and all about me are yours

Sir, I was glad by your last to see in the Scottish ruptures a thread of hope yet left It is like an instrument wholly out of tune, but yet not all the strings broken or cut, especially if it be true, which is here voiced with us, that my Lord —¹, a popular orator, is sent thither to smooth the way towards a pacifical treaty between certain of the King's deputation and others of the Covenant

This bearer will tell you what we hear of certain rumourous surmises at N² and the neighbouring towns God (who is Himself the true centre of rest) make us all quiet and have you in His love

By your affectionate, professed poor friend,

H WOTTON

487 To SIR C C

Reliq, 1st ed, p 498, 3rd ed, p 372 No date or address, but plainly to 'Sir C C', to whom the next letter is addressed

(May ? 1638)

SIR,

First, I must thank you for the fruition of your L at life here³, though it was too short Next, for your pictures, whereof I return one by this first boat and retain the other longer by your courtesy

Thirdly, and most of all, for a promise which I receive from you by my servant, or at least a hope, that you will send me some of your own rural poesy⁴ that will be a nearer image of your inward

¹ In May, 1638, Charles I resolved to negotiate with the Covenanters, and the Marquis of Hamilton was appointed Commissioner to go to Scotland for this purpose (*Gardiner*, viii, p 339) If, as is probable, Wotton's reference is to this mission, the above letter was written about May, 1638

² Newcastle (?)

³ 'L at life' I am unable to explain this phrase, which seems to refer to a visit to Eton Possibly 'late life'

⁴ Sir C C may possibly stand for Sir Chpsby Crewe, knighted 1620, Herrick's friend Herrick mentions his verses (*Herrick's Poems*, 1859, p 279)

self, especially when you were retuned into yourself I do therefore expect it greedily by this, for I well remember to have seen some lines that flowed from you with much strength and grace When you have any great piece of news, I pray now and then *candidus impetu*¹ to

Your professed servant,
H WOTTON

488 To SIR C C

Reliq, 1st ed., p 503, 3rd ed., p 375 Undated (for approximate date see note 2) Wotton thanks his correspondent for his poems, and sends his lately composed hymn in return

(May, 1638)

SIR,

Let me first thank you much for that rural communication with your own thoughts, the best of all companions I was first taken with the virginity (as I may say) of the inscription in our vulgar Next, with a natural suavity in the elocution, which, though it be lyrical, yet it shows you can put on the buskin when you list, and when you are tempted again to solicit your own spirits, I would fain have you venture upon some tragical subject, though you borrow it out of Arabia, for I am glad our England cannot yield it I hear, for matter of novelty, that Sir Thomas Roe² (a well chosen instrument) is to take his leave on Sunday next at Court, being designed to be one of the great synod of Protestant ambassadors that are to meet at Hamborough, which to me sounds like an antiphone to the other malign conjunction at Colen³ And so, Sir, committing you to God's dear love, I rest,

At your commands,
H W

SIR,

I retain your poem for a pawn that I shall have the rest, and I send you a few poor lines⁴, which my pains did beget I pray keep them under your own favourable judgement, and impart them tenderly to others, for I fear that even the best of our thoughts may be vainly clothed

¹ Horace, *Epist* 1.6.63

² Sir Thomas Roe (*ante*, II, p 247) was sent by Charles I in 1638 to meet the plenipotentiaries of France and Sweden at Hamburg, to negotiate for a new alliance In a letter of May 10, 1638, Garrard mentions his departure (*Stafford Ep*, II, p 167)

³ The assembly of the envoys of the Catholic powers at Cologne

⁴ Wotton's *Hymn to my God in a Night of my late Sickness* (see *ante*, II, p 376)

489 To DOCTOR CASTLE

Reliq, 1st ed, p 491, 3d ed, p 370 'To Dr C' Undated, but written about June, 1638 (see note) Wotton regrets that he cannot procure a scholarship for the son of a friend of Dr Castle's

(Eton College, June, 1638)

WORTHY SIR,

I have received your last of the 24th of May, through the hands of Mr Jones of Windsor, immediately upon my return to mine ordinary cell, whence I made a short retirement during the late solemnities¹, with intention, in truth, to have visited the city of Bath, and to see whether among all kind of affected persons confluent thither I could pick out any counsel to allay that sputative symptom, which yet remaineth upon me from my obstructions of the spleen But that journey is laid asleep

Now, Sir, in answer to your said letter, it grieves me to tell you a truth, which this my servant well knoweth, that I am for the future election of this year so engaged already to four Privy Council lers (and three of them of the highest), and moreover to a friend of great interest, in all the breath that I have to bestow, that, in good faith, I know not how to struggle for a voice for a child of rare and almost prodigious hopes, who is one of my poor scholars, and much less for any other propounded so late as your friend's son For it is now more than a month since the day of our election was proclaimed on our College and Church gates, the world is nimble in the anticipating of voices, and for my particular, according to my improvidence in all things else, I am in this likewise no reserver of my good will till the last I must therefore heartily beseech you, as I have delivered myself at your disposal, so to dispose of me when I am myself, which I am not now And so I rest,

Unquiet till I shall some way serve you,

HENRY WOTTON

490 To DOCTOR CASTLE

Reliq, 1st ed, p 501, 3rd ed, p 374 Written just before Wotton's visit to Canterbury in August, 1638 (see No 492) News from Scotland, the proposed marriage of one of Wotton's nieces

(August ? 1638)

WORTHY SIR,

I find in the bowels of your last (which I received yesternight, shall I say by your or by my Nicholas) much harsh and stiff matter from Scotland, and I believe insusceptible of any farther concoction,

¹ The creation of Prince Charles as Prince of Wales, at Windsor, the end of May, 1638

unless it be with much time, *quod concoquit omnia* But let me lay all public thoughts aside for the present, having now with you a bosom business, which may perhaps fall out to concern us more here Our Nicholas (for I account him at least halved between us) tells me that you have good means to know when — will be in town About whom you may perhaps have heard of certain (as I think for my part) well conceived wishes (though but yet in the air) touching a virtuous conjunction between him and —, so dear unto me, both in my affection and judgement, and in all respects, that if our nearness in blood did not make me more tender to violate mine own modesty than I need to be with such a friend as you are, I would boldly say that there are few better matches in this kingdom for the endowments of her person and fortune, nor in the whole world for the sweetness and goodness of her mind And on the other side, albeit I have no acquaintance with the gentleman, yet I hear likewise so much good of him as makes me wish I had more interest in his familiarity I write this from whence I wrote my last unto you, being on my wings towards Canterbury, whence I shall (ὅτιν Θεῶ ἐπιτρέβν) return hither again within six or seven days And this bearer, my domestic friend (a German gentleman of value), will from London meet me at Canterbury, by whom I shall be glad to hear from you about what time the foresaid — is expected of return to the city, and anything else that you shall think fit to be told me But I pray let this privacy which I have passed with you sleep between us

As I rest in your love,

H WOTTON

491 To SIR BALTHAZAR GERBIER (?)¹

Reliq., 1st ed., p. 438, 3rd ed., p. 346 Without date or address, but written shortly after the August election of 1638, and probably addressed to Sir Balthazar Gerbier, the English resident at the Court of the Cardinal Infant Wotton writes of the Eton election, and of the bearer, Nicholas Oudart

(Eton College, August, 1638)

MUCH HONOURED SIR,

Since I had the favour and the delight of any letters from you you have had the trouble of two or three from me, besides the present, which I hope will find you, according to my continual wishes, in perfect health, though you live in a theatre of tragical actions this year I am here newly delivered of one of the most fastidious pieces of my life, as I account for my part the week of

¹ Sir Balthazar Gerbier (1591?–1667) was a native of Middelburg, for his career in England as painter, architect, diplomatist and traitor see *D N B*

our annual election of scholars, both into this seminary and out of it for King's College in Cambridge, whereunto hath been a marvellous concourse, and much distraction in our votes through letters from Court Pardon me, Sir, a question by the way Have you no child of your own, or at least of some of your friends, whom you could wish trained in this course? I would fain beg some employment from you, which makes me offer you this, or any other of those poor services which lie within my circumference, as this bearer hath particular charge from me This is that Nicholas Oudart, for whom you did a great favour in procuring the Cardinal Infante's¹ letters to Mechelen in his behalf which took so good effect as he is now personally flown over to consummate that business², having information from his correspondents there that it is ripened for him He hath served me from a little page, and of late years hath managed the chief part of my domestic affairs, so as if it were not for his own urgent occasion I could hardly miss him that short time within which I expect his return You will find him, I hope, worthy of your love—I am sure of your trust His profession is physic, towards which he is very well grounded in the learned languages but his scope now is business, not knowledge If there shall by chance remain anything to be added unto your former honourable courtesy, for the expedition of his cause and return, you have given us both good cause to be confident both in your power and friendship And so, Sir, leaving him in your loving arms, I rest for ever,

Your obliged and faithful friend to serve you,

H WOTTON

492 TO JOHN DYNELY

Reliq, 3rd ed., p 575 Dynely often came to England on errands from the Queen of Bohemia, and was evidently going to Court Wotton asks for news of his reception, and writes of his own visit to Canterbury

From the Palace³ by Canterbury, this
St Bartholomew's day (Aug 24),
1638

SIR,

Next your own and your dear consort's health I languish to hear of your first reception at Court For though I suppose it was

¹ The Cardinal Infant Ferdinand, brother of Philip IV of Spain, succeeded the Archduchess Isabella as Governor of the Spanish Netherlands in 1633

² Nicholas Oudart wrote to Wotton from Brussels on Aug 22 (Sept 1, N S), and was to go to Mechlin that afternoon (see below, p 391) On Sept 26 Wotton wrote to Dynely in considerable anxiety about him, as he had heard no further news of him (*ibid*) By November he was back at Eton (p 392)

³ St Augustine's Palace, Canterbury, residence of Edward first Lord Wotton, and at this time still in the possession of his widow

short, yet we philosophers say that *principia plus valent virtute quam mole*. Next that, I pray let me know your opinion of the prodigious escape of the Queen mother of France¹ out of the Spanish clutches to the Hague, and whether she be *traiectura*, as our right worthy friend Dr. Douislaus² writeth me. I am come hither in a very benign constellation and silent conspiracy of my chiefest friends that have met here at the same time, Sir Edmund Bacon, Sir Francis Barnham³, and Sir Thomas Culpepper⁴ all men of singular conversation, and some of them, though of the same county, yet that had not been here in seven years before. Of which, my nephew, Sir Edmund, and myself are to pass this next week under the roof of my Lord Chief Justice Finch, at his house of Mote close by, through his noble and unresistible importunity. God keep us in His love, wherein is all joy and abundance,

Your ever most affectionate,

HENRY WOTTON

493 To JOHN DYNELY

Reliq. 3rd ed., p. 574. 'To Mr. John Dynely at Westminster.'
Dynely's reception at Court, &c.

From the Palace by Canterbury,
August last, 1638

SIR,

I understand by your last kind lines that you were to be at Court as to morrow, so as I hope by our next foot post to hear the crisis of that day and am sorry to hear in the meantime that your dreams were unpropitious⁵. We had here taken a voice and strong belief, coming from a recusant (who know many things, and quickly), that the Infanta Queen of France was brought to bed of a dolphin⁶, and not of a distaff. But your letter saying nothing either of the one or of the other I have suspended my faith.

¹ Marie de' Medici. Having failed in a plot to overthrow Richelieu she was imprisoned, but escaped to the Netherlands in 1631. On Aug. 4, 1638, she crossed the Dutch frontier, and soon set sail for England, where she arrived on Oct. 19. (*Gardiner*, vii, p. 184, viii, pp. 379, 380.)

² Isaac Douislaus, *ante*, ii, p. 315.

³ Sir Francis Barnham (died 1646?) of Boughton Monchelsea. (*D. N. B.*)

⁴ Sir Thomas Culpepper, of Leeds Castle and Greenway Court, Kent. (*Wood's Athenae*, Bliss, iii, p. 533.)

⁵ Wotton's cousin, Baron Finch of Fouldwich (*ante*, ii, p. 317). His residence, 'the Mote,' came afterwards into the possession of the Cowper family, and was destroyed in the eighteenth century.

⁶ Dynely's dreams were naturally enough unpropitious, as he was still in disgrace on account of the Nethersole affair (see Appendix III), and apparently never recovered the favour of Charles I.

⁷ A premature report, as the Dauphin (Louis XIV) was not born until Sept. 16, 1638 N. S.

London is the ocean of novelties, here we speak of nothing but a certain new aguish disease, which invadeth many families, but with little mortality

The plague at Dover is, by God's blessing, ceased, and their tents taken down At Boughton the small pox, fallen first upon a chaplain, and after upon one of the fair faces, but a Deering¹, will keep me, I doubt, from that place not that I apprehend any contagions whatsoever (as I think you know), but the winter coming on, and the place bleak², a small excuse will serve my turn God send you all comfort in your first and second self to whose goodness I leave you, resting,

Your most affectionate,

Alla viscerata,

HENRY WOTTON

494 TO JOHN DYNELY

Reliq., 3rd ed., p 576 No address, but among the letters to Dynely
Wotton's anxiety about Nicholas Oudart

From the College, Sept 26, 1638

SIR,

I send you enclosed the preparation of *guaracum*, as I have found incomparable benefit thereby I expect in exchange the letter touching the Duchess de Chevreuse³ I am in great perplexity by hearing no news of Nicholas Oudart since the first of September *stylo novo* from Brussels, being that afternoon to go to Mechelen with a letter of authority for his present dispatch, so as he wrote, he would either send me word, if any impediment should intervene, or bring the first news himself Besides, Monsieur Gerbier thought his business in so fair a way as he left a maid there to come over in the company of himself and his mother When I lay these things together, I can make no good interpretation of it yet I will not anticipate and prejudge mine own mishaps, as I should account the loss of him, whom I have trained from a child God grant all be well If you could meet with Monsieur Gerbier and inquire whether he hath heard anything, it would much ease my heart one way or other And so leaving you in the Lord's protection, I rest,

Your true friend,

in omni fortuna,

HENRY WOTTON

¹ Wotton's sister Elizabeth married John Deering, of Egeaton, Kent

² 'Bleat' in *Reliquiae*

³ The famous Duchesse de Chevreuse had been exiled from Paris for intriguing against Richelieu In April, 1638, she came to England 'to plot against the Cardinal from the secure distance of the English Court' (*Gardner*, viii, p 378)

495 To SIR EDMUND BACON

Add MS 34727, f 65, holograph *Letters to B*, p 106, *Reliq*, 3rd ed.,
p 469 Bacon's illness, &c

From the College, Nov 6, 1638

NOBLE SIR, ABOVE ALL THE MOST HONOURD AND LOVD,

Upon the receipt of a letter from you (which came late, and I know not by what misadventure, half drowned, to my hands) with advertisement that you had been at Sudburie, in your passage home wards, assailed with a quaitan, I resolved immediately to visit you by this bearer, the best of my flights,¹ and lately well acquainted himself with farther travels, who yet hath been kept here after my said resolution, that he might bring you a full account of the business touching my inviolate niece², so dear unto us both, which was a part of your foresaid letter, and wherein I am confident you will receive very singular contentment out of the very originals of some and true copies of other letters which I send you by this my said inward servant, and if he were not so, I would not have entrusted him with so tender papers. The rest of his stay was only that I might collect among my poor memorials and experiments something conducible to the recovery of your health, wherein I reckon myself as much interested as in any one thing of this world. I will not say unto you, '*courage*,' as the French use to speak for you have enough of that within yourself, nor, 'be merry!' in our English phrase, for you can impart enough of that even to others in the incomparable delight of your conversation. But let me give you two comforts, though needless to the serenity of your spirits. The first, that I hope your infirmity will not hold you long, because it comes (as I may speak, according to the barbarous translators of Avicenna) *in complexionatu suo* that is in the very season of the revolution of melancholic humours, for *omnis morbus contra complexionatum patientis vel temporis est periculosus aut longus*. The other, that it hath not succeeded any precedent caustic disease, because those quartans are of all the most obstinate which arise out of the incineration of a former ague. The rest I have committed to the instructions and memory of this bearer, being himself a student in physic, and though I dare not yet call him a good counsellor, yet I assure you he is a good relator. With this dispatch I will intermingle no other vulgar subject, but hereafter I will entertain

¹ Nicholas Oudart (*ante*, II, p 389), who had now returned from Flanders Wotton uses the word 'flight' in the old sense of one able to go or run swiftly (*N E D*)

² Apparently Hester Wotton (*ante*, II, p 326)

you with as jolly things as I can scramble¹ together And so, Sir, for the present commending you into the sweet and comfortable preservation of our dear God, I rest,

Your faithful poor servant,

HENRY WOTTON

496 To SIR EDMUND BACON

Letters to B, p 118, *Reliq*, 3rd ed, p 471 Francis Bacon's *Confession of Faith*, news from Cambridge, Scottish affairs, &c

From your College, Dec 5, 1638

MY NOBLE, HONOURED, LOVED, EVER REMEMBERED, EVER DESIRED
NEPHEW,

I shall give to morrow morning Matthew Say², our boatman, before his going, a shilling, and promise him another at his return, to deliver this small packet with his own hands at the Green Dragon in Bishopsgate Street, according to the form of your address, not for any value of mine own papers, but for some things therein contained, which I wish may come safely and quickly to you And first, I send you your immortal uncle's *Confession of his Faith*³, which I did promise you at Canterbury, solidly and excellently couched, as whatsoever else had the happiness to fall under his meditation and pen Next, you receive a letter freshly written me from Cambridge, with mention (God bless us) of a Jesuit⁴ of your name, who seems (as all that comes from any of you is piercing) to have sent over lately some pretty insinuating book in matter of theological controversy, perchance better dressed than any before, and with more relish commended to the vulgar taste, but I believe it will be the same to the stomach For well they may change their form, but it is long since we have heard their substance over and over, still the same *ad fastidium usque* I shall languish to know how he toucheth upon your name and stup The name of my friend who writ me the said letter I have defaced, for the censure of some other things therein, which I should be sorry to adventure at large, but you shall know him from me hereafter, and believe it, he will be worth your knowing

¹ 'Scamble,' old form of 'scramble'

² The name of Matthew Say, waterman, appears in the Eton Audit Books for 1625-6, 18s being allowed him for 'a coate of blew azurc', and 12s for a plate of silver for his cognizance with the College arms (*Maxwell Lyte*, p 232 n) 'The College waterman,' adds Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte, 'wears a costume scarcely altered since the time when Sir Henry Wotton used to fish in the Thames'

³ Francis Bacon's *Confession of Faith*, written before 1603, and first published in the *Remains* in 1648

⁴ Thomas Bacon, alias Southwell (1592-1637), Jesuit controversialist The book was probably his *Regula Viva*, published at Antwerp in 1638 (D N B)

I cannot forbear to tell you a thing (I know not whether I should call it news, because it is nearer you than to us), but strange in truth, written me from the said university at the same time by the Provost of King's College there, between whom and me doth pass much familiar correspondency. It is of a weekly lecture there performed heretofore by the person of Mr Christopher Goad¹, and lately deposed with severie commandment (as it should seem) from above, whereupon the women especially, by way of revenge for that restraint, do flock to St Mary's in such troops, and so early, that the Masters of Art have no room to sit, so as the Vice Chancellor and Heads of Houses were in deliberation to repress their shoaling thither. Methinks it is a good thing when zeal in a land grows so thick and so warm. But soft, if I launch any farther I may perchance run (which yet were a great mistake) into the name of a Puritan. For that very lecturer which is now deposed did live heretofore with me at my table upon especial choice, being in truth a man of sweet conversation, and of sober solidity.

Now, for other things, Nicolas Oulard brought me, the Friday after his departure from you, the glad tidings of your ague's discharge, as you then conceived it would be at the twentieth access, according (as you seem to have told him) to a common observation with you there, so as in Suffolk, I see you count quantan fits, as you do your sheep, by the score. I could heartily wish you would take for some time after it, *alternis diebus*, my preparation of the *Lignum sanctum*, with addition likewise of the roots of China, *Enula Campana*, and a sprig of tamarisque, all in the decoction of barley water, and quickened with a little sprinkling of a lemon: a rare receipt to corroborate² the viscera, and to keep the stomach *in tono*. My said Nicolas tells me likewise that you began to chirp upon³ being in London the next term. I should be glad, with your favour, to know that point precisely for having a purpose (by God's dear blessing) to visit you at Redgrave (which will be the best cordial I took in long time), I would shape my course circularly, either from Suffolk to Kent, or from Kent to Suffolk, as I shall hear of your motions towards the beginning of next Lent. For novelties of Court and State, all men's minds at the present with us seem magnetical, looking towards the north³. Order is come down this day to the justices of this shire about a general muster at Alisbury

¹ Christopher Goad (fifth son of the Provost of King's College, Roger Goad), elected from Eton 1607 (*Harwood*, p. 212).

² 'Corroborate,' i. e. to invigorate, refresh. Obs. (*NED*).

³ Scotland. The National Assembly met at Glasgow on Nov. 21 (*Gardner*, viii, p. 368).

the next week, and for especial watch at the beacons, so as any burning of a bush by chance near one of them would set the whole province in an alarm. But notwithstanding these good providences we hope well of the issue, and the rather for that a pretty strong concert runneth that the Deanery of Durham is reserved for Doctor Belkanquell¹, as a reward of his travels to and fro in this great business. While we are uniting our ceremonious breaches, the Kings of France and Spain abroad treat hard this winter about a peace², as one writeth (and I believe very truly), without consideration of any other Prince or State but themselves. If this be so, and take effect in that manner, then is Charles de Lorain *exutus Lepidus*³, stripped to his shirt, the Count Palatine left at large, and the Swede must stand upon his own feet. But *brevibus momentis summa vertuntur*⁴ all depends upon the taking or not taking of Breisach⁵, the Helena of Germany, and though a town indeed of great strength and advantage, yet a poor price for so much blood as hath been lost about it. While I am talking of war, let me tell you what I hear, that your Son Jacob Ashley⁶ is grown a great man at Court in private introducements to the King, together with the Earl Marshal⁷ our good Sovereign will feel a sufficient man quickly. The States lie still and close oppressed with the adversities of the last year, and with nothing more than the late ruin of forty well laden ships by the Texel, wherein, with deploration of the whole province, were lost 1,000 mariners⁸.

Touching the subject whereof I sent you an account by Nicolas, I have heard nothing since to increase my hope, and much less my faith. You shall have more the next week. Till when and ever our sweet Jesus have you in His love

Your servant, *alla sincerata*,

HENRY WOTTON

SIR,

Since I concluded this, Mr Hales (our *Bibliotheca ambulans*,

¹ Walter Belkanquhall (1586?-1645), Dean of Durham, 1639

² These negotiations came to nothing

³ 'Exutus Lepidus,' a reference to Tacitus, *Ann.* i. 2 'Pompeius apud Siciliam oppressus exutoque Lepido, interfecto Antonio'

⁴ 'Dissecebatque brevibus momentis summa verti' (The *Ann.* v. 4)

⁵ Breisach, surrendered to Bernhard of Weimar on Dec 17, 1638, after a siege of about seven months (Gardiner, *30 Yrs.*, p. 191)

⁶ Wotton must mean Sir Jacob Astley (1579-1652), a veteran who had served in the Netherlands, and was sent to the North by Charles I to muster the trained bands. He was afterwards a Royalist commander in the Civil War, and was created Baron Astley in 1644 (*D. N. B.*)

⁷ Thomas Howard, second Earl of Arundel and Surrey (*ante*, ii, p. 240), appointed general of the army against the Scots in 1639 (*Gardiner*, viii, p. 385)

⁸ Edward Nicholas to Sir John Pennington Nov 14, 1638 'We hear of the loss of near thirty sail of Hollanders, and other vessels in the Tassell during the last great storm' (*Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1638-9, p. 103)

as I use to call him) came to me by chance, and told me that the book of controversies issued under the name of *Baconus* hath this addition to the said name, *alias* Southwel, as those of that society shift their names as often as their shuts, and he says it is a very poor thing, only graced with a little method

497 TO SIR EDMUND BACON

Letters to B, p 128, among some undated letters, reprinted in the *Reliquiae*, 3rd ed, p 475, immediately after above letter, to which it may be a postscript Experiments in natural philosophy

(Eton College, Dec 5, 1638 ?)

SIR,

After the rest of your trouble, at the present there remaineth a proposition to be consulted with you, about which I should esteem the charge of an express messenger not ill expended, though you were at Jerusalem And both Mr Harrison and myself think no man living more proper to solve it than our Sir Edmund Bacon The question is this, whether there may not be found some natural philosophical way to determine the measure of a minute, or quarter, or half, or entire hour, or any portion of time more precisely and uniformly and infallibly, than hath been yet invented by any mechanical and artificial motion ? And particularly, whether it may not be done by the descent of drops through a filter, either in *manica Hippocratis*, or in a tongue of cloth equally thick, with consideration likewise of all circumstances in that liquid substance which must sink through it ? If this may be done, there will be a mighty point obtained in the rectifying of the longitudes of the earth, which depend upon the moment¹ of the lunar eclipses, and more², upon the exact determination of the beginning and ending of an hour, for which purpose the great Tycho Brahe composed divers horologies and hour glasses, some running with simple water, some with distilled spirits, some with pulverized metals, and some with crude mercury, but never to any infallible satisfaction of the point propounded, which likewise would be of singular use in divers astronomical observations, if it could be once justly regulated This we commend to your curious judgement My servant Nicholas and I hope to send you some good flints to be agatized by your miraculous invention

I pray, Sir, if you have any of those Island stones³ which you

¹ 'Thoment' in *Letters to B* and *Reliq*

² 'Mose' in *Letters to B* and *Reliq*

³ Sir Thomas Browne, in his account of Iceland in the year 1662, says, 'They have some large, well-grained white pebbles, and some kind of white cornelian or agath pebbles, on the shore, which polish well' Old Sir Edmund Bacon, of

mentioned unto me at Canterbury, bestow a few upon me But above all, forget not to let me know where you will be about the beginning of Lent

Iterum et iterum vale

498 TO CHARLES I

Reliq, 1st ed, p 429, 3rd ed, p 340 Wotton asks to be appointed Master of the Savoy, in case Dr Balcanquhall is made Dean of Durham This letter is dated 1637 in the 3rd edition of the *Reliquiae*, which must be a mistake, as the Dean of Durham, Richard Hunt, did not die till Nov 1, 1638 It was probably written about the date of the above letter to Bacon

(Eton College, December, 1638 ?)

MAY IT PLEASE MY MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

If I were not more afraid to break the laws of that humble modesty, which becometh the meanness of my desert, than I am to exceed the bounds of your Majesty's royal goodness, I should be a poor suppliant unto your Majesty to confer upon me the Mastership of the Savoy, in case Dr Belcanquell (my good friend) shall (as the voice goeth) be removed to the Deanery of Durham, wherein the remove and the substitution are but one stroke of your benignity

God knows, and the value of the thing itself may speak as much, that I do not aim therein at any utility, only it may be some ease of expense, and commodity of lodging, when I shall come (as I am afraid shortly) to oversee certain poor things of mine own at press, wherewith yet I hope your Majesty, whose honour only I study, will not be displeased I have further considered with myself that the said place is not incompatible with that which I now hold by your Majesty's intercession with your ever blessed father, as it may please you to remember, though you forget nothing so easily as your own bounties, which place here never before subsisting in the memory of man without some addition¹, I have now near fourteen years sustained in that integrity as I found it, and with as good scholars sent annually to your royal College at Cambridge, of my particular choice, as have gone thither since the foundation, whereof I could show your Majesty a published testimony out of that university, in Dr Winterton's Dedication of *Dionysius de Situ Orbis*², unto me, if it

these parts, made use thereof in his peculiar art of tinging and colouring of stones' (*Works of Sir Thomas Browne*, ed Wilkins, 1835-6, iv, p 255)

¹ Sir Thomas Murray, Wotton's predecessor, was secretary to the Prince of Wales, Sir Henry Savile was Warden of Merton as well as Provost of Eton, William Day, elected Provost in 1561, was Dean of Windsor

² Ralph Winterton (1600-86), Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and Regius Professor of Greek in 1635 (*D N B*) In 1633 he published an edition of the Greek poem of Dionysius, *De Situ Orbis in usum scholae Regiae Etonensis*, with a dedication in Greek verse to Sir Henry Wotton

were not a miserable thing for me to make up so slight a merit even with a vanity Besides this, I most humbly confess that though my fortunes are poor and my studies private, yet I cannot deny certain sparkles of honest ambition remaining in me, whereby I desire the world should know that my most virtuous and most dear and royal master hath not utterly forgotten me And so I most humbly rest,

Your Majesty's most humble, faithful, hearty subject
and servant

H W

499 TO ARCHBISHOP LAUD

Reliq, 1st ed, p 431, 3d ed, p 341 'To the Archbishop', no date, but printed immediately after the above letter to Charles I, and probably sent with it

(Eton College December, 1638?)

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

Emboldened by your favour I humbly present herewith to your Grace, and through your only hands (which in our lower sphere is *via laica*), my letter to his Majesty, and the copy thereof If it shall pass the file of your judgement my poor lines will have honour enough, but if they take effect by the virtue of your mediation I shall be sorry that I cannot be more

Your Grace his than I am, and will ever be,

H WOTTON

500 TO SIR EDMUND BACON

Letters to B, p 143, *Reliq*, 3d ed, p 478 Bacon's illness, Scotch affairs, foreign news Dated New Year's Eve, and plainly written in 1638

From the College on the eve of the
New Year, through which God
send you a blessed passage, and
many more

MY DEARLY AND WORTHILY EVER HONOURED NEPHLW,

This is that saturnine time of the year which most molesteth such splenetic bodies (as mine is) by the revolution of melancholic blood, which throweth up fastidious fumes into the head, whereof I have had of late my share Howsoever, this trusty fellow of our town, being hired by one about some business to Cambridge (as he is often hither and thither) and acquainting me commonly with his motions, I have gladly stretched his present journey as far as the Redgrave, hoping by him to have an absolute account of your well being, which Nicholas my servant left in a fair disposition

Let me therefore by this opportunity entertain you with some of our newest things, but briefly, for I dare not trust my brains too much

First, for the affairs of Scotland *Est bene non potuit dicere, dant, Erri* The wisest physicians of State are of opinion that the crisis is good, and I hope your Sir Jacob Ashley and my Sir Thomas Morton¹ will have a fine employment upon the borders, honour by the choice of their persons, money by their journal pay, little pains, and no danger Our Court mourneth this whole festival with sad frugality for the untimely death of the young Duke of Savoy², our Queen's nephew, hastened they say by the Cardinal his uncle, who would first have illegitimated him, and that not taking effect by the supportment of Spain he fell to other Roman arts, so as the said Cardinal, to decline this black report, is gone a wandering, and, as it is thought, will visit barefoot the Holy Land In the meantime, methinks I see him with a crew of *banditti* and *bravi* in his company, and his own conscience a continual hangman about him

The Queen Mother stirreth little between majesty and age She hath published a short manifesto³, touching the reasons of her recess from Bruxels, wherein is one very notable conceit 'That she had long borne silently the affronts done her by the Prince Cardinal's counsellors and under officers, upon no other reason than the very shame to have received them' Of himself she speaketh with good respect, but I know not how the character of humility (which she giveth him) will be digested, for perchance he had rather have been painted like a lion than a lamb Our Queen's delivery approacheth, in a good hour be it spoken There is newly sworn her servant a lovely daughter of Sir Richard Haison⁴, our neighbour in Barkshire, to answer Mademoiselle Darcé on her mother's side The Count Palatine⁵, since his late defeat, is gotten in disguised habit to Hamborough,

¹ Sir Jacob Astley, see *ante*, II, p. 395 Sir Thomas Morton was a brother of Sir Albertus Morton On Aug. 6, 1638, our old and still unassassinated friend, Amerigo Salvetti (now resident for the Grand Duke of Tuscany at the English Court), wrote, 'Si è spedito il Colonello Morton à Barwicke, frontiera di Scotia, per vedere se sia possibile di rimettere in piedi quelle fortificazioni, che il Re Jacobo fece demolire quando venne à questa Corona, pensando con l'unione delle due Corone di non havere piu bisogno di simili fortezze alle frontiere' (*Arch. Med.*, 4199)

² François Hyacinthe, the young Duke of Savoy, son of the Duke Victor-Amedee I and Christina of France, sister of Henrietta Maria He died Oct. 4, 1638

³ *A Declaration of the Queene, Mother of the Most Christian King, Containing the reasons of her departure out of the Low-Countries, &c.*, 1639

⁴ Sir Richard Harrison, of Hurst, Berks (*N & Q*, 3rd Ser. I, p. 52)

⁵ In the summer of 1638 Charles Louis, the young Count Palatine, marched from the Netherlands at the head of a small force to join the Swedes He was intercepted and defeated by General Hatzfeldt, and his brother Prince Rupert, with Lord Claven and others of his principal officers, were taken prisoners Charles Louis himself escaped to Hamburg (*Gardiner*, viii, p. 376)

and, as they say, hath been there visited by the King of Denmark, amidst that cold assembly of ambassadors¹ But in his passage between the said town and Bremen was like to have been taken by ambush of freebooters, who no doubt would have made sale of him Certain it is that his brother Prince Rupert fought very nobly before he yielded, whereof such notice was taken, even by the Count of Hatfield himself, that he hath ever since been kept by him in a strong place, round day and night with a guard of naked swords Yet in the tablets of one that had leave to visit him the Prince made a shift to comfort the Queen his mother with a line or two to this sense, 'that whatsoever became of himself, he would never change his religion nor his party' We hear my Lord Craven² hath made his composition under £20,000 As for Ferents³, I believe his own head must ransom him, or his heels The Pope's treaty at Colen goes *al passo del gambero*, rather backward than forward And all deliberatives of state seem to depend much upon the event of Brisach, which I use to call the German Helena, long wooed, but, for aught I hear yet, an Imperial virgin

These are our foreign rhapsodies I will end in somewhat nearer us You receive herewith the copy of my last or second letter to Mr Carew Raleigh⁴, and his answer thereunto Believe it, Sir (whatsoever conceit his actions shall breed), that he is a gentleman of dexterous abilities, well appearing in the management of a business so tender and delicate as that which now runneth between us, which for my part I resolve to press no farther for (to depose my mind as plainly as I may safely in your breast) I never could observe any great good effect to ensue upon violent dissuasions in businesses of this nature, but rather an obduration than an abversion Howsoever, I would fain (as the occasion suggesteth) propound unto your judgement a pretty moral doubt, *super tota materia*, which I have heard discussed and resolved affirmatively among some skilful humourists⁵ who knew the world well The question was this, 'Whether in such a case precisely as ours of mere scandal, without apparent truth, some inclining to think the worst and some the best, there be left room for any middle imagination between good and ill?'

¹ The ambassadors of England, France, and Sweden, who were negotiating the terms of an alliance The result of the Congress of Hamburg was a fresh alliance between France and Sweden (*Gardner*, viii, p 381)

² General Hatzfeldt

³ William, Earl of Craven (1606-97), the devoted friend of the Queen of Bohemia He was taken prisoner with Prince Rupert, and purchased his liberty in the autumn of 1639 (*D N B*, xiii, p 43)

⁴ Sir Thomas Ferentz, colonel in the service of Charles Louis (*Cal S P Dom*, 1687-8, p 47)

⁵ Carew Raleigh (1605-66), son of Sir Walter Raleigh (*D N B*)

⁶ 'Humourists,' i. e. students of 'humours' (not in *N E D* in this sense)

In the solution of which point I will crave pardon to reserve a secret till we meet, at which I believe you will smile

We are here (God be blessed) all well our audit ended a little before Christmas Day, more troublesome than fruitful, after the fashion The same officers as the year before, every man of them your servant, or otherwise they had wanted my voice Mr Harison hath been of late somewhat more than heretofore troubled with certain nephritical fits, but they are transient and light, *et iam mansueta mala* Mr Powel speaketh of you with much devotion, as all other whom you have once touched with your magnetical virtue In the conclusion let me, as with a box of marmalade, close up your stomach with one of the genialest pieces that I have read in my lifetime, of the same unaffected and dishevelled kind (as I may term it), sent me newly from London¹, which if you have seen before I am out of countenance And so, Sir, wishing you (for I cannot wish you better on earth), after the sweet apprehension of God's continual favour, the fruition of yourself, I rest, at what distance soever,

Your unseparable servant,

HENRY WOTTON

501 To JOHN DYNELY

Reliq., 3rd ed., p 577 Dated Thursday, 1638, and, from the reference to the defeat of Charles Louis, written at about the same time as the above letter to Sir Edmund Bacon Wotton writes of foreign news, and sends a hogshhead of beer to Dynely

From the College this Thursday morning,

1638

SIR,

I was glad for all the private <matter> in a late letter from you, and sorry for the public, both foreign and inward but I like Plato's counsel well, in adversities to compress murmur, for our providence (saith he) is too short to judge, whether there may not lie, under the outside of an apparent evil, some unimaginable good The last philosophy is, *Voluntas tua fiat Domine* Upon hearing, some good while since, of the misadventures in the Palatine house, his loss of Meppen² before he had it, the defeat of his troops as soon as he had gathered them, the taking of his brother, &c, I fell upon a conceit that perchance these unpleasant things might call over Sir R Cave³, the Prince

¹ Sir C C's poem (see *ante*, II, p 385)

² Shortly before his defeat by General Hatzfeldt, Charles Louis had purchased the allegiance of the garrison of Meppen with money sent him by Charles I Meppen was thereupon attacked by the Imperialists in the neighbourhood, who took it by surprise without any serious resistance (*Gardiner*, VIII, p 376)

³ Sir Richard Cave, an officer in the service of Charles Louis (Bromley, *Royal Letters*, pp 98, 101, 115, &c) Sir Richard Cave was still in England in June, 1639 (*Cal S P Dom*, 1639, p 266)

being destitute of counsel, and of proper instruments of action (for they say Ferentz¹ is likewise prisoner) And so there would be room here for your employment which I would wish you to press extiemely But of this moie in my next I now send you an hogshead of moie than *soror tonantis*², and very willingly, though so long after March you take us *sul basso* But one thing I must tell you, that for your wife's splenetic infirmity there is nothing worse in the world than either strong or stale beer Now that we have you out of the straits and in the ocean (as you call it), both of novelties as well as of other things, Matthew Saye shall have order to call upon you at least once a week And for the present I leave you in His love that never faileth, remaining,

Your very truly affectionate,

HENRY WOTTON

502 To DOCTOR CASTLE

Reliq, 1st ed, p 492, 3rd ed, p 371 'To Doctor C' Undated The reference to the troubles in Scotland, and to the receipt of a letter of Dec 19, makes it probable that this letter was written in January, 1639

(January, 1639^o)

WORTHY SIR,

It is one of the wonders of the world unto me how your letters come so slowly, which if either themselves or their beareis knew how welcome they are would fly I speak this, both by some other before, and by your last of the 19th of December, which was almost nine days on the way and I hope the scene of Scotland much changed in the meanwhile to the better

But to let go exotic matter, if that may be so termed, I must congratulate with you your actual possession of the place in the — For although your own merit was (before you had it) in their judgments that understand you, a kind of present investure, yet I learned long since of our old master at Oxford, that *actus* is better than *potentia*³ which yet, I hope, will not divert you from your philosophical profession, wherein I know no man of sweeter or sounder ability And so, sir, I rest,

Very truly and affectionately at your command,

H WOTTON

¹ Sir Thomas Ferentz (*Ante*, II, p 400)

² One of the perquisites of the Provost of Eton was '4 hogsheads of March beer every year paying nothing' (*Rawls MS*, B 268, f 181) I can only explain the phrase 'moie than *soror tonantis*' as meaning an especially strong brew, Wotton taking *cervisia* as meaning the wine of Ceres (*soror tonantis*), the *Cerealis liquor* of Plautus

³ Aristotle, *Metaphys* VIII 9

503 To JOHN DYNELY

Reliq, 3d ed, p 578 No address, but among the letters to Dynely
Wotton asks for the news in London

This Epiphany (Jan 6), 1638(9)

SIR,

Between you and me complimental letters are as needless and improper as, I hope, the provisions of armour in the Tower will be As for novelties of State, you are in the centre, and we rural wights in the circumference and skirts, entertained with nothing but some cold icicles and droppings from you Londoners imagine us therefore to stand gaping for the return of the Lord Marquis¹ In the meanwhile I should be glad to know in what quality my nephew Colonel Morton is employed towards the north, for I hear of one Serjeant Major Thelwel² in more noise And so intending (as soon as it can be ready) to entertain you with a strange collar of brawn, I rest,

Ever your own,

HENRY WOTTON

504 To JOHN DYNELY

Reliq, 3d ed, p 579 No address, but among the letters to Dynely
Wotton's plans for Easter, foreign news

From the College, Feb 21, 1638(9)

SIR,

My pen hath not conversed with you for *certe gite* of our boat a pretty while, not wanting affection, but matter You are in the centre of novelties God send all well, as I have no doubt it will be at last I am within some few weeks tending to my genial soil at Boughton Malherb, and thence about by Redgrave I shall make a circle hither again, taking perchance both universities in my line homewards You married men are deprived of these evagations³ While we stand in a little suspense touching the event of inward affairs, I am glad to hear from abroad in the High Dutch gazette, that there is a treaty of exchange in hand between Prince Rupert

¹ The Marquis of Hamilton, who had been negotiating with the Covenanters in Scotland He returned soon after this letter was written, and on Jan 15 gave an account of his mission, and its failure, before the English Privy Council (*Gardiner*, viii, p 382)

² Anthony Thelwall, sergeant-major in Col Richard Feilding's regiment, serving under the Earl of Northumberland in 1640 (Peacock's *Army Lists*, 2nd ed, p 90) Thelwall and Sir Thomas Morton are mentioned in a letter from Sir Francis Willoughby to Wentworth as being engaged in raising troops near Whitehaven in April, 1639 (*Stifford Papers*, ii, p 315)

³ 'Evagations,' diversions Obs (*N E D*)

and Prince Casimer of Poland, whom the Swedes have in custody Methinks it is a pretty balanced intention, and of no improbable issue, the King of Hungaria (*alias* Emperor¹) growing every day lower and lower I desire much to know how your virtuous consort standeth in her health, and how yourself proceedeth in your hopes, resting,

Semper, semper tuus,
HENRY WOTTON

505 TO IZAAK WALTON

Reliq, 1st ed, p 511, 3rd ed, p 360 'To Iz Walton, in answer of a letter requesting him to perform his promise of writing the Life of Dr Dunne' No date, but written some time after Feb 6, in the spring of 1639 (see note 2, p 405)

(April, 1639)

MY WORTHY FRIEND,

I am not able to yield any reason, no, not so much as may satisfy myself, why a most ingenuous letter of yours hath lyen so long by me (as it were in lavender) without an answer, save this only, the pleasure I have taken in your style and conceptions, together with a meditation of the subject you propound, may seem to have cast me into a gentle slumber But being now awaked, I do herein return you most hearty thanks for the kind prosecution of your first motion, touching a just office, due to the memory of our ever memorable friend² To whose good fame, though it be needless to add anything (and my age considered, almost hopeless from my pen), yet I will endeavour to perform my promise, if it were but even for this cause, that in saying somewhat of the life of so deserving a man I may perchance overlive mine own

¹ Ferdinand III, who succeeded his father, Ferdinand II, in 1637 Being elected Emperor without the concurrence of the titular Elector Palatine, many Protestants refused to acknowledge his title, but continued to call him the King of Hungary

² At the beginning of his life of Donne (published in 1640 in a volume of Donne's Sermons), Izaak Walton writes as follows, referring to this letter 'If that great Master of Language and Art Sir Henry Wootton, Provost of Eaton College (lately deceased), had lived to see the publication of these Sermons, he had presented the world with the Author's life exactly written It was a Work worthy his undertaking, and he fit to undertake it, betwixt whom and our Author there was such a friendship contracted in their youths, that nothing but death could force the separation And though their bodies were divided, that learned Knight's love followed his friend's fame beyond the forgetful grave, which he testified by entreating me (whom he acquainted with his design) to enquire of certain particulars that concerned it not doubting but my knowledge of the Author, and love to his memory, would make my diligence useful I did prepare them in a readiness to be augmented, and rectified by his powerful pen, but then death prevented his intentions' (*LXXX Sermons preached by that Learned and Reverend Divine John Donne, London, 1640*)

That which you add of Doctor King¹ (now made Dean of Rochester, and by that translated into my native soil) is a great spur unto me, with whom I hope shortly to confer about it in my passage towards Boughton Malherb, which was my genial air, and invite him to a friendship with that family where his predecessor² was familiarly acquainted. I shall write at large to you by the next messenger (being at present a little in business), and then I shall set down certain general heads, wherein I desire information by your loving diligence, hoping shortly to enjoy your own ever-welcome company in this approaching time of the fly and the cock. And so I rest

Your very hearty poor friend to serve you,

H. WOTTON

506 TO SIR EDMUND BACON

Letters to B, p 131, *Reliq*, 3rd ed, p 476. 'A late Letter written towards the end of Lent by Sir Henry Wotton, Provost of his Majesty's College of Eton,' addressed 'To the Right Worthy his ever truly Honoured Sir Edmund Bacon, Knight and Baronet, touching the loss of friends, and final resignation of ourselves.' No date, but apparently written some years after the death of Thomas Lord Wotton in 1630. As the letters to Sir Edmund Bacon are printed with some attempt at chronological order, and as this letter follows next but one to a letter dated Dec 5, 1638, I place it, for want of any better indication, in April, 1639, before Easter Sunday, April 14.

(April, 1639 ?)

SIR,

All the faculties of my mind (if they had ever been of any value) and all the strength of my body, must yield to the seignior and sovereignty of time over us, but the last thing that will die or decay in me is the remembrance how, amidst that inestimable contentment which I enjoyed (as all others do) in the benefit and pleasure of your conversation (being then with you at Redgrave in Suffolk, both your delightful mansion and philosophical retreat, where you are best, because there you are most yourself, though everywhere well imparted to your friends), I was then surprised with advertisement from Court of the death of Sir Albertus Morton, my dear nephew, in the vernality (as I may term it) of his employments and fortunes under the best King and master of the world. And how no great time after (as adversities are seldom solitary) there succeeded in the same place the departure of my no less dear niece, your long, and, I dare say, your still beloved consort (for love

¹ Henry King (1592-1669), made Dean of Rochester, Feb 6, 1639. King was appointed Bishop of Chichester in 1642 (*D N B*)

² Walter Balcanquhall (See *ante*, II, p 395)

and life are not conterminable), as well appeareth by your many tender expressions of that disjuncture, and by that monument of your own excellent invention which you have raised to her memory ¹

This, Sir, ever freshly bleeding in me, and withal revolving often in my retired thoughts how I have long since over lived my loving parents, all mine uncles, brothers and sisters, besides many of mine especial friends and companions of my youth, who have melted away before me, and that I am now myself arrived near those years which lie in the suburbs of oblivion, being the sole masculine branch of my good father's house in the county of Kent, so as that poor name (and) reputation which my ancestors have heretofore sustained by God's permission must expire and vanish in my unworthiness I say, Sir, again and again debating often these circumstances with myself (and truly not without the common weaknesses and passions of humanity, from which I am of all men least exempted), an extieme desire did lately assail me to entertain, between my other private studies, some such discourse as might work upon mine own mind, and at least abstract a while, if not elevate my cogitations above all earthly objects Whereupon, towards the end of this last Lent (a time of contracted thoughts) I fell to think of that theme, which I have now entituled 'The loss of friends, and final resignation of ourselves', intending, though it be the highest and uttermost point of Christian philosophy, to familiarize it between us as much as I can, and to address it in form of a letter to yourself ² For with whom can I treat of this matter more properly, being both of us almost precisely of equal age, and by the love which you are pleased to bear me, all joy in the fruition, and all grief in the privation of friends common between us ?

Now Sir, &c

507 To JOHN DYNELY

Reliq, 3rd ed., p 581 No address, but among the Dynely letters
Scottish affairs, &c

From the College, April 17, 1639

SIR,

I should be sorry for your departure towards our royal mistress before some short meeting at least between us, for I have much discourse to unlade in your honest breast And I can tell you, we had need lay up discourse safely, which I hope you will take for some excuse of my seldom writing unto you, for I suspect a certain natural freedom in mine own pen

¹ The inscription on Lady Bacon's tomb is printed in Thos Wotton's *English Baronetage*, 1741, i, p 11

² This letter has not been preserved

In the Scottish affairs it is one mystery, that we know not what to believe Only this we can say, that there is nothing to be praised in it on their part, and I could wish there were as little to be feared on ours *Deus operatur omnia suaviter*¹, and to His power and mercy we must leave ourselves

Your ever faithful pool friend,

H WOTTON

SIR,

My coachman is yet crazy² from a late great sickness, but if it please you to specify the time of your conveniency, my gelding shall wait upon you at Branford, *a pounct nomme*

508 To JOHN DYNELY

Reliq, 3rd ed, p 580 Same as last News from Scotland,
Wotton going to London

From the College, April 21, 1639

CARISSIME,

I am sorry to hear of new oaths³ in Scotland between the Covenanters, who, they say, will have none but Jesus Christ to reign over them, a sacred cover of the deepest impiety God open their eyes and soften their hearts I have read a good part of the *Declaration*⁴, wherein the Dean of Durham's pen doth well appear, and the whole business is very black Never was there such a stamping and blending of rebellion and religion together I thank you for your news touching Prince Rupert, but I fear the Hungarian King will hold him too fast To your question about mine own remove, it will be towards the ending of this week, for a night or two to London, so as I hope to save you the labour of journeying hither My lodging, if it be not prepossessed, will be at Mr Alkind's house in the Strand, or otherwise peradventure with your friend in Lombard Street, whereof you shall have notice in time

I am yours everywhere,

H WOTTON

¹ 'Attingit ergo a fine usque ad finem fortiter, et disponit omnia suaviter' (*Sap viii 1.*)

² 'Crazy,' i e infirm Obs (*N E D*)

³ Edmund Rossingham to Lord Conway, April 23, 1639 'The Covenanters have taken another oath lately, which is this, to fight it out to the last man in defence of their Covenant, and of the acts made at their assembly at Glasgow, although his Majesty's army be five to one against them' (*Cal S P Dom*, 1639, p 73) On May 6 Salvetti writes of the Covenanters 'hanno di nuovo rinovato tale giuramento' (*Arch Med*, 4199)

⁴ The *Large Declaration* (1639), by Dr Balcanquhall, 'a portly volume in which the whole story of the misdeeds of the Scots was set forth at length from the King's point of view' (*Gardiner*, viii, p 391)

509 TO DOCTOR CASTLE

Reliq, 1st ed, p 489, 3rd ed, p 368 'To Doctor C' Undated, but written at the end of May, 1639 (see note 3) Lord Ker turns Covenanter, John Hales made Prebendary of Windsor

(Eton College, May, 1639)

WORTHY SIR,

You are the very man who hath authenticated unto me that sentence which we read in the life of Atticus, delivered by Cornelius Nepos, that *Prudentia est quaedam divinatio*¹ So as truly hereafter, when I shall receive from the intelligences of your friends, and your own judgement upon them, any sinister prognostic, it will make me open your next letter with trembling fingers

It is one among many wonders unto me that the young Lord C² hath made a transition to the contrary party I thought he had been better elemented at Eton

I send you herewith for a little exchange the copy of an elegant letter which came unto me by the last boat from a friend, both of studies and affairs touching foreign troubles, which it is not amiss to contemplate, if it be but for some diversion from our own, Christendom was never, within our age, so inflamed I hope the ends of the world are come upon us

I shall shortly remove into Kent, but while I am absent, there is one shall wait on you weekly in London, to receive and to convey any of your commands to me, for that is the true name of all your requests

To your professed plain friend,

H WOTTON

Postscript — My Lords Grace of Canterbury hath this week sent hither to Mr Hales, very nobly, a prebendaryship of Windsor, unexpected, undesired, like one of the favours (as they write) of Henry the Seventh's time³

¹ 'Facile existimari possit prudentiam quodam modo esse divinationem (Corn Nep Atticus, 16)

² Henry Lord Ker (or Carr, as Wotton spells the name), eldest son of the first Earl of Roxburgh. He was educated at Eton (*Maxwell Lyte*, p 233). Notices of his 'falling away to the Covenanters' occur in letters of May 11 (*Cal S P Dom*, 1639, p 155) and May 20 (*Stafford Papers*, II, p 350). His mother, Gariard writes, 'laments, keeps her bed, cannot be comforted, to hear how her only son hath played the Fool in turning Covenanter' (*Ibid*, p 351)

³ The Royal Patent was dated May 23, 1639 (*D N B*, xxiv, p 31), which fixes approximately the date of this letter

510 TO MARY, LADY WOTTON

C C C MS 318, f 44, holograph Printed in *A1 chaeol* xl This letter, addressed to the widow of Thomas, second Lord Wotton (Sir Arthur Throckmorton's daughter), is undated, but was written about July, 1639, as Wotton's great nephew, Albertus Morton the younger (second son of Sir Robert Morton, Sir Albertus Morton's eldest brother), was matriculated a pensioner of King's College, Cambridge, on July 2, 1639 (*A1 chaeol* xl, p 282) Wotton's intention of visiting Bury St Edmunds and Bocton Malherbe, the proposed marriage of one of his nieces

(Eton College, July, 1639)

MY EVER TRULY HONOURED LADY AND NIECE,

When this my servant, returning lately to me from Cambridge (whither I had sent him to see the first placing of my nephew Albertus) through London, where he could tell me you were by a casual meeting with your coachman, I was truly sorry both to understand it accidentally, and likewise when I was upon the point of resolving (as he can well tell you) to have the honour and comfort of waiting on you in mine own genial air, your mansion house in Kent But I hear about a month hence you will be there again, and I will plot in the meanwhile how to convey myself unto you by a little circuit, for more than a voluntary and pleasurable motion doth now carry me (since your Ladyship is out of Kent) towards Suffolk, especially that I may confer by the way with an excellent physician¹ inhabitant in St Edmunds Burye, whom I brought myself from Venice, where (as either I suppose or surmise) I first contracted my infirmity of the spleen, to which the very seat is generally inclined And therefore their physicians (who commonly study the inclinations of places) are the likeliest to understand the best remedies

For my particular (I thank my God) I am free of those extremities which first assailed me, yet still troubled at times with some uncivil remainder, as my said servant will tell you, and I should be glad to come in all points cheerfully unto you, for I have a world of discourse to unlade, like those that weed not a garden till it has grown a wood Yet in the reserved matter, I have not much to say more touching that subject whereof I last wrote to your Ladyship by this very bearer For in truth I have given it over with a good confidence that all is well in the intentions on both sides, and with assurance on my inviolate niece your daughter's part And the

¹ Gaspar Despotin (see Appendix III)

reason why I have no more stured in it is an experience that I had long since of being employed in the like business (as I shall tell your Ladyship when we meet) with miserable infelicity I think silence and rest doth oftentimes more good than physick and agitation of nature

Glad I am to hear that your Ladyship hath brought with you my most dear niece Hester¹, to whom my Lord her grandfather did as great an injury as he could possibly do, even while he meant to do a greater our blessed God disposeth of all things sweetly in His good time And so I end with my continual prayers for His dearest favours upon you and all yours

Remaining ever your Ladyship's most faithful servant,

HENRY WOTTON

511 To JOHN DYNELY

Reliq, 3rd ed, p 582, undated The last of the letters to Dynely, and probably the last letter of Wotton's which has been preserved For date, see note 2

(August^o 1639)

SIR,

I long now to hear of nothing more than a little *Deynlerolus*, and if it prove of another gender in grammar, then let philosophy comfort you, that says, it is nature's method to begin *ab imperfectione* but by my contemplation of your own and your wife's complexion, and of her late sickness, I should imagine that *fortior ars trahet sexum*

We are sorry to hear that the Scottish gentlemen², who have been lately sent to that King, found (as they say) but a bruske³ welcome, which makes all fea that there may be a rebullition in that business

We have a new strange voice flying here, that the Prince Palatine is towards a marriage

I apprehend much the event of your new ambassage from the States, being carried by a man who hath had his whole fortune out of France, but the wisdom of the instrument may mollify all I should be glad to know whether his son-in-law, Constantinus

¹ Hester Wotton married Baptist Noel, son of the second Viscount Campden, on Dec 31, 1639 Sir Henry Wotton is probably referring to the negotiations for this marriage in the paragraph above

² After the treaty of Berwick (signed June 18, 1639) Charles complained that some of the stipulations of that treaty had not been executed by the Scotch He sent for the covenanting leaders to meet him at Berwick, and six of them came in July (*Gardiner*, ix, pp 46, 47)

³ 'Bruske,' old form of 'brusque'

Hugemus¹, be in his company Lastly, I should be glad to hear that you are *un tantino* promoted² in your own ends, for when the first way is planed, all will go smoothly Let us, howsoever, love one another, and God love us both

Your poore friend,

H WOTTON

¹ Sir Constantijn Huygens (1596–1687), the famous Dutch poet and diplomatist. He was frequently in England, and in 1622 he was knighted by James I. Huygens was an intimate friend of Donne, whose poems he translated. His wife was Suzanne van Baerle, who died in 1637.

² 'Promoved,' arch, forwarded (*Century Dict*)

APPENDIX I

PROSE WORKS, POEMS, AND LETTERS OF SIR HENRY WOTTON.

A COLLECTED WORKS AND LETTERS

1651

I Reliquiae Wottonianae Or, A Collection of Lives, Letters, Poems, with Characters of Sundry Personages And other Incomparable Pieces of Language and Art By the Curious Pensil of the Ever Memorable Sr Henry Wotton Kt, Late Provost of Eton Colledg London, Printed by Thomas Maxey, for R Marriot, G Bedel, and T Garthwait 1651

Dedicated by Izaak Walton to Mary Lady Wotton, and to her daughters, Katherine Lady Stanhope, Margaret Lady Tufton, and Ann Lady Hales Second edition 'with many additions', 1654 The additions consist of the *Aphorisms of Education*, and eight new letters, six addressed to the Duke of Buckingham The letters and papers are reprinted in the order of the first edition, with one exception—a letter to Buckingham on p 409 of the first edition being on p 471 in the second, among the other letters to Buckingham The third edition, 1672, 'with large additions,' is dedicated by Izaak Walton to Sir Henry Wotton's great nephew, Philip, Second Earl of Chesterfield The letters reprinted from the first and second editions are rearranged with some attempt at chronological order The additions consist of 'An Elegie on Sir Henry Wotton, writ by Mr Abram Cowley', a translation of Wotton's letter to Welser (*ante*, II, p 9), a letter to Samuel Collins (*ibid*, p 370), the *Plausus et Vota*, the *Praefatio in Historiam Venetam* (*ibid*, p 254), Francis Bacon's letter to Wotton (*ibid*, p 204 n), the *Letters to Sir Edmund Bacon*, published 1660, and thirty 'Additional Letters to Several Persons, Now just Published from the Author's own copies' Among these latter are nine state papers connected with Wotton's negotiations in Venice and Vienna The fourth edition (1685), published after Izaak Walton's death, is an almost exact reprint of the third edition with a new title page, and, at the end, 'Sir Henry Wotton's Letters to the Lord Zouch Collected from the Originals, and Never published till this present year, 1685' The first part is not, as it first appears, a reissue of the third edition, as there are a few slight variations in the printing (See *J Hannah*, Additions and Collections)

1661

II Letters of Sir Henry Wotton to Sir Edmund Bacon London, Printed by R W for F T at the three Daggers in Fleet-street 1661

1850

III Letters and Dispatches from Sir Henry Wotton to James I and His Ministers, in the years MDCXVII–XX Printed from the Originals in the Library of Eton College London Printed by William Nicol, Shakspeare Press, MDCCCL (Roxburghe Club)

1867

IV Inedited Correspondence of Sir Henry Wotton in the Reign of King James the First Communicated to the Society of Antiquaries by C Knight Watson, Esq, M A, Secretary of the Society London J B Nichols and Sons, Printers, 23 Pailhamnt Street, 1867 (*Archaeologia*, vol xl)

B SEPARATE PROSE WORKS

1594

I The State of Christendom Or, A most Exact and Curious Discovery of many Secret Passages, and Hidden Mysteries of the Times Written by the Renowned Sr Henry Wotton, K^t Ambassadour in Ordinary to the most Serene Republique of Venice, and late Provost of Eaton Colledg London, Printed for Humphrey Moseley, and are to be sold at his Shop at the Prince's Arms in St Paul's Church-yard, 1657 (Issued with new title-page, 1667)

1613

II (?) Character of Robert, late Earl of Salisbury *Burley MS* f 1, transcript, *S P Dom Jas I*, lxix, f 59 See Appendix IV

1624

III The Elements of Architecture Collected by Sir Henry Wotton K^t from the best Authois and Examples London, printed by John Bill, MDCXXIV

Reprinted *Reliq*, 1st ed p 192, 2nd ed p 175, 3rd and 4th eds p 1, *Somers Tracts*, 2nd collection, 1750, i, p 262, 2nd ed 1809, iii, p 601, at the Chiswick Press, for Miss S T Prideaux, Longmans, Green & Co, 1903 Latin translation, *Elementa Architecturae, Collecta ab Henrico Wottonio, Equite*, in *M Vitruvii Pollionis De Architectura Libri Decem*, ed Ioanne de Laet, Amsterdam, 1649, pp 1-30

1630 ?

IV A Philosophicall Surveigh of Education, or Moral Architecture By Sir Henry Wotton K^t Provost of Eton Colledg *Reliq*, 1st ed p 309, 2nd ed p 281, 3rd and 4th eds p 72

V The Aphorisms of Education *Reliq*, 2nd ed p 305, 3rd and 4th eds p 86

1633

VI Ad Regem E Scotia Reducem Henrici Wottonii Plausus et Vota Londini Excusum Typis Augusti Malthusi Anno MDCCCXXXIII

Reprinted *Reliq*, 3rd ed p 113 English translation, 'A Panegyrick of King Charles, Being Observations upon the Inclination, Life, and Government of our Sovereign Lord the King' Written by Sir Hen Wotton Knight (Provost of Eaton Colledg) a little before his death

Printed for Richard Marriot, London, 1649 Reprinted with the description, 'And now Englished by a Friend of the Authours' *Reliq*, 1st ed p 125, 2nd ed p 123, 3rd and 4th eds p 135 Also in *Monarchia Britannica*, Oxford, 1681

1633 ?

VII A Parallell betweene Robert late Earle of Essex, and George late Duke of Buckingham Written by Sir Henry Wotton, Knight, &c, 1641

Reprinted with title 'Of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, and George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham Some Observations by way of Paralell in the time of them

estates of favour *Reliq*, 1st ed p 1, 2nd ed p 8, 3rd and 4th eds p 161, *Somers Tracts*, 2nd collection, 1750, 1, p 383, *ibid*, 2nd ed 1809, iv, p 154, *Memoirs of the Life of Robert Devereux Earl of Essex*, 1753, p 4, also 'At the Private Press of Lee Priory 1814' (by Sir Robert Egerton Brydges)

('The Difference and Disparity between the Estates and Conditions of George Duke of Buckingham, and Robert Earl of Essex By Sir Henry Wotton Knight, and dedicated to the Earl of Portland' *Reliq*, 1st and 2nd eds p 37, is correctly described in the *Reliq*, 3rd and 4th eds p 184, as 'Written by the Earl of Clarendon in his younger dayes')

1633 ?

VIII A Short View of the Life and Death of Geo Villiers, Duke of Buckingham Written by Sir Henry Wotton, Knight, late Provost of Eaton Colledge London, printed for William Sheares, 1642

Reprinted *Reliq*, 1st and 2nd eds p 71, 3rd and 4th eds p 206, *Harleian Miscellany*, 1746, vol viii, p 558, *ibid* 1811, vol viii, p 613

1636

IX A Concept Of some Observations intended upon Things most Remarkable in the Civil History of this Kingdom, and likewise in the State of the Church, From the Norman Invasion, till the Twelfth year of our vertuous Sovereign, Charles The First, whom God have in his precious Custody *Reliq*, 1st ed p 163, 2nd ed p 148, 3rd and 4th eds p 100 'The Preface to my said Discourse,' Gutch, *Collectanea*, 1, p 215

X Henrici VI^{ti} Angliae et Galliarum Regis, Hiberniae Domini, Etonensis ad Tamesin Collegii Conditoris, Vita et Excessus Scriptore Henrico Wottono Anglo-Cantiano Ejusdem Collegii Praefecto *Reliq*, 1st ed p 480, 2nd ed p 438, 3rd and 4th eds p 108

1638.

XI The Great Action between Pompey and Caesar, Extracted out of the Roman and Graecian Writers By H W K^t for an Historicall Exercise *Reliq*, 1st ed p 337, 2nd ed p 305, 3rd and 4th eds p 239

XII A Meditation upon the XXIIth Chapter of Genesis By H W *Reliq*, 1st ed p 343, 2nd ed p 311, 3rd and 4th eds p 265

XIII A Meditation upon Christmas Day Of the Birth and Pilgrimage of our Saviour Christ on Earth *Reliq*, 1st ed p 351, 2nd ed p 319, 3rd and 4th eds p 269

XIV A Brief Discourse Concerning the Emperor's Election, the Netherlands, and the Low Countries' Greatness, with some other affaies of State Written by Sir Henry Wotton K^t *Rawl MS A 141, f 66*

XV Italian Authors selected and censured by Sir Hen Wotton *Tanner MS lxxxii, f 142* See Appendix IV

(Concerning *Duellos in Spaine*, by Sir Henry Wotton, *Stowe MS 569, f 70*, is wrongly attributed to Wotton's authorship, being written by some one who had long been a resident in Spain)

C POEMS BY SIR HENRY WOTTON

Wotton's collected poems were printed in the first and subsequent editions of the *Reliquiae*. They were reprinted *Poems by Sir Henry Wotton*, edited by the Rev Alexander Dyce London for the Percy Society MDCCCXLIII, *Poems by Sir Henry Wotton Sir Walter Raleigh and others* edited by the Rev John Hannah, M.A., late Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford London, William Pickering, 1845, subsequently reprinted under title of *Courtly Poets*, with some of the notes omitted, 1870

I A Poem Written by Sir Henry Wotton, in His Youth *Poetical Rapsody* (Francis Davison), 1602, *Reliq*, 1st ed p 516, 2nd ed p 491, 3rd and 4th eds p 377, *Poems of Pembroke and Ruddier*, 1660, p 34, described as *Verses made by Sir B R* (Sir Benjamin Rudyard)

II Sir Henry Wotton, and Serjeant Hoskins, Riding on the way *Reliq*, 1st ed p 517, 2nd ed p 492, 3rd and 4th eds p 378

III A Dialogue Between Sir Henry Wotton and Mr Donne *Poems by J D*, 2nd ed 1635, p 195

1609 P

IV This Hymn was made by Sr H Wotton, when he was an Ambassadors at Venice, in the time of a great Sickness there *Reliq*, 1st ed p 529, 2nd ed p 505; 3rd and 4th eds p 389

1613 P

V The Character of a Happy Life *Overbury's Wife*, 5th ed 1614, *Reliq*, 1st ed p 522, 2nd ed p 498, 3rd and 4th eds p 383

1615

VI Upon the sudden Restraint of the Earle of Somerset, then falling from favour *Reliq*, 1st ed p 522, 2nd ed p 497, 3rd and 4th eds p 383

1620

VII On his Mistress, the Queen of Bohemia Michael East, *The Sixt Set of Bookes*, 1624, *Reliq*, 1st ed p 518, 2nd ed p 493, 3rd and 4th eds p 379

VIII To a Noble Friend in his Sickness (the Duke of Buckingham ?) *Reliq*, 1st ed p 519, 2nd ed p 494, 3rd and 4th eds p 380

1625

IX Tears at the Grave of Sir Albertus Morton (who was buried at Southampton) Wept by Sir H Wotton *Reliq*, 1st ed p 528, 2nd ed p 503, 3rd and 4th eds p 388

1626

X Upon the Death of Sir Albert Morton's Wife *Reliq*, 1st ed p 529, 2nd ed p 504, 3rd and 4th eds pp 389, 560

1630

XI A Short Hymn upon the Birth of Prince Charles *Reliq*, 1st ed p 519, 2nd ed p 494, 3rd and 4th eds p 381

1633

XII An Ode to the King, At his Returning from Scotland to the Queen after his Coronation there *Reliq*, 1st ed p 521, 2nd ed p 496, 3rd and 4th eds p 382

XIII A Translation of the CIV Psalm to the Originall Sense *Reliq*, 1st ed p 525, 2nd ed p 500, 3rd and 4th eds p 385

1637

XIV A Hymn to my God in a night of my late Sicknesse *Reliq*, 1st ed p 515, 2nd ed p 470, 3rd and 4th eds p 362

1639

XV On a Banck, as I sate a Fishing, A Description of the Spring *Reliq*, 1st ed p 524, 2nd ed p 499, 3rd and 4th eds p 384, Walton's *Compleat Angler* (1655), p 60

XVI To the rarely accomplis'd, and worthy of best employment, Master Howel, upon his Vocall Foriest James Howell's ΔΕΝΔΡΟ-ΛΟΓΙΑ Dodona's Grove, or the Vocall Foorest, 1640

DOUBTFUL POEMS

XVII A Description of the Countrey's Recreations *Reliq*, 1st ed p 531, 2nd ed p 506, 3rd and 4th eds p 390, Izaak Walton's *Compleat Angler*, 1655, p 348

XVIII A Farewell to the Vanities of the World *Compleat Angler*, 1655, p 350, there described 'some say written by Dr D' (Donne) In the thud edition, however, this is changed to 'some say written by Sir Harry Wotton, who I told you, was an excellent Angler', p 251

D LETTERS AND DISPATCHES OF SIR HENRY WOTTON

In the following list is given (1) the date, (2) the place of writing, (3) the person to whom the letter is addressed, (4) the MS source, when the MS is extant, (5) the volume in which the published letters were first printed, (6) the handwriting, whether holograph, dictated or transcript, (7) the language, whether English, Latin or Italian, stands for the present publication. In cases where the MS source is given but the handwriting is not described, the present editor has not had access to the originals. Transcripts from original MSS or from printed letters are not included in this list.

| <i>Date</i> | <i>Place</i> | <i>To whom addressed</i> | <i>Source and first publication</i> | <i>Hand</i> | <i>Language</i> |
|-------------------|--------------|--------------------------|---|-------------|-----------------|
| Oct 20, 1589 O S | London | Edward Wotton | <i>Stone MS</i> 697/149 | Tran | English |
| Nov 1, 1589 O S | Stade | Edward Wotton | <i>Stone MS</i> 697/150 | Tian | English |
| Dec 14, 1589 O S | Heidelberg | Edward Wotton | <i>Stone MS</i> 697/151 | Tian | English |
| Dec 14, 1589 O S | Heidelberg | Hester Wotton | <i>Stone MS</i> 697/153 | Tian | English |
| Jan 2, 1590 O S | Heidelberg | Edward Wotton | <i>Stone MS</i> 697/153 v | Tian | English |
| Jan 8, 1590 O S | Heidelberg | Edward Wotton | <i>Stone MS</i> 697/154 v | Tian | English |
| Jan 10, 1590 O S | Heidelberg | Edward Wotton | <i>Stone MS</i> 697/154 v | Tian | English |
| Sept 25, 1590 O S | Altdorf | Eleanor Wotton | <i>Hofbibl MS</i> 9737z ^v /106 | — | English |
| Oct 27, 1590 N S | Ingolstadt | Lord Zouche | — <i>Reliq</i> , 4th ed p 585 | — | English |
| Nov 20, 1590 N S | Vienna | Zouche | — <i>Reliq</i> , 4th ed p 587 | — | English |
| Dec 9, 1590 N S | Vienna | Zouche | — <i>Reliq</i> , 4th ed p 593 | — | English |
| Dec 19, 1590 N S | Vienna | Zouche | — <i>Reliq</i> , 4th ed p 597 | — | English |
| Dec 25, 1590 N S | Vienna | Francis Hunnings | <i>Hofbibl MS</i> 9737z ^v /107 | — | English |
| Jan 9, 1591 N S | Vienna | Zouche | — <i>Reliq</i> , 4th ed p 601 | — | English |
| Jan 15, 1591 N S | Vienna | Zouche | — <i>Reliq</i> , 4th ed p 606 | — | English |
| Jan 25, 1591 N S | Vienna | Blotius | <i>Hofbibl MS</i> 9737z ^v /132 | — | Latin |
| Feb 6, 1591 N S | Vienna | Zouche | — <i>Reliq</i> , 4th ed p 609 | — | English |
| Feb 10, 1591 N S | Vienna | Zouche | — <i>Reliq</i> , 4th ed p 615 | — | English |

| <i>Date</i> | <i>Place</i> | <i>To whom addressed</i> | <i>Source and first publication</i> | <i>Hand</i> | <i>Language</i> |
|--------------------|--------------|--------------------------|---|-------------|-----------------|
| Feb 19, 1591 N S | Vienna | Zouche | — <i>Reliq</i> , 4th ed p 619 | — | English |
| Feb 27, 1591 N S | Vienna | Zouche | — <i>Reliq</i> , 4th ed p 625 | — | English |
| March 1, 1591 N S | Vienna | Zouche | — <i>Reliq</i> , 4th ed p 629 | — | English |
| March 12, 1591 N S | Vienna | Zouche | — <i>Reliq</i> , 4th ed p 631 | — | English |
| March 26, 1591 N S | Vienna | Zouche | — <i>Reliq</i> , 4th ed p 634 | — | English |
| April 17, 1591 N S | Vienna | Zouche | — <i>Reliq</i> , 4th ed p 639 | — | English |
| April 21, 1591 N S | Vienna | Zouche | — <i>Reliq</i> , 4th ed p 647 | — | English |
| June 26, 1591 N S | Frankfort | Blotius | <i>Hofbibl</i> MS 9737 ^z ^v /151 | — | Latin |
| Aug 28, 1591 O S | Heidelberg | Blotius | <i>Hofbibl</i> MS 9737 ^z ^v /158 | — | Latin |
| Nov 21, 1591 N S | Padua | Blotius | <i>Hofbibl</i> MS 9737 ^z ^v /158 | — | Latin |
| May 8, 1592 N S | Florence | Zouche | — <i>Reliq</i> , 4th ed p 651 | — | English |
| May 29, 1592 N S | Florence | Zouche | — <i>Reliq</i> , 4th ed p 664 | — | English |
| June 13, 1592 N S | Florence | Zouche | — <i>Reliq</i> , 4th ed p 667 | — | English |
| June 25, 1592 S | Florence | Zouche | — <i>Reliq</i> , 4th ed p 671 | — | English |
| July 10, 1592 N S | Florence | Zouche | — <i>Reliq</i> , 4th ed p 673 | — | English |
| July 17, 1592 N S | Florence | Helmhard Friedesheim | <i>Hofbibl</i> MS 9737 ^z ^v /219 | — | Latin |
| July 27, 1592 N S | Florence | Zouche | — <i>Reliq</i> , 4th ed p 677 | — | English |
| July 31, 1592 N S | Florence | Zouche | — <i>Reliq</i> , 4th ed p 679 | — | English |
| Aug 14, 1592 N S | Florence | Zouche | — <i>Reliq</i> , 4th ed p 684 | — | English |
| Aug 29, 1592 N S | Florence | Zouche | — <i>Reliq</i> , 4th ed p 688 | — | English |
| Sept 6, 1592 N S | Florence | Zouche | — <i>Reliq</i> , 4th ed p 682 | — | English |
| Sept 12, 1592 N S | Florence | Zouche | — <i>Reliq</i> , 4th ed p 692 | — | English |
| Sept 19, 1592 N S | Florence | Zouche | — <i>Reliq</i> , 4th ed p 694 | — | English |
| Oct 3, 1592 N S | Florence | Zouche | — <i>Reliq</i> , 4th ed p 696 | — | English |
| Oct 25, 1592 N S | Siena | Zouche | — <i>Reliq</i> , 4th ed p 698 | — | English |
| Nov 25, 1592 N S | Siena | Zouche | — <i>Reliq</i> , 4th ed p 700 | — | English |

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|------------------------|-----------|------------|---|---|------|---------|
| Dec 3, 1592 N S | Siena | Zouche | — | <i>Reliq</i> , 4th ed p 704 | — | English |
| Dec 28, 1592 N S | Siena | Zouche | — | <i>Reliq</i> , 4th ed p 707 | — | English |
| Aug 22, 1593 O S | Geneva | Zouche | — | <i>Reliq</i> 4th ed p 709 | — | English |
| <Dec 1594 ?> | London | Essex ? | — | <i>Cecil MS</i> 99/38 | Tran | English |
| July 7, 1595 O S | London | Blotus | — | <i>Hofbibl MS</i> 97372 ^v /363 | — | Latin |
| May 29, 1596 O S | Plymouth | Su R Cecil | — | <i>Cecil MS</i> 41/26 | Hol | English |
| Dec 12, 1596 O S | London ? | Casaubon | — | <i>Cas Epist</i> p 644 | — | Latin |
| March 14, 1597 O S | London | Casaubon | — | <i>Cas Epist</i> p 642 | — | Latin |
| Oct 30, 1597 O S | Plymouth | Essex | — | <i>Reliq</i> , 4th ed p 712 | — | English |
| Dec 29, 1597 O S | London | Cecil | — | <i>S P Dom Eliz</i> celxv no 65 | Hol | English |
| <April 11 ?, 1599> O S | Beaumaris | Donne ? | — | <i>Bunley MS</i> 295 | Tran | English |
| April 19, 1599 O S | Dublin | E Reynolds | — | <i>Cecil MS</i> 179/2 | 1907 | English |
| < — 1599> O S | Ireland | Donne ? | — | <i>Bunley MS</i> 253 v | 1907 | English |
| < — 1599> O S | Ireland | Donne ? | — | <i>Bunley MS</i> 253 v | 1907 | English |
| <Nov 1600 ?> O S | London | Reynolds | — | <i>Cecil MS</i> 130/183 | 1907 | English |
| April 1, 1601 N S | Florence | Casaubon | — | <i>Burney MS</i> 366/348 | Hol | Latin |
| June 20, 1602 N S | Florence | Casaubon | — | <i>Burney MS</i> 367/75 | 1907 | Latin |
| <June — ?, 1602> N S | Florence | Vinta | — | <i>Arch Med</i> 1219/264 | Hol | Latin |
| <June — ?, 1602> N S | Florence | Vinta | — | <i>Arch Med</i> 4185/319 | Hol | Italian |
| <June — ?, 1602> N S | Florence | Vinta | — | <i>Arch Med</i> 1219/203 | Hol | Latin |
| <June — ?, 1602> N S | Florence | Vinta | — | <i>Arch Med</i> 4185 | Hol | Latin |
| <July — ?, 1602> N S | Florence | Vinta | — | <i>Arch Med</i> 1219/265 | Hol | Italian |
| <July — ?, 1602> N S | Florence | Vinta | — | <i>Arch Med</i> 1219/266 | Hol | Italian |
| <July — ?, 1602> N S | Florence | Vinta | — | <i>Arch Med</i> 1219/267 | Hol | Italian |
| July 5, 1602 N S | Florence | T Wilson | — | <i>S P Ven I</i> | 1907 | English |
| Aug 27, 1602 N S | Florence | Hoeschel | — | Heumann, <i>Poecile</i> , I, p 581 | — | Latin |
| May 23, 1603 N S | Venice | Cecil | — | <i>S P Ven I</i> | 1907 | English |
| July 19, 1604 O S | Dover | Winwood | — | <i>Winwood Mem</i> II, p 24 | — | English |
| Nov 12, 1604 N S | Venice | Vinta | — | <i>Arch Med</i> 1220/152 | Hol | Italian |

| <i>Date</i> | <i>Place</i> | <i>To whom addressed</i> | <i>Source and first publication</i> | <i>Hand</i> | <i>Language</i> |
|--------------------|--------------|--------------------------|--|-------------|-----------------|
| <Dec 3, 1604> N S | Venice | De Fiesnes-Canaye | <i>Burley MS 59 v</i> | Tian | Italian |
| <Dec 31, 1604> N S | Venice | Cranborne | <i>S P Ven II</i> | Hol | English |
| <Feb 6, 1605> N S | Venice | Cranborne | <i>S P Ven II</i> | 1907 | English |
| <Feb 3, 1605> | Venice | R Woodward | <i>Cotton MS Jul E II 87</i> | Tian | English |
| <Feb 3, 1605> | Venice | G Rooke | <i>Cotton MS Jul E II 105</i> | Tian | English |
| March 1, 1605 N S | Venice | Possevino | <i>S P Ven II</i> | Tran | Italian |
| <March 2, 1605> | Venice | Possevino | <i>S P Ven II</i> | Tran | Italian |
| March 18, 1605 N S | Venice | Cranborne | <i>S P Ven II</i> | Hol | English |
| May 3, 1605 N S | Venice | Cranborne | <i>S P Ven II</i> | Hol | English |
| <May —, 1605> | Venice | Cranborne | <i>S P Ven II</i> | Hol | English |
| June 18, 1605 N S | Venice | Blotius | <i>Hofbibl MS 97372¹⁷/185</i> | — | Latin |
| July 8, 1605 N S | Venice | Edmondas | <i>Stoue MS 168/62</i> | Dict | English |
| July 13, 1605 N S | Venice | Edmondas | <i>Stoue MS 168/71</i> | Hol | English |
| Aug 2, 1605 N S | Venice | Edmondas | <i>Stoue MS 168/93</i> | Dict | English |
| Aug 18, 1605 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven II</i> | Tian | English |
| <Aug —> 1605 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven II</i> | Tran | English |
| Sept 16, 1605 N S | Venice | Edmondas | <i>Stoue MS 168/139</i> | Dict | English |
| <Sept 1605> N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven II</i> | Hol | English |
| Oct 14, 1605 N S | Venice | Edmondas | <i>Stoue MS 168/179</i> | Dict | English |
| Oct 21, 1605 N S | Venice | Edmondas | <i>Stoue MS 168/185</i> | Dict | English |
| Nov 4, 1605 N S | Venice | Edmondas | <i>Stoue MS 168/205</i> | Dict | English |
| Nov 25, 1605 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven II</i> | Hol | English |
| Dec 2, 1605 N S | Venice | Edmondas | <i>Stoue MS 168/267</i> | Dict | English |
| Dec 10, 1605 N S | Venice | Vinta | <i>Arch Med 1220/218</i> | Hol | Italian |
| Dec 23, 1605 N S | Venice | Edmondas | <i>Stoue MS 168/283</i> | Dict | English |
| Dec 31, 1605 N S | Venice | E Barretti | <i>Harl MS 1579/125</i> | Tian | English |

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| <Dec — 1605> N S | Venice | Ferdinand I | <i>S P Thescany II</i> | — | — | Italian |
| Jan 20, 1606 N S | Venice | Edmondes | <i>Stowe MS 168/299</i> | 1907 | Dict | English |
| <Jan 2, 1606> | Venice | Cornwallis | <i>Harl MS 1875/363</i> | — | Tran | English |
| Feb 14, 1606 N S | Venice | Vinta | <i>Arch Med 1220/164</i> | — | Hol | Italian |
| Feb 17, 1606 N S | Venice | Edmondes | <i>Stowe MS 168/334</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| <Feb 18, 1606> N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven II</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| Feb 19, 1606 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven II</i> | — | Hol | English |
| Feb 24, 1606 N S | Venice | Edmondes | <i>Stowe MS 168/343</i> | — | Dict | English |
| March 11, 1606 N S | Venice | Cornwallis | <i>Harl MS 1875/382</i> | — | Tran | English |
| March 31, 1606 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven III</i> | — | Hol | English |
| April 7, 1606 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven III</i> | — | Hol | English |
| April 8, 1606 N S | Venice | Duke of Modena | <i>Archivio di Stato, Modena,</i> <i>* Cal S P Ven X p 333</i> | — | — | Italian |
| April 14, 1606 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven III</i> | — | Hol | English |
| April 22, 1606 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven III</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| April 22, 1606 N S | Venice | James I | <i>S P Ven III</i> | — | Hol | English |
| April 28, 1606 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven III</i> | 1907 | Dict | English |
| May 12, 1606 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven III</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| May 19, 1606 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven III</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| <May 26> 1606 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven III</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| May 26, 1606 N S | Venice | James I | <i>S P Ven III</i> | — | Hol | English |
| June 1, 1606 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven III</i> | — | Hol | English |
| June 8, 1606 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven III</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| June 16, 1606 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven III</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| June 16, 1606 N S | Venice | James I | <i>S P Ven III</i> | — | Hol | English |
| June 23, 1606 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven III</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| June 26, 1606 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven III</i> | — | Hol | English |
| June 30, 1606 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven III</i> | — | Hol | English |
| <June —> 1606 | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven III</i> | — | Hol | English |

| <i>Date</i> | <i>Place</i> | <i>To whom addressed</i> | <i>Source and first publication</i> | <i>Hand</i> | <i>Language</i> |
|-------------------|--------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------|-----------------|
| July 14, 1606 N S | Venice | Salisbury | S P Ven III | Hol | English |
| July 21, 1606 N S | Venice | Salisbury | S P Ven III | Hol | English |
| July 28, 1606 N S | Venice | Salisbury | S P Ven III | Hol | English |
| July 28, 1606 N S | Venice | Salisbury | S P Ven III | Hol | English |
| Aug 3, 1606 N S | Venice | Salisbury | S P Ven III | Hol | English |
| Aug 3, 1606 N S | Venice | Salisbury | S P Ven III | Hol | English |
| Aug 11, 1606 N S | Venice | Salisbury | S P Ven III | Hol | English |
| Aug 18, 1606 N S | Venice | Salisbury | S P Ven III | Hol | English |
| Aug 25, 1606 N S | Venice | Salisbury | S P Ven III | Hol | English |
| Sept 1, 1606 N S | Venice | Salisbury | S P Ven III | Hol | English |
| Sept 1, 1606 N S | Venice | James I | S P Ven III | Tian | English |
| Sept 8, 1606 N S | Venice | Salisbury | S P Ven III | Hol | English |
| Sept 22, 1606 N S | Venice | Salisbury | S P Ven III | Hol | English |
| Sept 22, 1606 N S | Venice | Salisbury | S P Ven III | Hol | English |
| Sept 29, 1606 N S | Venice | Salisbury | S P Ven III | Hol | English |
| Oct 6, 1606 N S | Venice | Salisbury | S P Ven III | Hol | English |
| Oct 6, 1606 N S | Venice | James I | S P Ven III | Hol | English |
| Oct 6, 1606 N S | Venice | James I | C C C MS 318 | Hol | English |
| Oct 6, 1606 N S | Venice | Salisbury | S P Ven III | Hol | English |
| Oct 20, 1606 N S | Venice | Salisbury | S P Ven III | Hol | English |
| Oct 27, 1606 N S | Venice | Salisbury | S P Ven III | Hol | English |
| Nov 3, 1606 N S | Venice | Salisbury | S P Ven III | Hol | English |
| Nov 3, 1606 N S | Venice | James I | S P Ven III | Hol | English |
| <Nov 9>, 1606 N S | Venice | Salisbury | S P Ven III | Hol | English |
| Nov 17, 1606 N S | Venice | Salisbury | S P Ven III | Hol | English |
| <Dec 6, 1606 N S> | Venice | Salisbury | S P Ven III | Hol | English |

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| Dec 6, 1606 N S | Venice | James I | <i>S P Ven III</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| <Dec 6, 1606 N S> | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven III</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| Dec 15, 1606 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven III</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| Dec 29, 1606 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven III</i> | — | Hol | English |
| <— 1606> N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven III</i> | — | Hol | English |
| <Jan 4 ^o , 1607 N S> | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | — | Hol | English |
| Jan 11, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | — | Hol | English |
| Jan 11, 1607 N S | Venice | James I | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | — | Hol | English |
| Jan 27, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | — | Hol | English |
| Feb 2, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| Feb 3, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | — | Hol | English |
| Feb 3, 1607 N S | Venice | E Barlett | <i>Harl MS 1579/125 v</i> | 1907 | Tran | English |
| Feb 9, 1607 N S | Venice | James I | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | — | Hol | English |
| Feb 16, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| Feb 17, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | — | Hol | English |
| Feb 23, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| Feb 24, 1607 N S | Venice | E Barlett | <i>Harl MS 1579/127</i> | 1907 | Tran | English |
| March 2, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| March 3, 1607 N S | Venice | E Barlett | <i>Harl MS 1579/126 v</i> | 1907 | Tran | English |
| March 9, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | — | Hol | English |
| March 9, 1607 N S | Venice | James I | <i>Add MS 19402/13</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| March 10, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | — | Hol | English |
| March 22, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | — | Hol | English |
| <March 22 ^o >, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | — | Hol | English |
| March 22, 1607 N S | Venice | James I | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | — | Hol | English |
| March 30, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | — | Hol | English |
| March 30, 1607 N S | Venice | Edmond ^{es} | <i>Stone MS 169/3</i> | — | Hol | English |
| April 6, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| <April 15 ^o , 1607 N S> | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | — | Hol | English |

| <i>Date</i> | <i>Place</i> | <i>To whom addressed</i> | <i>Source and first publication</i> | <i>Hand</i> | <i>Language</i> |
|------------------------------------|--------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------|-----------------|
| <April 20 [?] , 1607 N S> | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | Hol | English |
| April 20, 1607 N S | Venice | Edmondcs | <i>Store MS 169/22</i> | Dict | English |
| April 27, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | Hol | English |
| <April — 1607 N S> | Venice | Edmondcs | <i>Store MS 169/20</i> | Dict | English |
| May 4, 1607, N S | Venice | James I | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | Hol | English |
| May 5, 1607 N S | Venice | N & A Sanminiati | <i>Atti 12</i> | Hol | Italian |
| May 16, 1607 N S | Venice | Ferdinand I | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | Hol | Italian |
| May 18, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | Hol | English |
| May 18, 1607 N S | Venice | Edmondcs | <i>Store MS 169/40</i> | Dict | English |
| May 28, 1607 N S | Venice | Ferdinand I | <i>Burley MS 103</i> | Trian | English |
| June 1, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | Hol | English |
| June 1, 1607 N S | Venice | Edmondcs | <i>Store MS 169/52</i> | Dict | English |
| June 6, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | Hol | English |
| June 9, 1607 N S | Venice | F Tegrini | <i>Atti 12</i> | Hol | Italian |
| June 15, 1607 N S | Venice | James I | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | Hol | English |
| June 15, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | Hol | English |
| June 22, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | Hol | English |
| June 22, 1607 N S | Venice | Edmondcs | <i>Store MS 169/64</i> | Dict | English |
| June 29, 1607 N S | Venice | Edmondcs | <i>Store MS 169/70</i> | Dict | English |
| June 29, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | Hol | English |
| July 6, 1607 N S | Venice | Edmondcs | <i>Store MS 169/72</i> | Dict | English |
| July 9, 1607 N S | Venice | F Tegrini | <i>Atti 12</i> | Hol | Italian |
| July 21, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | Hol | English |
| Aug 3, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | Hol | English |
| Aug 3, 1607 N S | Venice | Edmondcs | <i>Store MS 169/96</i> | Dict | English |
| Aug 4, 1607 N S | Venice | M. Massacucchio | <i>Atti 12</i> | Hol | Italian |

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| Aug 4, 1607 N S | Venice | M Massacucioh | <i>Atth 12</i> | — | Hol | Italian |
| Aug 10, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | — | Hol | English |
| Aug 11, 1607 N S | Venice | M Massacucioh | <i>Atth 12</i> | — | Hol | Italian |
| Aug 20, 1607 N S | Venice | Edmondcs | <i>Stoue MS 169/102</i> | — | Diet | English |
| Aug 22, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| Aug 31, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| Aug 31, 1607 N S | Venice | Edmondcs | <i>Stoue MS 169/114</i> | — | Diet | English |
| Sept 7, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | — | Hol | English |
| Sept 13, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| Sept 14, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | — | Hol | English |
| Sept 15, 1607 N S | Venice | James I | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | — | Hol | English |
| Sept 18, 1607 N S | Venice | M Massacucioh | <i>Atth 12</i> | — | Hol | Italian |
| Sept 24, 1607 N S | Venice | M Massacucioh | <i>Atth 12</i> | — | Hol | Italian |
| Sept 28, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | — | Hol | English |
| Sept 29, 1607 N S | Venice | Edmondcs | <i>Stoue MS 169/139</i> | — | Diet | English |
| Oct 2, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| Oct 12, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| Oct 12, 1607 N S | Venice | Edmondcs | <i>Stoue MS 169/152</i> | — | Hol | English |
| Oct 19, 1607 N S | Venice | Edmondcs | <i>Stoue MS 169/168</i> | — | Diet | English |
| Oct 19, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| Oct 20, 1607 N S | Venice | M Massacucioh | <i>Atth 12</i> | — | Hol | Italian |
| Nov 1, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| Nov 1, 1607 N S | Venice | Privy Council | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | — | Tian | English |
| Nov 1, 1607 N S | Venice | Edmondcs | <i>Stoue MS 169/185</i> | — | Hol | English |
| Nov 1, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | — | Hol | English |
| Nov 8, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | — | Hol | English |
| Nov 8, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | — | Tran | English |
| Nov 16, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | — | Hol | English |
| Nov 16, 1607 N S | Venice | Edmondcs | <i>Stoue MS 168/201</i> | — | Diet | English |

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|------------------------------------|--------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------|-----------------|
| <April 20 ² , 1607 N S> | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | Hol | English |
| April 20, 1607 N S | Venice | Edmondcs | <i>Stowe MS 169/22</i> | Diet | English |
| April 27, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | 1907 | English |
| <April — 1607 N S> | Venice | Edmondcs | <i>Stowe MS 169/20</i> | Diet | English |
| May 4, 1607, N S | Venice | James I | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | Hol | English |
| May 5, 1607 N S | Venice | N & A Samminiati | <i>Attr 12</i> | Hol | Italian |
| May 16, 1607 N S | Venice | Ferdinand I | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | Hol | Italian |
| May 18, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | Hol | English |
| May 18, 1607 N S | Venice | Edmondcs | <i>Stowe MS 169/40</i> | Diet | English |
| May 23, 1607 N S | Venice | Ferdinand I | <i>Burley MS 103</i> | Tran | English |
| June 1, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | Hol | English |
| June 1, 1607 N S | Venice | Edmondcs | <i>Stowe MS 169/52</i> | Diet | English |
| June 6, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | Hol | English |
| June 9, 1607 N S | Venice | F Tegrini | <i>Attr 12</i> | Hol | Italian |
| June 15, 1607 N S | Venice | James I | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | Hol | English |
| June 15, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | Hol | English |
| June 22, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | Hol | English |
| June 22, 1607 N S | Venice | Edmondcs | <i>Stowe MS 169/64</i> | Diet | English |
| June 29, 1607 N S | Venice | Edmondcs | <i>Stowe MS 169/70</i> | Diet | English |
| June 29, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | Hol | English |
| July 6, 1607 N S | Venice | Edmondcs | <i>Stowe MS 169/72</i> | Diet | English |
| July 9, 1607 N S | Venice | F Tegrini | <i>Attr 12</i> | Hol | Italian |
| July 21, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | Hol | English |
| Aug 3, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | Hol | English |
| Aug 3, 1607 N S | Venice | Edmondcs | <i>Stowe MS 169/96</i> | Diet | English |
| Aug 4, 1607 N S | Venice | M Massacucioh | <i>Attr 12</i> | Hol | Italian |

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| Aug 4, 1607 N S | Venice | M Massacucioh | <i>Att 12</i> | — | Hol | Italian |
| Aug 10, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | — | Hol | English |
| Aug 11, 1607 N S | Venice | M Massacucioh | <i>Att 12</i> | — | Hol | Italian |
| Aug 20, 1607 N S | Venice | Edmondes | <i>Stone MS 169/102</i> | — | Dct | English |
| Aug 22, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| Aug 31, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| Aug 31, 1607 N S | Venice | Edmondes | <i>Stone MS 169/114</i> | — | Dct | English |
| Sept 7, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | — | Hol | English |
| Sept 13, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| Sept 14, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | — | Hol | English |
| Sept 15, 1607 N S | Venice | James I | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | — | Hol | English |
| Sept 18, 1607 N S | Venice | M Massacucioh | <i>Att 12</i> | — | Hol | Italian |
| Sept 24, 1607 N S | Venice | M Massacucioh | <i>Att 12</i> | — | Hol | Italian |
| Sept 28, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | — | Hol | English |
| Sept 29, 1607 N S | Venice | Edmondes | <i>Stone MS 169/139</i> | — | Dct | English |
| Oct 2, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | — | Hol | English |
| Oct 12, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| Oct 12, 1607 N S | Venice | Edmondes | <i>Stone MS 169/152</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| Oct 19, 1607 N S | Venice | Edmondes | <i>Stone MS 169/168</i> | — | Dct | English |
| Oct 19, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| Oct 20, 1607 N S | Venice | M Massacucioh | <i>Att 12</i> | — | Hol | Italian |
| Nov 1, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| Nov 1, 1607 N S | Venice | Privy Council | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | — | Tian | English |
| Nov 1, 1607 N S | Venice | Edmondes | <i>Stone MS 169/185</i> | — | Hol | English |
| Nov 1, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | — | Hol | English |
| Nov 8, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | — | Hol | English |
| Nov 8, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | — | Tran | English |
| Nov 16, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | — | Hol | English |
| Nov 16, 1607 N S | Venice | Edmondes | <i>Stone MS 168/201</i> | — | Dct | English |

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| Nov 30, 1607 N S | Venice | Edmondès | <i>Storie MS</i> 168/208 | Hol | English |
| Dec 6, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | Hol | English |
| Dec 21, 1607 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven IV</i> | Hol | English |
| Dec 21, 1607 N S | Venice | Edmondès | <i>Storie MS</i> 169/229 | Dict | English |
| Jan 4, 1608 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | Hol | English |
| Jan 6, 1608 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | Hol | English |
| Jan 11, 1608 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | Hol | English |
| Jan 11, 1608 N S | Venice | James I | <i>S P Ven V</i> | Hol | English |
| Jan 11, 1608 N S | Venice | Palmer Henry | <i>Harl MS</i> 7007/170 | Hol | English |
| Jan 15, 1608 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | Hol | English |
| Jan 18, 1608 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | Hol | English |
| Jan 25, 1608 N S | Venice | Edmondès | <i>Storie MS</i> 169/269 | Dict | English |
| <Jan —> 1608 N S | Venice | Edmondès | <i>Storie MS</i> 169/245 | Dict | English |
| <Jan —> 1608 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | Hol | English |
| Feb 1, 1608 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | Hol | English |
| Feb 9, 1608 N S | Venice | Edmondès | <i>Storie MS</i> 169/281 | Dict | English |
| Feb 16, 1608 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | Hol | English |
| Feb 22, 1608 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | Hol | English |
| <Feb 24?> 1608 N S | Venice | Doge Donato | <i>Ess. P. m. Cal S P Ven</i> xi, p 99 | Hol | Italian |
| March 1, 1608 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | Hol | English |
| March 7, 1608 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | Hol | English |
| March 28, 1608 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | Hol | English |
| March 28, 1608 N S | Venice | Edmondès | <i>Storie MS</i> 170/1 | Dict | English |
| April 4, 1608 N S | Venice | James I | <i>S P Ven V</i> | Hol | English |
| April 4, 1608 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | Hol | English |
| April 4, 1608 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | Hol | English |

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| April 11, 1608 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | — | Hol | English |
| April 11, 1608 N S | Venice | Edmondson | <i>Store MS 170/13</i> | — | Diet | English |
| <April 24, 1608 N S> | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| April 24, 1608 N S | Venice | James I | <i>S P Ven V, Cal S P Irish</i> | — | Hol | English |
| April 24, 1608 N S | Venice | Piuce Henry | 1606-8, p 657 | — | Hol | English |
| April 24, 1608 N S | Venice | Sir David Murray | <i>Harl MS 7007/185</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| April 24, 1608 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>Lansd MS 90/139</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| <April — 1608 N S> | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | — | Hol | English |
| May 2, 1608 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | — | Tian | English |
| May 9, 1608 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | — | Hol | English |
| May 16, 1608 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | — | Hol | English |
| May 17, 1608 N S | Venice | Lord Roos | <i>S P Ven V</i> | — | Hol | English |
| May 26, 1608 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S* P Ven V</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| May 30, 1608 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | — | Hol | English |
| <May — ?, 1608 N S> | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V, Cal S P Irish</i> | — | Hol | English |
| <May — 1608 N S> | Venice | Salisbury | 1606-8, p 655 | — | Hol | English |
| <May — 1608 N S> | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | — | Hol | English |
| June 13, 1608 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | — | Hol | English |
| June 18, 1608 N S | Venice | Edmondson | <i>S P Ven V</i> | — | Hol | English |
| June 20, 1608 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>Store MS 170/61</i> | — | Hol | English |
| June 29, 1608 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | — | Hol | English |
| July 5, 1608 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | — | Hol | English |
| July 11, 1608 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| July 11, 1608 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | — | Hol | English |
| July 11, 1608 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | — | Hol | English |
| July 11, 1608 N S | Venice | Edmondson | <i>Store MS 170/93</i> | — | Hol | English |
| Aug 1, 1608 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| Aug 8, 1608 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | — | Hol | English |

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| Aug 15, 1608 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | Hol | English |
| Aug 16, 1608 N S | Venice | Prince Henry | <i>Harl MS 7007/202, Buch, P, Henry, p 114</i> | Hol | English |
| Aug 22, 1608 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | Hol | English |
| Sept 5, 1608 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | Hol | English |
| Sept 5, 1608 N S | Venice | Edmondes | <i>Stowe MS 170/185</i> | Dict | English |
| Sept 10, 1608 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | Hol | English |
| Sept 25, 1608 N S | Venice | Edmondes | <i>Stowe MS 170/177</i> | Dict | English |
| Sept 27, 1608 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | Hol | English |
| Oct 1, 1608 N S | Venice | Duplessus-Mornay | — <i>Mornay, x, p 254</i> | — | Latin |
| Oct 3, 1608 N S | Venice | Edmondes | <i>Stowe MS 170/191</i> | Dict | English |
| Oct 10, 1608 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | Hol | English |
| Oct 24, 1608 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | Hol | English |
| Oct 24, 1608 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | Hol | English |
| Oct 24, 1608 N S | Venice | Edmondes | <i>Stowe MS 170/218</i> | Dict | English |
| Oct 31, 1608 N S | Venice | Edmondes | <i>Stowe MS 170/224</i> | Dict | English |
| Nov 7, 1608 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | Hol | English |
| Nov 14, 1608 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | Hol | English |
| Nov 14, 1608 N S | Venice | Edmondes | <i>Stowe MS 170/236</i> | Dict | English |
| Nov 21, 1608 N S | Venice | Edmondes | <i>Stowe MS 170/250</i> | Dict | English |
| Nov 21, 1608 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | Hol | English |
| Nov 28, 1608 N S | Venice | Edmondes | <i>Stowe MS 170/258</i> | Dict | English |
| Dec 5, 1608 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven</i> | Hol | English |
| Dec 12, 1608 N S | Venice | Edmondes | <i>Stowe MS 170/268</i> | Dict | English |
| Dec 19, 1608 N S | Venice | Edmondes | <i>Stowe MS 170/274</i> | Hol | English |
| Dec 24, 1608 N S | Venice | Duplessus Mornay | — <i>Mornay, x, p 260</i> | — | Latin |

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| Dec 26, 1608 N S | Venice | Edmondos | <i>Stove MS</i> 170/278 | 1907 | Dict | English |
| <Dec — 1608> N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| Jan 2, 1609 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | — | Hol | English |
| Jan 6, 1609 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | — | Hol | English |
| Jan 8, 1609 N S | Venice | Duplessis Mornay | — <i>Mornay</i> , x, p 264 | — | — | Latin |
| Jan 9, 1609 N S | Venice | Edmondos | <i>Stove MS</i> 170/294 | 1907 | Hol | English |
| Jan 16, 1609 N S | Venice | James I | <i>S P Ven V</i> | 1907 | Dict | English |
| Feb 28, 1609 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | — | Dict | English |
| March 1, 1609 N S | Venice | Edmondos | <i>Stove MS</i> 170/358 | — | Hol | English |
| March 6, 1609 N S | Venice | Edmondos | <i>Stove MS</i> 170/368 | — | Dict | English |
| March 6, 1609 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | — | Dict | English |
| March 17, 1609 N S | Venice | Duplessis Mornay | — <i>Mornay</i> , x, p 294 | — | — | Latin |
| March 20, 1609 N S | Venice | Edmondos | <i>Stove MS</i> 170/380 | — | Dict | English |
| March 20, 1609 N S | Venice | James I | <i>S P Ven V</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| March 20, 1609 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | — | Tran | English |
| March 27, 1609 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | — | Hol | English |
| April 1, 1609 N S | Venice | Duplessis Mornay | — <i>Mornay</i> , x, p 300 | — | — | Latin |
| April 3, 1609 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | — | Hol | English |
| April 10, 1609 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | — | Hol | English |
| April 10, 1609 N S | Venice | Edmondos | <i>Stove MS</i> 171/25 | — | Dict | English |
| <April 14 ^o , 1609> N S | Venice | Duplessis Mornay | — <i>Mornay</i> , x, p 290 | — | — | Latin |
| April 17, 1609 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | — | Hol | English |
| April 17, 1609 N S | Venice | Sir Julius Caesar | <i>Add MS</i> 12504/259 | 1907 | Hol | English |
| April 24, 1609 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| April 24, 1609 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| May 1, 1609 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| May 1, 1609 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| May 1, 1609 N S | Venice | Privy Council | <i>S P Ven V</i> | — | Dict | English |
| May 1, 1609 N S | Venice | Edmondos | <i>Stove MS</i> 171/43 | — | Dict | English |

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| Oct 22, 1609 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | — | Hol | English |
| Oct 27, 1609 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | — | Hol | English |
| Nov 8, 1609 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | — | Hol | English |
| Nov 14, 1609 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| Nov 15, 1609 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | — | Hol | English |
| <Nov 17, 1609 N S> | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | — | Hol | English |
| Nov 20, 1609 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | — | Hol | English |
| <Nov — 1609 N S> | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | — | Hol | English |
| Dec 4, 1609 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | — | Hol | English |
| Dec 11, 1609 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | — | Hol | English |
| Dec 18, 1609 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| <Dec 31, 1609 N S> | Venice | James I | <i>S P Ven V</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| <Dec 31, 1609 N S> | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven V</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| Jan 21, 1610 N S | Venice | James I | <i>S P Ven VI</i> | — | Hol | English |
| Jan 21, 1610 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven VI</i> | — | Hol | English |
| Jan 29, 1610 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven VI</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| Feb 12, 1610 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven VI</i> | — | Hol | English |
| <Feb 12 ^o , 1610 N S> | Venice | Sir A Throckmorton | — <i>Reliq</i> , 1st ed p 405 | — | — | English |
| Feb 20, 1610 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven VI</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| Feb 26, 1610 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven VI</i> | — | Hol | English |
| March 5, 1610 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven VI</i> | — | Hol | English |
| March 13, 1610 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven VI</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| March 30, 1610 N S | Venice | Marquis of Hamilton? | <i>Parley MS</i> 58 v | 1907 | Tran | English |
| <April 5 ^o , 1610 N S> | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven VI</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| April 23, 1610 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven VI</i> | — | Hol | English |
| April 30, 1610 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven VI</i> | — | Hol | English |
| May 7, 1610 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven VI</i> | — | Hol | English |
| May 24, 1610 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven VI</i> | — | Hol | English |
| May 28, 1610 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven VI</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |

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| <May 2, 1610 NS> | Venice | David Hoeschel | — | — | Latin |
| June 4, 1610 ¹ NS | Venice | Salisbury | p 581 S P Ven VI | Hol | English |
| June 11, 1610 NS | Venice | Salisbury | S P Ven VI | Hol | English |
| June 18, 1610 NS | Venice | Salisbury | S P Ven VI | Hol | English |
| July 1, 1610 NS | Venice | Salisbury | S P Ven VI | Hol | English |
| July 9, 1610 NS | Venice | Salisbury | S P Ven VI | Dict | English |
| July 29, 1610 NS | Venice | Salisbury | S P Ven VI | Hol | English |
| Aug 6, 1610 NS | Venice | Salisbury | S P Ven VI | Hol | English |
| Aug 27, 1610 NS | Venice | Salisbury | S P Ven VI | Hol | English |
| <Aug — 1610 NS> | Venice | Salisbury | S P Ven VI | Hol | English |
| Sept 3, 1610 NS | Venice | Salisbury | S P Ven VI | Hol | English |
| Sept 16, 1610 NS | Venice | Salisbury | S P Ven VI | Hol | English |
| Oct 1, 1610 NS | Venice | Salisbury | S P Ven VI | Hol | English |
| Oct 2, 1610 NS | Venice | Salisbury | S P Ven VI | Hol | English |
| Oct 29, 1610 NS | Venice | Salisbury | S P Ven VI | Hol | English |
| Nov 5, 1610 NS | Venice | Salisbury | S P Ven VI | Hol | English |
| Nov 19, 1610 NS | Venice | Salisbury | S P Ven VI | Hol | English |
| <Nov 22, 1610 NS> | Venice | Carleton | S P Ven VI | Hol | English |
| <Nov 24, 1610 NS> | Venice | Carleton | S P Ven VI | Hol | English |
| <Nov 24, 1610 NS> | Venice | Carleton | S P Ven VI | Hol | English |
| <Nov 26, 1610 NS> | Venice | Carleton | S P Ven VI | Hol | English |
| <Nov 26, 1610 NS> | Venice | Carleton | S P Ven VI | Hol | English |
| <Nov 27, 1610 NS> | Venice | Carleton | S P Ven VI | Hol | English |

¹ Transcripts of Wotton's letters and dispatches between Nov., 1609, and June, 1610, are preserved in *Sir Henry Wotton's Letter Book* S P For Archives, 105

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|----------------------|-----------|--------------------|--|------|-----|---------|
| <Nov 28, 1610 N S> | Venice | Carleton | <i>S P Ven VI</i> | | | English |
| Dec 3, 1610 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven VI</i> | — | Hol | English |
| Dec 10, 1610 N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven VI</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| Dec 24, 1610 N S | Padua | Carleton | <i>S P Ven VI</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| Dec 26, 1610 N S | Padua | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven VI</i> | — | Hol | English |
| <— 1610> N S | Venice | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven VI</i> | — | Hol | English |
| <— 1610> N S | Venice | Prince Henry | <i>Reliq</i> , 1st ed p 419 | — | — | English |
| Feb 4, 1611 N S | Sansone | Edmond | <i>Stoue MS</i> 171/360 | 1907 | Hol | English |
| Feb 22, 1611 N S | Paris | Salisbury | <i>S P Ven VII</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| April 2, 1611 O S | London | Sir E Bacon | <i>Hart MS</i> 1086/2, <i>Letters to B</i> p 1 | — | Hol | English |
| May 8, 1611 O S | London | Sir A Throckmorton | <i>Reliq</i> , 1st ed p 417 | — | — | English |
| May 27, 1611 O S | Greenwich | Sir E Bacon | <i>Letters to B</i> p 4 | — | — | English |
| Aug 1, 1611 O S | London | Salisbury | <i>S P Dom Jas I</i> , lxv, No 280 | 1907 | Hol | English |
| March 28, 1612 O S | Amiens | Edmond | <i>Stoue MS</i> 172/224 | 1907 | Hol | English |
| May 9, 1612, N S | Lunenburg | Earl of Pembroke | <i>Ash MS</i> 1729/116 | 1907 | Hol | English |
| <May 9, 1612, N S> | Lunenburg | Salisbury | <i>Ash MS</i> 1729/115 | 1907 | Hol | English |
| May 28, 1612 N S | Turn | Pembroke | <i>Ash MS</i> 1729/114 | 1907 | Hol | English |
| <Aug — 1612 O S> | London | A Newton | <i>Hart MS</i> 7002/129 | 1907 | Hol | English |
| <Sept 16, 1612 O S> | London | Sir J Caesar | <i>Lansd MS</i> 165/190 | 1907 | Hol | English |
| <Nov 14, 1612 O S> | London | Viscount Rochester | <i>S P Dom Jas I</i> , lxxi, No 33 | 1907 | Hol | English |
| Dec 12, 1612 O S | London | Mark Welser | — London 1612 | — | — | Latin |
| Feb — 1613 O S | London | Sir A Throckmorton | <i>Reliq</i> , 1st ed p 473 | — | — | English |
| <Feb 23, 1613 O S> | London | Sir E Bacon | <i>Letters to B</i> p 153 | — | — | English |
| Feb 25, 1613 O S | London | Sir D Carleton | <i>S P Dom Jas I</i> , lxxii, No 43 | 1907 | Hol | English |
| <March 21, 1613 O S> | Cambridge | Sir E Bacon | <i>Letters to B</i> p 114 | — | — | English |
| March 31, 1613 O S | London | Sir E Bacon | <i>Letters to B</i> p 5 | — | — | English |
| April 22, 1613 O S | London | Sir E Bacon | <i>Letters to B</i> p 160 | — | — | English |
| April 29, 1613 O S | London | Sir E Bacon | <i>Ald MS</i> 34727/23, <i>Letters to B</i> p 10 | — | Hol | English |
| May 7, 1613 O S | London | Sir E Bacon | <i>Letters to B</i> p 125 | — | — | English |

| <i>Date</i> | <i>Place</i> | <i>To whom addressed</i> | <i>Source and first publication</i> | <i>Hand</i> | <i>Language</i> |
|------------------------------------|--------------|--------------------------|---|-------------|-----------------|
| May 14, 1613 O S | London | Sir E Bacon | — | — | English |
| May 21, 1613 O S | London | Sir E Bacon | — | — | English |
| May 27, 1613 O S | London | Sir E Bacon | — | — | English |
| < June 3 ^o , 1613 O S > | London | Sir E Bacon | — | — | English |
| June 18, 1613 O S | London | Sir E Bacon | Add MS 34727/25, <i>Letters to B</i> p 21 | — | English |
| June 25, 1613 O S | London | Sir E Bacon | — | — | English |
| July 2, 1613 O S | London | Sir E Bacon | — | — | English |
| < Nov 5, 1613 O S > | London | Sir E Bacon | — | — | English |
| Nov 16, 1613 O S | Royston | Sir E Bacon | — | — | English |
| June 8, 1614 O S | London | Sir E Bacon | — | — | English |
| June 16, 1614 O S | London | Sir E Bacon | — | — | English |
| June 24, 1614 O S | London | Sir E Bacon | — | — | English |
| Aug 18, 1614 O S | The Hague | Sir E Bacon | — | — | English |
| < Aug 18, 1614 O S > | The Hague | James I | — | — | English |
| Aug 18, 1614 O S | The Hague | Somerset | <i>S P Holland LXX</i> | 1907 | English |
| Aug 18, 1614 O S | The Hague | Sir R Winwood | <i>S' P Holland LXX</i> | 1907 | English |
| Aug 18, 1614 O S | The Hague | Edmondson | <i>S P Holland LXX</i> | — | English |
| Aug 25, 1614 O S | The Hague | Winwood | <i>Stout MS 175/18</i> | 1907 | English |
| Aug 31, 1614 O S | The Hague | Winwood | <i>S P Holland LXX</i> | 1907 | English |
| Sept 9, 1614 O S | The Hague | Winwood | <i>S P Holland LXX</i> | — | English |
| Sept 10, 1614 O S | The Hague | Edmondson | <i>S P Holland LXX</i> | 1907 | English |
| Sept 18, 1614 O S | The Hague | Winwood | <i>Stout MS 175/46</i> | 1907 | English |
| Sept 20, 1614 O S | The Hague | Winwood | <i>S P Holland LXX</i> | 1907 | English |
| < Sept —, 1614 O S > | The Hague | Winwood | <i>S P Holland LXX</i> | 1907 | English |
| Sept 29, 1614 O S | Rees | James I | <i>S P Holland LXX</i> | — | English |
| Sept 29, 1614 O S | Rees | Winwood | <i>S P Ger States XIII</i> | 1907 | English |
| Oct 10, 1614 O S | Xanten | Winwood | <i>S P Ger States XIII</i> | — | English |
| | | | <i>S P Ger States XIII</i> | 1907 | English |

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|--------------------|-----------|-------------------|---------------------------------|------|------|---------|
| Oct 11, 1614 O S | Xanten | Edmond | <i>Stoue MS 175/71</i> | 1907 | Dict | English |
| Oct 21, 1614 O S | Xanten | Winwood | <i>S P Ger States XIII</i> | — | Dict | English |
| Oct 25, 1614 O S | Xanten | Edmond | <i>Stoue MS 175/87</i> | 1907 | Dict | English |
| Oct 28, 1614 O S | Xanten | Winwood | <i>S P Ger States XIII</i> | 1907 | Dict | English |
| Nov 2, 1614 O S | Xanten | Winwood | <i>S P Ger States XIII</i> | — | Hol | English |
| Nov 17, 1614 O S | Xanten | Marquis Spinola | — <i>Egerton Papers</i> , p 466 | — | — | English |
| Nov 18, 1614 O S | Xanten | Winwood | <i>S P Ger States XIII</i> | 1907 | Dict | English |
| Nov 21, 1614 O S | Xanten | Winwood | <i>S P Ger States XIII</i> | 1907 | Dict | English |
| Dec 4, 1614 O S | The Hague | Winwood | <i>S P Holland LXX</i> | — | Dict | English |
| Dec 7, 1614 O S | The Hague | Winwood | <i>S P Holland LXX</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| Dec 13, 1614 O S | The Hague | Winwood | <i>S P Holland LXX</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| Dec 13, 1614 O S | The Hague | James I | <i>S P Holland LXX</i> | — | Hol | English |
| Dec 13, 1614 O S | The Hague | Duke of Neuburg | <i>S P Holland LXX</i> | — | Tran | Italian |
| Dec 13, 1614 O S | The Hague | Winwood | <i>S P Holland LXX</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| Dec 23, 1614 O S | The Hague | Winwood | <i>S P Holland LXX</i> | 1907 | Dict | English |
| Dec 27, 1614 O S | The Hague | Winwood | <i>S P Holland LXX</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| Dec 27, 1614 O S | The Hague | Winwood | <i>S P Holland LXX</i> | 1907 | Dict | English |
| Dec 29, 1614 O S | The Hague | Winwood | <i>S P Holland LXX</i> | — | — | — |
| <1614> — — — | — | — | <i>Longest MS</i> ¹ | — | — | — |
| Jan 12, 1615 O S | The Hague | Winwood | <i>S P Holland LXXI</i> | 1907 | Dict | English |
| <Jan 12, 1615 O S> | The Hague | James I | <i>S P Holland LXXI</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| <Jan 12, 1615 O S> | The Hague | James I | <i>C C MS 318/12, Archael</i> | XL | Tran | English |
| Jan 15, 1615 O S | The Hague | Su J Throckmorton | <i>S P Holland LXXI</i> | — | Tran | English |
| <Jan —, 1615 O S> | The Hague | Winwood | <i>S P Holland LXXI</i> | 1907 | Dict | English |
| Feb 21, 1615 O S | The Hague | Winwood | <i>S P Holland LXXI</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| Feb 22, 1615 O S | The Hague | Winwood | <i>S P Holland LXXI</i> | — | Dict | English |
| March 16, 1615 O S | The Hague | Winwood | <i>S P Holland LXXI</i> | — | Dict | English |
| March 16, 1615 O S | The Hague | Winwood | <i>S P Holland LXXI</i> | — | Dict | English |
| March 20, 1615 O S | The Hague | Winwood | <i>S P Holland LXXI</i> | 1907 | Dict | English |

¹ See *Hist MS Com* III, p 196

| <i>Date</i> | <i>Place</i> | <i>To whom addressed</i> | <i>Source and first publication</i> | <i>Hand</i> | <i>Language</i> |
|-----------------------|--------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------|-----------------|
| March 20, 1615 O S | The Hague | James I | <i>S P Holland LXXI</i> | Hol | English |
| March 20, 1615 O S | The Hague | Nicolas Pey | <i>C C C MS 318/10, Archaesol XL</i> | Dict | English |
| March 31, 1615 O S | The Hague | Winwood | <i>S P Holland LXXI</i> | Hol | English |
| April 2, 1615 O S | The Hague | Winwood | <i>S P Holland LXXI</i> | Dict | English |
| April 4, 1615 O S | The Hague | Winwood | <i>S P Holland LXXI</i> | Hol | English |
| April 19, 1615 O S | The Hague | Winwood | <i>S P Holland LXXI</i> | Dict | English |
| April 27, 1615 O S | The Hague | Winwood | <i>S P Holland LXXI</i> | Hol | English |
| May 4, 1615 O S | The Hague | Winwood | <i>S P Holland LXXI</i> | Dict | English |
| < May 6 ?, 1615 O S > | The Hague | James I | — <i>Reliq</i> , 1st ed p 396 | — | English |
| May 7, 1615 O S | The Hague | Winwood | <i>S P Holland LXXI</i> | Dict | English |
| May 11, 1615 O S | The Hague | Winwood | <i>S P Holland LXXI</i> | Dict | English |
| June 1, 1615 O S | The Hague | Winwood | <i>S P Holland LXXI</i> | Hol | English |
| June 7, 1615 O S | The Hague | Winwood | <i>S P Holland LXXI</i> | Dict | English |
| June 7, 1615 O S | The Hague | Winwood | <i>S P Holland LXXI</i> | Dict | English |
| June 7, 1615 O S | The Hague | Winwood | <i>S P Holland LXXI</i> | Hol | English |
| June 7, 1615 O S | The Hague | Sh E Bacon | — <i>Letters to B</i> p 44 | — | English |
| June 10, 1615 O S | The Hague | Winwood | <i>S P Holland LXXI</i> | Dict | English |
| June 13, 1615 O S | The Hague | Winwood | <i>S P Holland LXXI</i> | Dict | English |
| June 19, 1615 O S | The Hague | Winwood | <i>S P Holland LXXI</i> | Hol | English |
| June 28, 1615 O S | The Hague | Winwood | <i>S P Holland LXXI</i> | Dict | English |
| July 1, 1615 O S | The Hague | Winwood | <i>S P Holland LXXI</i> | Hol | English |
| July 8, 1615 O S | The Hague | Winwood | <i>S P Holland LXXI</i> | Hol | English |
| July 21, 1615 O S | The Hague | Winwood | <i>S P Holland LXXI</i> | Dict | English |
| July 24, 1615 O S | The Hague | James I | <i>C C C MS 318/18, Archaesol XL</i> | Tian | English |
| Aug 25, 1615 O S | Calais ? | Winwood | <i>S P Holland LXXI</i> | Dict | English |
| < Sept ?, 1615 O S > | London ? | Winwood | <i>S P Holland LXXI</i> | Hol | English |

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| <Oct 2, 1615 O S> | Winwood | <i>S P Ven XXI</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| <— 1615 2> | James I | — | Reliq, 1st ed p 447 | — | English |
| <March —, 1616 2> | Thomas Munray | <i>Lambeth MS 663/41</i> | — | Hol | English |
| Mar ch 26, 1616 O S | Winwood | <i>S P Ven XXI</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| April 23, 1616 O S | James I | <i>S P Ven XXI</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| <April 23, 1616 O S> | James I 2 | <i>S P Ven XXI</i> | 1907 | Tian | English |
| April 23, 1616 O S | Winwood | <i>S P Ven XXI</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| June 1, 1616 N S | James I | <i>C C C MS 318/22, Archaeol XL</i> | — | Tian | English |
| June 1, 1616 N S | Winwood | <i>S P Ven XXI</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| June 1, 1616 N S | James I | <i>S P Ven XXI</i> | — | Hol | English |
| June 17, 1616 N S | Winwood | <i>S P Ven XXI</i> | 1907 | Diet | English |
| June 24, 1616 N S | Winwood | <i>S P Ven XXI</i> | — | Diet | English |
| July 8 1616 N S | Winwood | <i>S P Ven XXI</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| July 27, 1616, N S | Winwood | <i>S P Ven XXI</i> | — | Diet | English |
| Aug 9, 1616 N S | Winwood | <i>S P Ven XXI</i> | 1907 | Diet | English |
| Aug 9, 1616 N S | James I | <i>S P Ven XXI</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| Aug 14, 1616 N S | James I | <i>S P Ven XXI</i> | — | Diet | English |
| Aug 19, 1616 N S | Winwood | <i>S P Ven XXI</i> | — | Diet | English |
| Aug 26, 1616 N S | Winwood | <i>S P Ven XXI</i> | — | Diet | English |
| Sept 2, 1616 N S | Sh D Carleton | <i>S P Ven XXI</i> | 1907 | Diet | English |
| Sept 6, 1616 N S | Winwood | <i>S P Ven XXI</i> | — | Hol | English |
| Sept 9, 1616 N S | Winwood | <i>S P Ven XXI</i> | 1907 | Diet | English |
| Sept 16, 1616 N S | Winwood | <i>S P Ven XXI</i> | — | Hol | English |
| Sept 30, 1616 N S | Winwood | <i>Tanner MS 74/81</i> | — | Diet | English |
| Oct 11, 1616 N S | James I | <i>S P Ven XXI</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| <Oct 11, 1616 N S> | Winwood | <i>S P Ven XXI</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| Oct 13, 1616 N S | Winwood | <i>S P Ven XXI</i> | — | Hol | English |
| <Oct —, 1616 N S> | Winwood | <i>S P Ven XXI</i> | — | Diet | English |
| Nov 1, 1616 N S | Winwood | <i>S P Ven XXI</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |

| <i>Date</i> | <i>Place</i> | <i>To whom addressed</i> | <i>Source and first publication</i> | <i>Hand</i> | <i>Language</i> |
|--------------------|--------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------|-----------------|
| Nov 11, 1616 N S | Venice | James I | <i>S P Ven XXI</i> | Hol | English |
| Nov 21, 1616 N S | Venice | Winwood | <i>S P Ven XXI</i> | Hol | English |
| Nov 25, 1616 N S | Venice | Winwood | <i>S P Ven XXI</i> | Hol | English |
| Dec 2, 1616 N S | Venice | Winwood | <i>S P Ven XXI</i> | Hol | English |
| Dec 9, 1616 N S | Venice | Winwood | <i>S P Ven XXI</i> | Hol | English |
| Dec 9, 1616 N S | Venice | Carleton | <i>S P Ven XXI</i> | Hol | English |
| Dec 15, 1616 N S | Venice | Carleton | <i>S P Ven XXI</i> | Hol | English |
| Dec 16, 1616 N S | Venice | Winwood | <i>S P Ven XXI</i> | Hol | English |
| Jan 6, 1617 N S | Venice | Winwood | <i>S P Ven XXI</i> | Hol | English |
| Jan 11, 1617 N S | Venice | Carleton | <i>S P Ven XXII</i> | Hol | English |
| Jan 26, 1617 N S | Venice | Winwood | <i>S P Ven XXII</i> | Hol | English |
| Jan 26, 1617 N S | Venice | Winwood | <i>S P Ven XXII</i> | Hol | English |
| <Jan 1617> | Venice | Winwood | <i>S P Ven XXII</i> | Hol | English |
| Feb 3, 1617 N S | Venice | Winwood | <i>S P Ven XXII</i> | Hol | English |
| Feb 10, 1617 N S | Venice | James I | <i>S P Ven XXII</i> | Hol | English |
| Feb 17, 1617 N S | Venice | Winwood | <i>S P Ven XXII</i> | Hol | English |
| Feb 24, 1617 N S | Venice | Winwood | <i>S P Ven XXII</i> | Hol | English |
| Feb 24, 1617 N S | Venice | James I | <i>S P Ven XXII</i> | Hol | English |
| March 24, 1617 N S | Venice | Winwood | <i>S P Ven XXII</i> | Hol | English |
| April 14, 1617 N S | Venice | Winwood | <i>S P Ven XXII</i> | Hol | English |
| April 18, 1617 N S | Venice | T Carrionio | <i>S P Ven XXII</i> | Hol | Latin |
| April 21, 1617 N S | Venice | Winwood | <i>S P Ven XXII</i> | Hol | English |
| April 21, 1617 N S | Venice | Carleton | <i>S P Ven XXII</i> | Hol | English |
| April 24, 1617 N S | Venice | Carleton | <i>S P Ven XXII</i> | Hol | English |
| <May 5, 1617 N S> | Venice | Winwood | <i>S P Ven XXII</i> | Hol | English |
| May 5, 1617 N S | Venice | Carleton | <i>S P Ven XXII</i> | Hol | English |

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|--------------------|--------|---------------|---|------|------|---------|
| May 11, 1617 N S | Venice | Cerronio | S P Ven XXII | — | Hol | Latin |
| May 20, 1617 N S | Venice | Cerronio | S P Ven XXII | — | Hol | Latin |
| May 30, 1617 N S | Venice | Winwood | S P Ven XXII | — | Hol | English |
| May 30, 1617 N S | Venice | Privy Council | S P Ven XXII A Morrison's Collec- tion, &c | — | Hol | English |
| <May 30, 1617 N S> | Venice | — | Reliq, 1st ed p 436 | — | — | English |
| June 9, 1617 N S | Venice | Winwood | S P Ven XXII | — | Hol | English |
| <June —, 1617> N S | Venice | Winwood | S P Ven XXII | 1907 | Dict | English |
| July 14, 1617 N S | Venice | Winwood | S P Ven XXII | 1907 | Dict | English |
| July 28, 1617 N S | Venice | Winwood | S P Ven XXII | — | Dict | English |
| Aug 11, 1617 N S | Venice | Winwood | S P Ven XXII | — | Hol | English |
| Aug 11, 1617 N S | Venice | James I | S P Ven XXII | — | Tian | English |
| Aug 11, 1617 N S | Venice | James I | Eton MS, Rox Club, p 2 | — | Hol | English |
| Aug 11, 1617 N S | Venice | Su T Lake | Eton MS, Rox Club, p 1 | — | Hol | English |
| Aug 25, 1617 N S | Venice | Winwood | S P Ven XXII | — | Dict | English |
| Aug 25, 1617 N S | Venice | Winwood | S P Ven XXII | — | Dict | English |
| Sept 8, 1617 N S | Venice | James I | S P Ven XXII | 1907 | Hol | English |
| Sept 29, 1617 N S | Venice | James I | S P Ven XXII | — | Hol | English |
| Sept 29, 1617 N S | Venice | Winwood | S P Ven XXII | — | Hol | English |
| Sept 29, 1617 N S | Venice | Carleton | S P Ven XXII | 1907 | Hol | English |
| Oct 26, 1617 N S | Venice | Winwood | S P Ven XXII | — | Dict | English |
| Nov 3, 1617 N S | Venice | Winwood | S P Ven XXII | — | Hol | English |
| Nov 10, 1617 N S | Venice | Lake | Eton MS, Rox Club, p 7 | — | Hol | English |
| Nov 17, 1617 N S | Venice | Carleton | S P Ven XXII | — | Hol | English |
| Nov 24, 1617 N S | Venice | Carleton | S P Ven XXII | 1907 | Hol | English |
| <Nov —, 1617 N S> | Venice | Buckingham | Diplomate MS ¹ | — | — | English |
| Nov 24, 1617 N S | Venice | Winwood | S P Ven XXII | — | Hol | English |
| Dec 1, 1617 N S | Venice | Winwood | S P Ven XXII | — | Hol | English |

¹ See Hist MSS Com, Rep 1, pt 11, p 53

| <i>Date</i> | <i>Place</i> | <i>To whom addressed</i> | <i>Source and first publication</i> | <i>Hand</i> | <i>Language</i> |
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| Dec 1, 1617 N S | Venice | Lake | S P Ven XXII | Hol | English |
| Dec 14, 1617 N S | Venice | Lake | S P Ven XXII | Hol | English |
| Dec 16, 1617 N S | Venice | Lake | S P Ven XXII | Hol | English |
| Dec 29, 1617 N S | Venice | Lake | S P Ven XXII | Diet | English |
| < — 1617 > | Venice | Lake ? | S P Ven XXII | Hol | English |
| < — 1617 > | Venice | James I | S P Ven XXII, <i>Rox Club</i> , p 9 | Tran | English |
| < Jan 1, 1618 N S > | Venice | Lake | S P Ven XXII | Diet | English |
| Jan 1, 1618 N S | Venice | Lake | S P Ven XXII | Hol | English |
| Jan 3, 1618 N S | Venice | Lake | S P Ven XXII | Hol | English |
| Jan 26, 1618 N S | Venice | Lake | S P Ven XXII | Hol | English |
| Feb 2 1618 N S | Venice | Lake | S P Ven XXII | Hol | English |
| Feb 9, 1618 N S | Venice | Lake | S P Ven XXII | Hol | English |
| Feb 16, 1618 N S | Venice | Lake | S P Ven XXII | Hol | English |
| March 2, 1618 N S | Venice | Lake | S P Ven XXII | Hol | English |
| March 9, 1618 N S | Venice | Lake | S P Ven XXII | Diet | English |
| March 16, 1618 N S | Venice | Lake | S P Ven XXII | Diet | English |
| March 16, 1618 N S | Venice | Lake | S P Ven XXII | Diet | English |
| March 23, 1618 N S | Venice | Lake ? | <i>Eton MS</i> , <i>Rox Club</i> , p 113 | Tian | English |
| March 30, 1618 N S | Venice | Lake | S P Ven XXII | Diet | English |
| May 4, 1618 N S | Venice | Lake | S P Ven XXII | Diet | English |
| May 4, 1618 N S | Venice | Lake | <i>Eton MS</i> , <i>Rox Club</i> , p 13 | Diet | English |
| May 4, 1618 N S | Venice | Lake ? | <i>Eton MS</i> , <i>Rox Club</i> , p 13 | Diet | English |
| < May 4, 1618 > N S | Venice | Buckingham | — <i>Reliq</i> , 3d ed p 485 | — | English |
| < May 4, 1618 N S > | Venice | Lake ? | <i>Eton MS</i> <i>Rox Club</i> , p 17 | Diet | English |
| May 25, 1618 N S | Venice | Lake | <i>Eton MS</i> , <i>Rox Club</i> , p 18 | Diet | English |
| May 25, 1618 N S | Venice | Buckingham ? | — <i>Letters to B</i> p 45 | — | English |
| May 25, 1618 N S | Venice | Buckingham ? | — <i>Reliq</i> , 1st ed p 175 | — | English |

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| May 25, 1618 N S | Venice | Earl of Suffolk | <i>Longleat MS</i> ¹ | — | — | English |
| June 1, 1618 N S | Venice | Lake | <i>Eton MS, Rox Club</i> p 20 | — | Dict | English |
| <June 9?, 1618 N S> | Venice | Doge Priuli | <i>Esp Priuli</i> , June 10 | — | Dict | Italian |
| <June 17?, 1618 N S> | Venice | Doge Priuli | <i>Esp Priuli</i> , June 18 | — | Dict | Italian |
| <June, 1618> | Venice | Caletton | <i>S P Ven XXII</i> | 1907 | Dict | English |
| July 4, 1618 N S | Venice | James I | <i>Eton MS, Rox Club</i> , p 26 | | Hol | English |
| July 4, 1618 N S | Venice | Lake | <i>Eton MS, Rox Club</i> , p 27 | | Hol | English |
| July 5, 1618 N S | Venice | Naunton | <i>Eton MS, Rox Club</i> , p 28 | | Hol | English |
| <July 5?, 1618 N S> | Venice | Baggrave | <i>Eton MS, Rox Club</i> , p 61 | | Dict | English |
| July 19, 1618 N S | Venice | Naunton? | <i>Eton MS, Rox Club</i> , p 39 | | Dict | English |
| July 26, 1618 N S | Venice | Naunton | <i>Eton MS, Rox Club</i> , p 42 | | Dict | English |
| July 26, 1618 N S | Venice | Naunton | <i>Eton MS, Rox Club</i> , p 41 | | Dict | English |
| <July 29, 1618 N S> | Padua | Priuli | <i>Esp Priuli</i> , July 30 | 1907 | Hol | Italian |
| <July — 1618> | Venice | Naunton | <i>Eton MS, Rox Club</i> , p 132 | | Dict | English |
| Aug 2, 1618 N S | Venice | Naunton? | <i>Eton MS, Rox Club</i> , p 43 | | Dict | English |
| <Aug — 1618> | Venice | Naunton | <i>Eton MS, Rox Club</i> , p 55 | | Dict | English |
| Aug 17, 1618 N S | Venice | James I | <i>Eton MS, Rox Club</i> , p 50 | | Tran | English |
| Aug 17, 1618 N S | Venice | James I | <i>Eton MS, Rox Club</i> , p 53 | | Hol | English |
| Aug 17, 1618 N S | Venice | Naunton | <i>Eton MS, Rox Club</i> , p 49 | | Hol | English |
| <Aug 20?, 1618 N S> | Venice | Priuli | <i>Esp Priuli</i> , Aug 20 | — | Dict | Italian |
| Aug 21, 1618 N S | Venice | Lake | <i>Eton MS, Rox Club</i> , p 57 | | Dict | English |
| Aug 31, 1618 N S | Venice | Naunton | <i>Eton MS, Rox Club</i> , p 54 | | Dict | English |
| Sept 14, 1618 N S | Venice | Mi Questen | <i>Eton MS, Rox Club</i> , p 57 | | Tran | English |
| Sept 20, 1618 N S | Venice | Naunton | <i>Eton MS, Rox Club</i> , p 58 | | Dict | English |
| <Sept 20, 1618 N S> | Venice | Lake | <i>Eton MS, Rox Club</i> , p 59 | | Tran | English |
| Sept 28, 1618 N S | Venice | Lake | <i>Eton MS, Rox Club</i> , p 67 | | — | English |
| Oct 11, 1618 N S | Padua | Lake | <i>Eton MS, Rox Club</i> , p 71 | | Dict | English |
| Oct 11, 1618 N S | Padua | Naunton | <i>Eton MS, Rox Club</i> , p 71 | | Dict | English |

¹ See *Hist MSS Com*, Rep III, p 196

| <i>Date</i> | <i>Place</i> | <i>To whom addressed</i> | <i>Source and first publication</i> | <i>Hand</i> | <i>Language</i> |
|----------------------|--------------|--------------------------|--|-------------|-----------------|
| Oct 11, 1618 N S | Padua | Caletton | <i>S P Ven XXII</i> | Dact | English |
| Oct 19, 1618 N S | Venice | Naunton | <i>Eton MS, Rox Club</i> , p 72 | Hol | English |
| Oct 19, 1618 N S | Venice | Naunton ? | <i>Eton MS, Rox Club</i> , p 73 | Dact | English |
| Oct 26, 1618 N S | Venice | Naunton | <i>Eton MS, Rox Club</i> , p 77 | Hol | English |
| Nov 1, 1618 N S | Venice | Lake | <i>Eton MS, Rox Club</i> , p 84 | Hol | English |
| Nov 1, 1618 N S | Venice | Naunton | <i>Eton MS, Rox Club</i> , p 85 | Hol | English |
| Nov 9, 1618 N S | Venice | Naunton | <i>Eton MS, Rox Club</i> , p 82 | Dact | English |
| Nov 9, 1618 N S | Venice | James I | <i>Eton MS, Rox Club</i> , p 83 | Dact | English |
| Nov 23, 1618 N S | Venice | Naunton | <i>Eton MS, Rox Club</i> , p 86 | Dact | English |
| <Nov 23 ?, 1618 N S> | Venice | Naunton | <i>Eton MS, Rox Club</i> , p 88 | Dact | English |
| Nov 23, 1618 N S | Venice | Lake | <i>Eton MS, Rox Club</i> , p 89 | Hol | English |
| Dec 7, 1618 N S | Venice | Naunton | <i>Eton MS, Rox Club</i> , p 91 | Dact | English |
| Dec 22, 1618 N S | Venice | Naunton | <i>Eton MS, Rox Club</i> , p 94 | Dact | English |
| Jan 18, 1619 N S | Venice | James I | <i>Eton MS, Rox Club</i> , p 98 | Dact | English |
| Feb 1, 1619 N S | Venice | James I | <i>Eton MS, Rox Club</i> , p 103 | Dact | English |
| Feb 3, 1619 N S | Venice | Zouche | <i>S P Ven XXII</i> | Hol | English |
| Feb 8, 1619 N S | Venice | Naunton | <i>Eton MS, Rox Club</i> , p 107 | Hol | English |
| Feb 22, 1619 N S | Venice | Naunton | <i>Eton MS, Rox Club</i> , p 109 | Dact | English |
| March 15, 1619 N S | Venice | Naunton ? | <i>Eton MS, Rox Club</i> , p 111 | Hol | English |
| March 15, 1619 N S | Venice | James I | <i>S P Ven XXII</i> Gardner, <i>Letters</i> , p 48 | Dact | English |
| March 21, 1619 N S | Padua | Naunton | <i>Tanner MS 74/198</i> | Hol | English |
| March 21, 1619 N S | Padua | Naunton | <i>Eton MS, Rox Club</i> , p 112 | Hol | English |
| April 12, 1619 N S | Venice | Naunton | <i>Eton MS, Rox Club</i> , p 115 | Hol | English |
| April 25, 1619 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXII</i> | Hol | English |
| April 26, 1619 N S | Venice | Naunton | <i>Eton MS, Rox Club</i> , p 116 | Hol | English |
| May 2, 1619 N S | Venice | Naunton ? | <i>Eton MS, Rox Club</i> , p 123 | Hol | English |

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| May 10, 1619 N S | Venice | Nauntou | <i>Eton MS, Rox Club</i> , p 124 | Dict | English |
| June 4, 1619 N S | Augsburg | Nauntou | <i>Eton MS, Rox Club</i> , p 130 | Hol | English |
| < June ?, 1619 > | Heilbronn ? | James I | — <i>Reliq</i> , 3rd ed p 486 | — | English |
| Jan 25, 1620 O S | London ? | Buckingham | <i>Harl MS</i> 1581/212, <i>Reliq</i> , 2nd ed p 472 | Hol | English |
| Feb 5, 1620 O S | London ? | Buckingham | <i>Drapmore MS</i> ¹ | — | English |
| April 13, 1620 O S | London | Samuel Collins | <i>King's Coll MS, Letters</i> , m, f 28 1907 | Hol | English |
| July 2, 1620 O S | Dover | Buckingham | <i>Drapmore MS</i> ² | — | English |
| Aug 18, 1620 N S | Augsburg | Nauntou ? | <i>Eton MS, Rox Club</i> , p 197 | Dict | English |
| Aug 18, 1620 N S | Augsburg | James I | <i>Eton MS, Reliq</i> , 1st ed p 365 | Dict | English |
| Aug 18, 1620 N S | Augsburg | Calvert | <i>S P Gen Empire III</i> 1907 | Hol | English |
| Sept 17, 1620 N S | Vienna | James I | <i>Eton MS, Reliq</i> , 3rd ed p 498 | Dict | English |
| Sept 17, 1620 N S | Vienna | James I | <i>Eton MS, Rox Club</i> , p 228 | Dict | English |
| Sept 17, 1620 N S | Vienna | James I | <i>S P Gen Empire III</i> | Tran | English |
| Sept 17, 1620 N S | Vienna | Conway and Weston | <i>S P Gen States XVIII, Reliq</i> , 3rd ed p 509 | Tran | English |
| Sept 17, 1620 N S | Vienna | Calvert | <i>S P Gen Empire III</i> | Tan | English |
| Sept 30, 1620 N S | Vienna | Calvert ? | <i>Eton MS, Rox Club</i> , p 228 | Dict | English |
| Oct 7, 1620 N S | Vienna | Nauntou | <i>Eton MS, Rox Club</i> , p 232 | Hol | English |
| Oct 14, 1620 N S | Vienna | Calvert | <i>S P Gen Empire III</i> 1907 | Hol | English |
| Oct 14, 1620 N S | Vienna | Calvert | <i>S P Gen Empire III</i> | Tan | English |
| Oct 21, 1620 N S | Vienna | Nauntou ? | <i>Eton MS, Rox Club</i> , p 236 | Hol | English |
| Oct 31 ?, 1620 O S > | Vienna | — | — <i>Reliq</i> , 3rd ed p 515 | — | Latin |
| Nov 4, 1620 N S | Vienna | Nauntou ? | <i>Eton MS, Rox Club</i> , p 239 | Hol | English |
| Nov 11, 1620 N S | Vienna | Nauntou | <i>Eton MS, Rox Club</i> , p 243 | Hol | English |
| Nov 18, 1620 N S | Vienna | Nauntou | <i>Eton MS, Rox Club</i> , p 246 | Hol | English |
| Nov 18, 1620 N S | Vienna | Conway ? | <i>S P Gen Empire III</i> | Tan | English |
| Nov 22, 1620 N S | Vienna | Nauntou ? | <i>S P Gen Empire III</i> 1907 | Hol | English |

¹ See *Hist MSS Com*, Rep 1, pt 11, p 55² *Ibid*, p 57

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| Nov 25, 1620 N S | Vienna | Nauntton | <i>Eton MS., Rox Club, p 249</i> | Dict | English |
| Dec 26, 1620 N S | Vienna | Calvert | <i>S P Gen Empire III</i> 1907 | Hol | English |
| Dec 29, 1620 N S | Vienna | ames | <i>S P Gen Empire III, Reliq, 3d ed</i> p 523 | Dict | English |
| <Dec 29 ?, 1620 N S> | Vienna | Loid Veulam | — | — | English |
| March 12, 1621 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>Reliq, 1st ed p 411</i> | Tran | English |
| March 17, 1621 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXIII</i> 1907 | Dict | English |
| March 17, 1621 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXIII</i> — | Hol | English |
| March 26, 1621 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXIII</i> — | Dict | English |
| <March 26, 1621 N S> | Venice | Buckingham ? | — | — | English |
| March 26, 1621 N S | Venice | Cauleton | <i>Reliq, 1st ed p 508</i> | Hol | English |
| March 30, 1621 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXIII</i> 1907 | Hol | English |
| April 23, 1621 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXIII</i> — | Dict | English |
| April 23, 1621 N S | Venice | Cauleton ? | <i>S P Ven XXIII</i> — | Hol | English |
| April 27, 1621 N S | Venice | Cauleton | <i>S P Ven XXIII</i> — | Dict | English |
| <May 16 ?, 1621 N S> | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXIII</i> — | Dict | English |
| May 16 <1621 N S ?> | Venice | Buckingham | — | — | English |
| June 4, 1621 N S | Venice | Cauleton | <i>Reliq, 1st ed p 409</i> | Hol | English |
| June 4, 1621 N S | Venice | Nauntton | <i>S P Ven XXIII</i> — | Dict | English |
| June 4, 1621 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXIII</i> 1907 | Dict | English |
| June 18, 1621 N S | Venice | Nauntton | <i>S P Ven XXIII</i> — | Dict | English |
| June 18, 1621 N S | Venice | Cauleton | <i>S P Ven XXIII</i> — | Dict | English |
| June 18, 1621 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXIII</i> — | Dict | English |
| June 18, 1621 N S | Venice | Sn W Aston | <i>C C C MS 318/25, Archaeol XL</i> | Hol | English |
| June 25, 1621 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXIII</i> — | Dict | English |

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| June 25, 1621 N S | Venice | Carleton | S P Ven XXIII | — | Dict | English |
| June 25, 1621 N S | Venice | Naumton | S P Ven XXIII | — | Dict | English |
| July 2, 1621 N S | Venice | ? | S P Ven XXIII | — | Dict | English |
| July 2, 1621 N S | Venice | Carleton | S P Ven XXIII | — | Hol | English |
| July 18, 1621 N S | Venice | Calvert | S P Ven XXIII | 1907 | Hol | English |
| July 18, 1621 N S | Venice | Calvert? | S P Ven XXIII | — | Tian | English |
| July 24, 1621 N S | Venice | Calvert | S P Ven XXIII | — | Hol | English |
| Aug 5, 1621 N S | Venice | Calvert | S P Ven XXIII | — | Hol | English |
| Aug 6, 1621 N S | Venice | Carleton | S P Ven XXIII | 1907 | Hol | English |
| Aug 20, 1621 N S | Venice | Carleton | S P Ven XXIII | — | Dict | English |
| Sept 17, 1621 N S | Venice | Calvert | S P Ven XXIII | — | Dict | English |
| Sept 24, 1621 N S | Venice | Carleton | S P Ven XXIII | 1907 | Dict | English |
| Sept 24, 1621 N S | Venice | Aston | S P Ven XXIII | — | Dict | English |
| Sept 24, 1621 N S | Venice | Calvert | G C C MS 318/29, A ₁ chaeol XL | — | Hol | English |
| Sept 31, 1621 N S | Venice | Calvert | S P Ven XXIII | — | Hol | English |
| Oct 1, 1621 N S | Venice | Calvert | S P Ven XXIII | — | Hol | English |
| Oct 1, 1621 N S | Venice | Carleton | S P Ven XXIII | — | Hol | English |
| Oct 2, 1621 N S | Venice | Aston | C C C MS 307/121 | — | Tian | English |
| Oct 9, 1621 N S | Venice | Carleton | S P Ven XXIII | 1907 | Hol | English |
| Oct 9, 1621 N S | Venice | Calvert | S P Ven XXIII | — | Hol | English |
| Oct 22, 1621 N S | Padua | Calvert | S P Ven XXIII | — | Dict | English |
| Nov 26, 1621 N S | Venice | Calvert | S P Ven XXIII | — | Hol | English |
| Dec 17, 1621 N S | Venice | Calvert | S P Ven XXIII | 1907 | Dict | English |
| Dec 18, 1621 N S | Venice | Aston | S P Ven XXIII | 1907 | Hol | English |
| Dec 31, 1621 N S | Venice | Carleton | C C C MS 318/31, A ₁ chaeol XL | — | Hol | English |
| Jan 1, 1622 N S | Venice | Aston | S P Ven XXIII | 1907 | Hol | English |
| Jan 7, 1622 N S | Venice | Calvert | C C C MS 307/126 | — | Tian | English |
| Jan 8, 1622 N S | Venice | Aston | S P Ven XXIII | — | Hol | English |
| Jan 10, 1622 N S | Venice | Carleton | C C C MS 318/38, A ₁ chaeol XL | — | Hol | English |
| | | | S P Ven XXIII | — | Hol | English |

| <i>Date</i> | <i>Place</i> | <i>To whom addressed</i> | <i>Source and first publication</i> | <i>Hand</i> | <i>Language</i> |
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| Jan 12, 1622 N S | Venice | Carleton | <i>S P Ven XXIV</i> — | Hol | English |
| Jan 15, 1622 N S | Venice | Aston | <i>C C C MS 318/31, A₁chaecol XL</i> | Hol | English |
| Jan 21, 1622 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXIV</i> — | Hol | English |
| Jan 21, 1622 N S | Venice | Carleton | <i>S P Ven XXIV</i> 1907 | Hol | English |
| Jan 28, 1622 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXIV</i> — | Hol | English |
| Jan 29, 1622 N S | Venice | Aston | <i>C C C MS 318/27, A₁chaecol XL</i> | Hol | English |
| <Jan —, 1622> | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXIV</i> 1907 | Hol | English |
| Feb 3, 1622 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXIV</i> — | Hol | English |
| Feb 12, 1622 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXIV</i> — | Hol | English |
| Feb 18, 1622 N S | Venice | Aston | <i>C C C MS 318/35, A₁chaecol XL</i> | Hol | English |
| Feb 21, 1622 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXIV, Reliq, 3rd ed p 535</i> | Tian | English |
| Feb 25, 1622 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXIV</i> — | Dict | English |
| Feb 25, 1622 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXIV</i> — | Dict | English |
| March 4, 1622 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S₈ P Ven XXIV</i> — | Hol | English |
| March 5, 1622 N S | Venice | Aston | <i>C C C MS 307/137</i> — | Tian | English |
| March 16, 1622 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXIV</i> 1907 | Dict | English |
| March 16, 1622 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXIV, Reliq, 1st ed p 449</i> | Hol | English |
| March 18, 1622 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXIV</i> — | Dict | English |
| March 25, 1622 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXIV</i> — | Dict | English |
| March 25, 1622, N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXIV</i> — | Dict | English |
| April 15, 1622 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXIV</i> — | Hol | English |
| April 15, 1622 N S | Venice | Carleton | <i>S P Ven XXIV</i> 1907 | Hol | English |
| <April 29?, 1622 N S> | Venice? | — | <i>S P Ven XXIV</i> 1907 | Tian | English |
| April 29, 1622 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXIV</i> — | Hol | English |
| May 6, 1622 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXIV</i> 1907 | Hol | English |
| May 20, 1622 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXIV, Reliq, 3rd ed p 536</i> | Tian | English |

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| May 20, 1622 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXIV</i> | — | — | Tran | English |
| May 22, 1622 N S | Padua | Doge Pinth | <i>Exp Pin</i> | — | — | Dict | Italian |
| May 26, 1622 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXIV</i> | — | — | Dict | English |
| <May 2, 1622 N S> | Venice | John Williams | — | <i>Reliq</i> , 1st ed p 424 | — | — | English |
| June 24, 1622 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXIV</i> | — | — | Hol | English |
| June 24, 1622 N S | Venice | Carleton | <i>S P Ven XXIV</i> | 1907 | — | Hol | English |
| July 15, 1622 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXIV</i> | — | — | Tran | English |
| July 29, 1622 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXIV</i> | 1907 | — | Hol | English |
| July 29, 1622 N S | Venice | Granfield | <i>Knole MS</i> ¹ | — | — | — | English |
| <July, 1622> | Venice | Earl of Arundel | <i>S P Ven XXIV</i> | 1907 | — | Tran | English |
| Aug 8, 1622 N S | Venice | Buckingham | <i>Harl MS</i> 1581/220, <i>Reliq</i> , 2nd ed p 475 | — | — | Hol | English |
| Aug 8, 1622 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXIV</i> | — | — | Hol | English |
| Aug 12, 1622 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXIV</i> | — | — | Dict | English |
| Aug 19, 1622 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXIV</i> | — | — | Hol | English |
| Aug 19, 1622 N S | Venice | Carleton | <i>S P Ven XXIV</i> | 1907 | — | Hol | English |
| Aug 26, 1622 N S | Venice | Carleton | <i>S P Ven XXIV</i> | — | — | Dict | English |
| Sept 1, 1622 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXIV</i> | 1907 | — | Hol | English |
| Sept 9, 1622 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXIV</i> | — | — | Dict | English |
| Sept 30, 1622 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXIV</i> | — | — | Dict | English |
| Oct 7, 1622 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXIV</i> | — | — | Dict | English |
| Oct 15, 1622 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXIV</i> | — | — | Hol | English |
| Oct 15, 1622 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXIV</i> | — | — | Hol | English |
| Oct 15, 1622 N S | Venice | Carleton | <i>S P Ven XXIV</i> | — | — | Dict | English |
| Oct 15, 1622 N S | Venice | Su T Roe | — | <i>Roe</i> , p 97 | — | — | English |
| Nov 10, 1622 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXIV</i> | — | — | Dict | English |
| Nov 18, 1622 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXIV</i> | — | — | Hol | English |
| Dec 9, 1622 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXIV</i> | — | — | Dict | English |
| Dec 12, 1622 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXIV</i> | 1907 | — | Dict | English |

¹ See *Hist MSS Com*, 4th Rep, App, p 286

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| Dec 12, 1622 N S | Venice | James I | <i>S P Ven XXIV, Reliq</i> , 3rd ed p 247 | Hol | English |
| Dec 12, 1622 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXIV</i> — | Dict | English |
| Dec 12, 1622 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXIV</i> — | Dict | English |
| <Dec 12, 1622 N S> | Venice ? | James I | <i>S P Ven XXIV Reliq</i> , 3rd ed p 249 | Hol | Latin |
| <Dec 12, 1622 N S> | Venice | — | <i>Reliq</i> , 2nd ed p 484 | — | English |
| Dec 12, 1622 N S | Venice | Buckingham | <i>Harl MS</i> 1581/222, <i>Reliq</i> , 2nd ed p 478 | Hol | English |
| Dec 17, 1622 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXIV</i> — | Dict | English |
| Dec 23, 1622 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXIV</i> 1907 | Dict | English |
| Dec 30, 1622 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXIV</i> — | Dict | English |
| Jan 13, 1623 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXV</i> — | Hol | English |
| Jan 20, 1623 N S | Venice | James I | <i>S P Ven XXV</i> 1907 | Hol | English |
| Jan 27, 1623 N S | Venice | James I | <i>S P Ven XXV</i> 1907 | Tian | English |
| <Jan 27, 1623 N S> | Venice | — | <i>Reliq</i> , 1st ed p 459 | — | English |
| <Jan —, 1623> | Venice | Earl of Holderness | <i>Reliq</i> , 1st ed p 407 | — | English |
| <Jan —, 1623> | Venice | Albertus Morton | <i>C C C MS</i> 318/39, <i>Archaeol</i> XL | Hol | English |
| Feb 16, 1623 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXV</i> — | Dict | English |
| March 5, 1623 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXV</i> 1907 | Dict | English |
| March 30, 1623 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXV</i> 1907 | Dict | English |
| April 14, 1623 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXV</i> 1907 | Hol | English |
| April 14, 1623 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXV</i> 1907 | Hol | English |
| April 21, 1623 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXV</i> 1907 | Hol | English |
| April 28, 1623 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXV</i> — | Dict | English |
| April 28, 1623 N S | Venice | Carleton | <i>S P Ven XXV</i> — | Hol | English |
| May 5, 1623 N S | Venice | Carleton | <i>S P Ven XXV</i> — | Hol | English |
| May 5, 1623 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXV</i> — | Hol | English |

| | | | | | | |
|-------------------|----------|---------------------|--|--------|-----|---------|
| May 12, 1623 N S | Venice | Carleton | <i>S P Ven XXV</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| May 12, 1623 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXV</i> | — | Hol | English |
| June 9, 1623 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXV</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| June 16, 1623 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXV</i> | — | Hol | English |
| June 23, 1623 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXV</i> | — | Hol | English |
| June 15, 1623 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXV</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| July 15, 1623 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXV</i> | — | Hol | English |
| July 28, 1623 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXV</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| July 28, 1623 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXV</i> | — | Hol | English |
| July 28, 1623 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXV</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| Aug 4, 1623 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXV</i> | — | Hol | English |
| Aug 11, 1623 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXV</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| Aug 11, 1623 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXV</i> | — | Hol | English |
| Aug 17, 1623 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXV</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| Aug 25, 1623 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXV</i> | — | Hol | English |
| Aug 25, 1623 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXV</i> | — | Hol | English |
| Sept 9, 1623 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXV</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| Sept 23, 1623 N S | Venice | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXV</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| Nov 5, 1623 O S | Cologne | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXV</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| Nov 5, 1623 O S | Cologne | Calvert | <i>S P Ven XXV</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| Nov 23, 1623 O S | Sandwich | Buckingham | <i>Hart MS 1581/216</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| <Jan 1624 ?> | London ? | Zouche | <i>S P Don Jas I, cliv/80</i> | 1907 | Hol | English |
| <April 1624 ?> | London ? | Buckingham | <i>Hart MS 1581/224, Reliq, 2nd ed</i> | 2nd ed | Hol | English |
| <April 1624 ?> | London ? | Prince of Wales | <i>p 482</i> | | Hol | English |
| <April 1624 ?> | London | Earl of Middlesex | <i>British Museum C 45, c 6, Elements of Architecture 1908</i> | | Hol | English |
| <July 1624 ?> | Eton ? | Nicolas Pey | — <i>J Hannah, p xv</i> | | Hol | English |
| <Dec 1624 ?> | Eton ? | Sir Albertus Morton | — <i>Reliq, 1st ed p 510</i> | | — | English |
| <Dec 1624 ?> | London ? | Buckingham | — <i>Reliq, 3rd ed p 544</i> | | — | English |
| <— 1624 ?> | — | Middlesex | <i>Hart MS 1581/212, Reliq, 2nd ed p 487</i> | | Hol | English |
| | | | <i>Knole MS¹</i> | — | — | English |

¹ See *Hist MSS Com*, 4th Rep, App, p 311

| <i>Date</i> | <i>Place</i> | <i>To whom addressed</i> | <i>Source and first publication</i> | <i>Hand</i> | <i>Language</i> |
|-----------------------|--------------|--------------------------|---|-------------|-----------------|
| <Sept ?, 1625> | Redgrave | Nicolas Pey | — | — | English |
| April 16, 1626 | London | Sir E Bacon | — | — | English |
| <May, 1626> | Eton | Buckingham | — | — | English |
| May, 1626 | Eton | Buckingham | — | — | English |
| <May ?, 1626> | Eton | Queen of Bohemia | — | — | English |
| <— 1626 ?> | — | Sir Robert Cotton | — | — | English |
| <— 1626 ?> | — | Charles I | <i>Cotton MS Jul c III/410</i> 1907 | Hol | English |
| <April ?> 1627 | — | Charles I | — | — | English |
| <May ?> 1627 | — | Charles I | — | — | English |
| May 10, 1627 | — | Charles I | — | — | English |
| July 10, 1627 O S | Eton | Sir John Coke | <i>Melbourn ne Hall MS</i> ¹ | — | English |
| <— 1627> | — | Dynely | — | — | English |
| April 8, 1628 O S | — | Charles I | — | — | English |
| <April 8, 1628 O S ?> | Eton | Sir Thos Wentworth | — | — | English |
| Aug 12, 1628 N S | Eton | Sir Gervase Clifton | — | — | English |
| <Sept ?, 1628> | — | Dynely | — | — | English |
| Nov 13, 1628 O S | — | Lord Weston | — | — | English |
| <Nov 13, 1628 O S ?> | London | Dynely | — | — | English |
| Dec 14, 1628 | London ? | Queen of Bohemia | — | — | English |
| <Dec 1628> | Eton | Sir E Bacon | — | — | English |
| Feb 8, 1629 O S | Eton ? | Viscount Wentworth | — | — | English |
| Feb 12, 1629 O S | Eton ? | Samuel Waid | <i>Tanner MS 72/307</i> 1907 | Hol | English |
| March 6, 1629 O S | London | Charles I | — | — | English |
| March 11, 1629 O S | Eton ? | Sir E Bacon | — | — | English |
| <June ?, 1629> | Eton | Dynely | — | — | English |
| | | Sir E Bacon | <i>Add MS 34727/63, Letters to B</i> p 53 | Hol | English |

¹ *Hist MSS Com*, 12th Rep, App 1, p 805

| | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------|--------------------------|--|---------|
| June 16, 1629 O S | Canterbury | Viscount Dorchester | <i>S P Dom Chas I</i> , cxliv, No 86, 1907 | English |
| June 27, 1629 O S | Canterbury | Viscount Dorchester | <i>S P Dom Chas I</i> , cxlv, No 67, 1907 | English |
| <July 26, 1629 O S> | Eton | Dynely | — <i>Reliq</i> , 3rd ed p 565 | English |
| <July 29 ² , 1629 O S> | Eton | Su E Bacon | <i>Longleat MS</i> ¹ , <i>Letters to B</i> p 60 | English |
| <Aug 15 ² , 1629 O S> | Eton | Su E Bacon | — <i>Letters to B</i> p 58 | English |
| Aug 16, 1629 O S | Eton | Queen of Bohemia | — <i>Letters to B</i> p 64 | English |
| Aug 16, 1629 O S | Eton | Dynely | — <i>Reliq</i> , 3rd ed p 567 | English |
| Aug 17, 1629 O S | Eton | Su Gevase Clifton | <i>Lansd MS</i> 238/157 1907 | English |
| <Aug 19 ² , 1629 O S> | Eton | Viscount Dorchester | <i>S P Dom Chas I</i> , cxlviii, No 84, 1907 | English |
| <1629 ² > | — | Lady — | — <i>Reliq</i> 1st ed p 444 | English |
| July 27, 1629 O S | Eton | Su E Bacon | — <i>Letters to B</i> p 66 | English |
| <1630> | — | Charles I | <i>S P Dom Chas I</i> , clxxxi, | English |
| <1630 ² > | — | Charles I | No 105 1907 | English |
| <1631 ² > | London | Su Gevase Clifton | — <i>Reliq</i> , 1st ed p 311 | English |
| <July 1632 ² > | — | Lord Weston ² | <i>Clifton Hall MS</i> 1907 | English |
| <Jan 1633 ² > | — | Lord Weston | — <i>Reliq</i> , 1st ed p 451 | English |
| Feb 13, 1633 O S | London | Sir E Bacon | — <i>Reliq</i> , 1st ed p 388 | English |
| April 18, 1633 O S | London | Sir E Bacon | — <i>Letters to B</i> p 69 | English |
| April 25, 1633 O S | London | Su E Bacon | <i>Add MS</i> 34727/59, <i>Letters to B</i> p 72 | English |
| June 3, 1633 O S | London | Su E Bacon | — <i>Letters to B</i> p 88 | English |
| Aug 13, 1633 O S | Oxford | 'Doctus Advemus' | — <i>Letters to B</i> p 94 | English |
| Dec 10, 1633 O S | — | Dynely | <i>Bodleian Archives</i> , D 32 1907 | Latin |
| <Dec 1633 ² > | — | — | — <i>Reliq</i> , 3rd ed p 569 | English |
| <1633 ² > | — | — | — <i>Reliq</i> , 3rd ed p 456 | English |
| May 14, 1634 O S | Eton | — | — <i>Reliq</i> , 2nd ed p 488 | English |
| <March 12, 1635 O S> | London | Su F Windebank | <i>S P Dom Chas I</i> , cclxvii/85, 1907 | English |
| | | | <i>S P Dom Chas I</i> , cclxxiv, No 68 1907 | English |

¹ See *Hist MSS Com*, Rep iii, p 196

| <i>Date</i> | <i>Place</i> | <i>To whom addressed</i> | <i>Source and first publication</i> | <i>Hand</i> | <i>Language</i> |
|-------------------|--------------|--------------------------|--|-------------|-----------------|
| June 6, 1635 O S | Eton | Sir Geivase Clifton | <i>Clifton Hall MS</i> 1907 | — | English |
| June 23, 1635 O S | Eton | Sir Geivase Clifton | <i>Clifton Hall MS</i> 1907 | — | English |
| Oct 4, 1635 O S | Eton | William Juxon ? | <i>S P Dom Chas I, ccxcix</i> , No 295 1907 | Hol | English |
| Nov 24, 1635 O S | London | Earl of Cork | <i>Lismore MS XVIII/99, Lismore Pp</i> 2nd ser, i, p 219 | — | English |
| Dec 5, 1635 O S | Eton | Earl of Cork | <i>Lismore MS XVIII/106, Lismore Pp</i> , 2nd ser, iii, p 226 | — | English |
| June 6, 1636 — | Eton | Earl of Cork | <i>Lismore MS XVIII/136, Lismore Pp</i> , 2nd ser, iii, p 259 | — | English |
| July 1636 —> | — | Queen of Bohemia | — <i>Reliq</i> , 1st ed p 393 | — | English |
| <1636 ?> — | — | William Juxon | — <i>Reliq</i> , 1st ed p 427 | — | English |
| <1636 ?> — | — | — | — <i>Reliq</i> , 1st ed p 453 | — | English |
| July 2, 1637 O S | — | Thomas Johnson | <i>S.P Dom Chas I, ccclxiii</i> , No 14 1907 | Hol | English |
| July 30, 1637 O S | — | Laud | — <i>Reliq</i> , 1st ed p 440 | — | English |
| <August 1637> | Eton | Laud | <i>S P Dom Chas I, ccclxv/56</i> 1907 | Dict | English |
| Aug 18 <1637> | Eton | Dynely | — <i>Reliq</i> , 3rd ed p 570 | — | English |
| <1637 ?> | — | Sir Richard Baker | — <i>Reliq</i> , 1st ed p 454 | — | English |
| <1637 ?> | — | Samuel Collins | <i>King s College MS, Letters iv, No 8</i> | Trun | English |
| Jan 17, 1638 O S | — | Samuel Collins | — <i>Reliq</i> , 3rd ed unpaged | — | English |
| <Jan 1638 ?> | — | Lord Coventry | — <i>Reliq</i> , 1st ed p 442 | — | English |
| Feb 7, 1638 O S | — | Sir E Bacon | <i>Longleat MS¹ Letters to B</i> p 100 | — | English |
| <Feb 1638 ?> | — | Izaak Walton | — <i>Reliq</i> , 1st ed p 361 | — | English |
| <Feb 1638 ?> | — | D ¹ Custle | — <i>Reliq</i> , 1st ed p 513 | — | English |

¹ See *Hist MSS Com*, Rep iii, p 196

| | | | | | | |
|---------------------|------------|-------------------------|---|---|------|---------|
| ⟨Feb 1638 ?⟩ | — | D1 Castle | — | <i>Reliq</i> , 1st ed p 476 | — | English |
| ⟨Feb 1638 ?⟩ | — | D1 Castle | — | <i>Reliq</i> , 1st ed p 479 | — | English |
| ⟨Feb 1638 ?⟩ | — | D1 Castle | — | <i>Reliq</i> , 1st ed p 484 | — | English |
| April 4 ⟨1638⟩ O S | — | Samuel Collins | — | <i>King's College MS</i> , Letters iv, No 6 | Tian | English |
| April 13, 1638 O S | Eton | John Milton | — | <i>Poems of John Milton</i> , 1645 | — | English |
| ⟨April ?, 1638⟩ | — | Dr Castle | — | <i>Reliq</i> , 1st ed p 486 | — | English |
| ⟨April ?, 1638⟩ | — | D1 Castle | — | <i>Reliq</i> , 1st ed p 487 | — | English |
| ⟨May ?, 1638⟩ | — | — | — | <i>Reliq</i> , 1st ed p 504 | — | English |
| ⟨May ?, 1638⟩ | — | Su C C | — | <i>Reliq</i> , 1st ed p 498 | — | English |
| ⟨May ?, 1638⟩ | — | Sir C C | — | <i>Reliq</i> , 1st ed p 503 | — | English |
| ⟨May, 1638⟩ | — | Dr Castle | — | <i>Reliq</i> , 1st ed p 491 | — | English |
| ⟨June, 1638⟩ | Eton | D1 Castle | — | <i>Reliq</i> , 1st ed p 501 | — | English |
| ⟨Aug ?, 1638⟩ | — | Sir Balthazar Genbier ? | — | <i>Reliq</i> , 1st ed p 438 | — | English |
| ⟨Aug 1638⟩ | Eton | John Dynely | — | <i>Reliq</i> , 3rd ed p 575 | — | English |
| Aug 24, 1638 O S | Canterbury | John Dynely | — | <i>Reliq</i> , 3rd ed p 574 | — | English |
| Aug 31, 1638 O S | Canterbury | John Dynely | — | <i>Reliq</i> , 3rd ed p 576 | — | English |
| Sept 26, 1638 O S | Eton | John Dynely | — | <i>Add MS</i> , 34727/65, <i>Letters to B</i> | — | English |
| Nov 6, 1638 O S | Eton | Su E Bacon | — | p 106 | — | English |
| Dec 5, 1638 O S | Eton | Su E Bacon | — | <i>Letters to B</i> p 118 | — | English |
| ⟨Dec 5 ?, 1638 O S⟩ | Eton | Su E Bacon | — | <i>Letters to B</i> p 128 | — | English |
| ⟨Dec ?, 1638⟩ | Eton | Charles I | — | <i>Reliq</i> , 1st ed p 429 | — | English |
| ⟨Dec ?, 1638⟩ | Eton | Archbishop Laud | — | <i>Reliq</i> , 1st ed p 431 | — | English |
| Dec 31, 1638 O S | Eton | Su E Bacon | — | <i>Letters to B</i> p 143 | — | English |
| ⟨Dec —, 1638⟩ | Eton | Dynely | — | <i>Reliq</i> , 3rd ed p 577 | — | English |
| ⟨Jan 1639 ?⟩ | — | D1 Castle | — | <i>Reliq</i> , 1st ed p 492 | — | English |
| Jan 6, 1639 O S | — | Dynely | — | <i>Reliq</i> , 3rd ed p 578 | — | English |
| Feb 21, 1639 O S | — | Dynely | — | <i>Reliq</i> , 3rd ed p 579 | — | English |
| ⟨April ?⟩ 1639 | — | Izaak Walton | — | <i>Reliq</i> , 1st ed p 511 | — | English |
| ⟨April 1639 ?⟩ | — | Su E Bacon | — | <i>Letters to B</i> p 131 | — | English |

| <i>Date</i> | <i>Place</i> | <i>To whom addressed</i> | <i>Source and first publication</i> | <i>Hand</i> | <i>Language</i> |
|--------------------|--------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------|-----------------|
| April 17, 1639 O S | Eton | Dynely | — <i>Reliq</i> 31d ed p 581 | — | English |
| April 21, 1639 O S | Eton | Dynely | — <i>Reliq</i> , 31d ed p 580 | — | English |
| <May —, 1639> | Eton | Doctor Castle | — <i>Reliq</i> , 1st ed p 489 | — | English |
| <July, 1639> | Eton | Mary, Lady Wotton | C C C MS 318/44, <i>Archaeol</i> XL | Hol | English |
| <Aug ? 1639> | — | Dynely | — <i>Reliq</i> , 31d ed p 582 | — | English |

APPENDIX II

THE STATE OF CHRISTENDOM DATE AND AUTHORSHIP

THIS work, which is prefaced by an unsigned address 'To the Judicious Reader', begins by stating that the author, having lived many years abroad in exile and banishment, began to despair of his long-desired return into his native country of England, and to consider by what means he might recover his liberty. He first thought of killing some banished traitor, but the fear of detection, and of the terror of conscience, and the infamy that would follow such a deed made both his heart and hand abhor an action of this kind. 'That day,' he continues, 'should have been more joyful unto me than the day of my birth and nativity, wherein I might have seen a Letter from any of my friends, with assurance of my pardon to call me home. Whilst I lived in this perplexity, I hapned (by chance) to meet with an honest and kind English Gentleman, who was lately come out of *Italy*, and meant to sojourn a few months in *France*, and then to return into *England*. He knew both me and my friends very well. And although his License forbade him to converse with any Fugitives, yet hearing (by common and credible report) that I was not so malicious as the rest of my Countrymen, but lived only for my conscience abroad, he adventured now and then to use my company, and with me, and in my hearing, to use greater liberty of speech than with any other of our nation.' The author adds that he told his plight to this English gentleman, who replied that since he had come out of England he had heard of many political questions that he would like to be able to answer when he returned. 'If you be as willing,' he said, 'as I know you are able, to frame me a good and sufficient answer to all that I have heard, all the friends which I have in *England* shall fail me, but that I will purchase your return home with credit and countenance.' He then stated the points about which he wanted information. These concerned practically the whole of the history of the latter half of the sixteenth century, the wars in the Low Countries and France, the policy of Spain, and, above all, he wished for a justification of the acts of Queen Elizabeth, her leagues with the Low Countries and Henry III, the execution of Mary Queen of Scots, the proceedings against the Catholics, the Portugal voyage, &c, &c. He wished, in short, to hear more 'In praise of my Country, and in disgrace of *Spain*, in commendation of our Princess, and in dispraise of the *Spaniard*.' 'Your credit with Cardinal *Allen*,' he added, 'your acquaintance with *Morgan*, your Friendship with *Thomas Throgmorton*, your conversation with *Charles Pagett*, and your long experience in foreign affairs hath undoubtedly enabled you to give me a full satisfaction to all these demands.'

The treatise that follows is written by the author in answer to these requests. As Henry Wotton was in exile in 1600 and 1601, after the

disgrace of Essex, it has always been believed that the *State of Christendom* was written at this time, for the purpose of procuring his return to England. This assumption first appears in the *Biographia Britannica* (Izaak Walton does not mention the book), and has been accepted by Dr Ward, Mr Fox, and Mr Sidney Lee. Numberless references, however, in the book prove that it was written, not in 1600 or 1601, but in 1594. Philip II (who died in 1598) is spoken of throughout as being still alive, though grown old (pp 53, 132, 134, 215, 238, 257, &c). Elizabeth is said to be sixty years old (p 87), and to have reigned thirty-six years (p 188), Henry IV is fighting with the League, Don Antonio of Portugal is still living (p 59). Many other references could be adduced, but there are two which fix within narrow limits the date of the composition of the book. The author mentions the supposed plot of Dr Lopez to poison Queen Elizabeth (p 144), and writes of the Archduke Ernestus as having been recently sent to be Governor of the Netherlands, and as being then alive. The trial of Dr Lopez took place in Feb, 1594, Ernestus died at Brussels (where he had arrived in Jan, 1594) in Feb, 1595. The *State of Christendom* was therefore written between these dates, and the references to the age and reign of Queen Elizabeth place its composition within the year 1594.

Mr Charles Hughes, who independently arrived at this conclusion, and first published it (*Athenaeum*, June 18, 1904), draws the inference that, the book being autobiographical, Wotton was already a 'political suspect' at this time, and had, by associating with Catholic plotters, himself fallen under a suspicion of treachery which precluded his return to England. It is true, indeed, that, as I have already said, such suspicions were easily incurred, and in 1592 there was apparently a plot to implicate Wotton in something of this kind (*ante*, i, pp 20-1). But there is not the slightest hint in his early letters that he was in disgrace, or unable to return to England. He had originally intended to end his first sojourn abroad in the spring of 1594 (*ibid* p 298), he remained, indeed, at Geneva till nearly the end of August in that year, but the delay had apparently no other cause beyond the want of funds for travelling. But a stronger argument against the assumption of Mr Hughes is the fact that autobiographical remarks in the *State of Christendom* cannot safely be taken as statements of the facts of Henry Wotton's life. Several of them, indeed, are quite incompatible with the known facts of his history. For instance, on p 154, after speaking of the election of Stephen Bathori to the throne of Poland, he writes 'When I was in *Italy*, I remember that it was a fresh newes that the *Polacks* had sent an ambassador unto the *Pope* to excuse their sudden choice of their new King. This Ambassador passed by *Padua* where I saw him.' Bathori was elected King of Poland in 1575, when, after the death of Charles IX, Henry III succeeded to the throne of France. At this time Wotton was seven years old. On p 170 the author refers to a conversation with Sir Henry Cobham in France. Sir Henry Cobham was ambassador at Paris from 1579 to 1583, when Henry Wotton was a schoolboy at Winchester. Again, on pp 46 and 50 the author mentions his being at Orleans 'of late years', while the history of Wotton's movements previous to 1594 leaves little room for a visit to France, unless, indeed, he passed through that country on his first journey to Italy.

There are two possible explanations of this puzzle, neither of which, however, is exempt from difficulty. The first (to which I shall return) is that Wotton wrote the book under an assumed character. This, on the whole, I think the most likely explanation. But an alternative suggestion has presented itself to my mind, and as I am not able to dismiss it entirely, I will state it here, and the arguments that could be brought to support it. The explanation is this, that the *State of Christendom* was not written by Wotton at all, but by some political exile whom he met at Geneva. Wotton, according to this hypothesis, would be 'the honest and kind English Gentleman' who had lately come out of Italy, was to spend a few months in France (Geneva was regarded at this time as being in France), and then to return to England. The political exile wrote the treatise, Wotton took it to England, the original, or a copy, remained among his papers, was found after his death, and published under his name. The author, then (if we assume that a young Englishman was not likely to travel in Italy before the age of twenty), was a man twelve or thirteen years older than Wotton, who had lived 'many years in voluntary exile and banishment', no doubt for religious reasons, and was now anxious to make his peace with the home authorities, and to procure permission to return to England. This would explain the statement that the author was at Padua about 1575, and saw Sir Henry Cobham at Paris. But the strongest argument for this hypothesis is the style in which the *State of Christendom* is written, a style for which no analogies can be found in the better-known English writings from Wotton's pen. Wotton's style in almost all his authentic works has the meditative, leisurely character of seventeenth century prose, while the *State of Christendom* is written in the eloquent, rhetorical, euphuistic manner of the Elizabethan age. It must be remembered, however, that we possess no set work of Wotton's written before the *Elements of Architecture* in 1624, but only letters, and that almost all the stray pieces in the *Reliquiae* are cast more or less in the epistolary form. That Wotton, however, was capable of writing in a more heightened and rhetorical style, is proved by his carefully prepared speeches delivered in the *Collegio* at Venice, by the glowing Latin of his *Plautus et Vota*, his welcome to Charles I after he returned from Scotland in 1633,¹ and by two little pieces of dramatic writing printed in the *Reliquiae*, *A Meditation upon the Twenty-second Chapter of Genesis* and *A Meditation upon Christmas Day*.² On the evidence, therefore, of style, it would not be safe to reject the possibility of Wotton's authorship, especially when we consider that a young man, in his first ambitious work, would be likely to imitate the manner of writing fashionable among his contemporaries.

And there is a certain amount of internal evidence in the book which makes it seem likely that it was written by Wotton. The author ends the first part with the promise to write more fully of the subjects he had treated at some future time, 'When years shall have increased my slender Experience, and Experience shall have perfected my simple Knowledge'.³ A phrase like this would well describe Wotton at twenty-six, but could hardly have been used by an exile who had been nearly twenty years on the Continent.

¹ *Reliquiae*, 4th ed., p. 113

² *Ibid.*, pp. 265-72

³ *Ibid.*, p. 262

Stronger evidence is contained in the 'Supplement' to the *State of Christendom*, which the author begins as follows 'After I had thorowly (as I thought) finished my task, and had discoursed upon every point thereof in such manner as you see, of some briefly, and of diverse more at large I hapned upon a Book called *Podaces de Historia*, that is to say, The Fragments of an History The which was lately Imprinted and Written (as it is supposed) by *Antonio Peres*, sometimes Secretary unto the King of Spain, and now residing in London' Wotton, as we have seen, returned to England late in 1594, and within a few months was taken into the service of Essex Antonio Perez (*ante*, I, p 30) was also at this time in England in the service of Essex, and lived with him at Essex House Late in 1595, when Essex had sent Perez to Paris, Wotton was sent to join him there The *Relaciones* of Perez contains a defence of his action in the murder of Escobado, and was published in the autumn of 1594¹ The 'Supplement' to the *State of Christendom* contains a criticism and justification of this defence, and the intimate association of Wotton and Perez make it probable that Wotton would write in defence of the Spaniard He may, indeed, have been requested to do so by Essex, who was much criticized for extending his patronage and friendship to the Spanish renegade

In the subject-matter of the book there is, moreover, a large amount of evidence tending to prove that it was written by Henry Wotton The author writes throughout as a Protestant, and makes no suggestion of any recantation of former errors, while in favour of religious liberty, he is opposed to religious disputes, and indeed suggests, what Wotton so often afterwards urged, that religious controversies might be suppressed by the civil authority (p 131), he speaks of himself as a 'civilian' (i e, a student of Civil Law, p 30), he has been in Venice (p 199), he shows familiarity with Kentish usages (p 29), he possesses a wide knowledge of the classics, and mentions books we know Wotton to have studied, De la Noue, François Hotman, and the historians of the German Empire, and he uses a certain number of phrases which afterwards recur in Wotton's letters, or in the notes of *Table Talk*, printed in Appendix IV²

On the whole, therefore, until further evidence is forthcoming, the weight of evidence is, I think, in favour of Wotton's authorship of this

¹ This book was published under the name of Raphael Peregrino, *Pedacos de Historia o Relaciones assy llamadas por sus Autores los Peregrinos*, &c The place of publication is given as Leon There is no date, and it is supposed to have been printed in 1592 My reason for believing that it was published in 1594 is based on the following statements from the unsigned letters in the Florence archives Oct 26, 1594, 'Questo Signore Antonio Perez, che è qua, ha fatto un libro in sua difesa' Nov 9, 1594, 'Il Signore Antonio Perez ha fatto stampar un libro ma non si stimò poi, non pare che sene creda molto' (*Arch Med* 4185, f 268, 270)

² *State of Christendom*, p 104, 'For Embassadors are (as Ph de Comines said very well) but honourable spies' (cf II, p 237) P 13, 'But because many things in outward appearance seem good, which indeed, are nought, and vitious, not only in this Age, but also in times past, are and have been baptised by name of vertues, It is now and it hath always been usual to deem all things honest that are profitable' Cf Wotton to Casaubon, Dec 12, 1596, 'imponamus peccatis nostris honestiora nomina' (I, p 303) P 98, 'Leagues are of no longer continuance than there is some profit or commodity arising or proceeding from them' Cf *Table Talk* below, p 491, 'Leagues and contracts of Princes last no longer than the causes for which they are made'

book But as I have pointed out, the author's remarks about himself are not to be taken as statements of the facts of Henry Wotton's life The book was written under an assumed character, Wotton put his own ideas about politics into the form of a treatise, supposed to have been composed by a political fugitive for the purpose of procuring permission to return to England This innocent disguise gave a certain point and dramatic character to his work, and Wotton, as Dr Ward points out, always retained a taste for dramatic composition (*Ward*, p 12)

APPENDIX III

NOTES ON SIR HENRY WOTTON'S FRIENDS, CORRESPONDENTS, AND ASSOCIATES

The following notes do not pretend to be complete biographies of the persons mentioned, the lives of many of them will be found in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and I have, in most of these cases, thought it only necessary to supplement these accounts with new information. For the others, I have simply put in chronological order such facts as have come under my notice in the course of my investigations.

Bacon, Sir Edmund (1566-1649), was the eldest son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, the first Baronet, and grandson of Queen Elizabeth's Lord Keeper. He was educated at Eton, and married Philippa, daughter of Edward Lord Wotton. He was knighted before 1605, succeeded his father as second Baronet in 1624, and died *s.p.* in 1649. He was admitted to Gray's Inn on Nov. 14, 1586 (Foster, *Gray's Inn*, p. 69). Five letters written by him are printed in the *Correspondence of June Lady Cornwallis* (pp. 161, 189, 190, 193, 254). His autograph signature is affixed to a letter from himself and Sir Roger North to the Council (April 1, 1633) in *S.P. Dom. Charles I.*, cccxvi No. 1. His will is printed in *Wills from the Register of Bury St. Edmunds, &c.*, Camden Soc. 1850, p. 211. In 1605 Sir Edmund Bacon went to Spa accompanied by Joseph Hall, who lived at Halstead near Redgrave, and whose patroness, Lady Drury (wife of Sir Robert Drury), was Bacon's sister. Hall's account of the journey is printed in his *Observations of Some Specialties of Divine Providence in the Life of Joseph Hall, &c.* (Hall's Works, Oxford, 1837, i, pp. xix-xxiv). One of Hall's Epistles, *Of the Benefits of Retirement and Secrecy*, is addressed to Sir Edmund Bacon (*Epistles by Joseph Hall*, London, 1608, Bk. II, Ep. 11, p. 121).

The first mention of Sir Edmund Bacon in Wotton's correspondence is in a letter to Sir Thomas Edmondes of Dec. 2, 1605 (*Stowe MS.* 168, f. 267). The earliest letter from Wotton to Bacon that has been preserved is dated April 2, 1611. Sir Edmund Bacon was perhaps Wotton's most intimate friend, they were almost of the same age, related by marriage, and had many tastes in common, as Wotton's letters to him show. From these letters, from Bacon's will, and from Joseph Hall's *Epistle*, we get the impression of a rich and cultivated and leisurely country gentleman, living in the old family house of Redgrave, and occupying himself with the management of his estates, scientific and artistic experiments and studies, and learned talk, with occasional visits to London or to Wotton at Eton. Wotton speaks of 'the incomparable delight' of his conversation, Hall describes him as 'full of friends', and living in voluntary retirement in his 'Philosophical Cell' his 'sanctuary of peace', sheltered 'from tumults, from vices, from

discontentments', free from 'the glorious misery' of the world, and delighting in 'that lively, honest, and manly pleasure which arises from the gain of knowledge in the deep mysteries of nature' "The world knows you and wants you, and yet you are voluntarily hid," he concludes

Bacon, Francis, Viscount St Albans, must be counted among Sir Henry Wotton's friends and correspondents, though only one letter from Bacon to Wotton, and one from Wotton to Bacon have been preserved (*ante*, II p 204). They seem, however, to have corresponded more or less regularly, and to have regarded each other as friends and kinsmen. The family connexion was through the Cookes and Belknaps, Bacon's mother, Anne Cooke, being the great-grand-daughter of Sir Philip Cooke, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Henry Belknap, and sister of Anne Belknap, wife of Sir Henry Wotton's great-grandfather, Sir Robert Wotton. Sir Henry Wotton was also descended from Sir Henry Belknap, through his mother (*ante*, I, p 3 n), and his niece, Philippa Wotton, married Francis Bacon's nephew, Sir Edmund Bacon. There is little further evidence of their friendship. The mention of 'Francesco' (II, p 14) and Lady Bacon's other uncle (*ibid* pp 38, 40), may refer perhaps to Francis Bacon. In 1635 Wotton sent Sir Gervase Clifton a collection of Bacon's letters (*ibid* p 352). Izaak Walton, in his advertisement to the *Reliquiae*, says that Bacon 'thought it not beneath him to collect some of the sayings and apophthegms of this author'. One of these sayings is printed in Bacon's *Collection of Apophthegms*, No 64 'Sir Henry Wotton used to say "that critics are like brushers of noblemen's clothes"' (*Ellis-Spedding*, VII, p 134). The epitaph on Bacon's tomb at St Michael's, St Albans, ending with the well-known phrase, 'Composita solvantur,' was composed by Wotton (*Life of Bacon*, prefixed to Wm Rawley's *Resuscitatio*, 1657, Aubrey's *Brief Lives*, 1898, I, p 76).

Baker, Sir Richard (1568-1645), was born in the same year as Wotton, and was with him at Oxford, where they shared rooms at Hart Hall. He wrote *Meditations and Disquisitions upon the Lord's Prayer*, 1636-7, which he sent to Wotton (*ante*, II, p 369), *Meditations on the Psalms*, 1639, *Chronicles of the Kings of England*, 1643, and other works (*DNB*). Baker mentions Wotton in his *Chronicles* (ed 1674, pp 446-7) 'The Trojan horse was not fuller of heroic Grecians than King James his reign was full of men excellent in all kinds of learning. And here I desire the reader's leave to remember two of my own acquaintance, the one was Mr John Donne, who leaving Oxford, lived at the Inns of Courts, not dissolute, but very neat, a great visitor of ladies. The other was Henry Wotton (mine old acquaintance also, as having been fellow-pupils and chamber-fellows in Oxford divers years together). This gentleman was employed by King James in embassy to Venice, and indeed the Kingdom afforded not a fitter man for matching the capriciousness of the Italian wits, a man of so able dexterity with his pen, that he hath done himself much wrong, and the Kingdom more, in leaving no more of his writings behind him'.

Baker became surety for the debts of his wife's relations, and losing all his fortune, took refuge in Fleet Prison about 1635, where he died in 1645.

Bargrave, Isaac (1586-1643), see *DNB*. Bargrave was Wotton's Chaplain at Venice 1616-1618, returning in July, 1618 (*ante*, II, p 143). Shortly after his return he married Elizabeth Dering of Deering, daughter

of Wotton's sister Elizabeth, wife of John Deering, of Egerton, Kent (*ante*, i, p 240) In a letter now in the *Eton MS*, without date or address, but probably to Naunton, and written about November, 1618, Wotton thanks his correspondent for promising to help Bargrave to obtain a prebendaryship at Canterbury, and adds, 'we are conjoined, not only as before in the best friendship, but now also in near affinity, for he hath married one of my nieces, the daughter of a right good sister, which hath been on both their parts a match, rather of virtue and love than of fortune, so as there is room left for your honourable kindness' (*Rov Club*, p 88) Bargrave became a prebendary of Canterbury in 1622, received the living of St Margaret's, Westminster, was Chaplain to Prince Charles, and became Dean of Canterbury in 1625 For Wotton's bequest of his *Viol di Gamba* and Italian books to Bargrave, see *ante*, i, p 218 In 1642 Bargrave was ejected from his Deanery and imprisoned in Fleet Prison for a few weeks, and died not long after

Bedell, William (1571-1642) The life of Bedell in the *DNB*, and the publication of Mr E S Shuckburgh's *Two Biographies of William Bedell With a Selection of his letters, &c* (Cambridge, 1902), make it unnecessary to give a life of this famous divine in these notes Bedell, who in 1602 accepted the living of St Mary's in Bury St Edmunds, was recommended by his neighbour, Sir Edmund Bacon, to Wotton for the post of chaplain, vacant owing to the return of Nathaniel Fletcher in 1606 (*ante*, i, p 505) In an undated letter (not printed by Mr Shuckburgh) written shortly before starting, Bedell asks Samuel Waid to find out from Fletcher which way he returned to England, 'for it is told me that the Inquisition is in Millaine, and that if a man duck not low at every Cross, he may be cast in prison, and brought in peril of life Send me, I pray you, a note of the chief towns he passed through (I care not for seeing places, but to go thither the shortest and safest way), what money it will be needful to take with me, whether, as Mr Fenton would advise, to carry a Nag out of England, or go with the ordinary post, and such like Mr Fenton goes not yet these 7 or 8 weeks You might enquire somewhat of the personal disposition of my Lord (Sir Henry Wotton) Good Mr Ward, enquire of Mr Fletcher if it were good to send thither any gown, yea or no, by sea I mean' (*Tanner MS*, lxxv f 17) For Wotton's letter, asking for Bedell's passport, see *ante*, i, p 378 Bedell arrived in Venice about the end of April, 1607, shortly after the settlement of the dispute with the Pope His journey to Venice was evidently a difficult one, for Joseph Hall writes to him 'We have heard how full of trouble and danger the Alps were to you, and did at once both pity your difficulties, and rejoice in your safety' (*Epistles*, 1608, p 79) His letters describing the state of religion in Venice, and Wotton's attempts to introduce religious reform, have already been quoted (*ante*, i, pp 86, 90-1) His relations with Sarpi, his discourses in Wotton's house, his importation and translation of books, and the various activities of his life in Venice have been described, and full references will be found in the index In 1611 he returned with Wotton to England, and went back to Bury St Edmunds (*ante*, i, p 505 n) In 1627 he was appointed, partly on Wotton's recommendation, Provost of King's College, Dublin (ii, p 301), in 1629 he became

Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh, and in 1642 he died from hardships endured during the rebellion of 1641

Bell, Captain Henry (*ante*, II, pp 129, 148), was one of the English soldiers who volunteered to serve in the Venetian army. On Nov 22, 1617, Wotton presented a letter in his favour from James I, and recommended him to the Doge, saying that he had served under the King of Sweden and the Elector of Brandenburg, and was experienced and capable in training raw recruits (*Esp Prin*). His services, however, were not accepted. In a letter to Sir Thomas Lake, dated Jan 3, 1618, Bell says that he and his servants have been living in Wotton's house (*S P Ven*). In 1632 Captain Henry Bell appears in the Gatehouse prison, where he remained till 1640, when he was either released or died. Being in Germany in 1616, he claimed to have discovered a plot to kidnap the Electress Palatine and her eldest son, and to have spent near £5,000 in collecting the evidence. James I (according to Bell's story) granted him £5,000 under the Privy Seal, and the grant was confirmed in 1630, but never paid. In 1632 Bell came to England and demanded the money of the Lord Treasurer, Weston, and threatened, if it were not paid, to complain to the King. 'Are you so peremptory?' replied Weston, 'I will make you stay yet longer, and will sit upon your skirts.' Bell was thereupon arrested and imprisoned, his papers were seized, and declared to have been forged. In prison he remained writing threatening letters and petitions full of despair and rage. By 1637 he had sent 104 petitions to the Council, but had got no answer. 'I must be forced,' he writes in 1639, 'to let my bell sound such a peal that the same shall ring and be heard throughout the kingdom.' The Domestic State Papers for these years are full of the echoes of his rage and threats (*Cal S P Dom*, 1632, p 356, 1636-7, p 433, 1639, p 429, &c). In 1652 was published a translation of Luther's *Table Talk*, *Martin Lutheri Colloquia Mensura* 'translated by Capt Henrie Bell'.

Biondi, Sir Giovanni Francesco (1572-1644). A short life of Biondi will be found in the *DNB*, but, owing to his intimate connexion with Wotton, a few additional details will be of interest. Biondi was born on the island of Lesina, near Dalmatia, and during the years 1606 and 1607 he served as secretary to Piero Priuli, Venetian ambassador in France. He became a Protestant, and returned to Venice with a collection of Protestant books, and introductions from Swiss and French Protestants to Sir Henry Wotton. On April 18, 1608, the Nuncio, Gessi, wrote that Biondi was suspected of having introduced heretical books into Venice (*Mus Cor MS* 2356). Biondi entered Wotton's service, and in January, 1609, Wotton sent him to England to put before James I Sarpi's plan for a union of the anti-papal powers, and the introduction of religious reform into Venice. Biondi's letter on the subject is now in the Record Office (*ante*, I, pp 93, 446-7). News of this journey reached Rome, and the Venetian ambassador, Francesco Contarini, admitted that 'a certain Biondo' had gone to England as a heretic, and was to send certain heretical books from Paris into Italy (*Cal S P Ven*, XI, p 248). Biondi was also the bearer of a letter from Bedell to Adam Newton, and Bedell describes him as 'truly religious, zealous, and in a word, such as the wise King doubts if a man may be found anywhere "a faithful man"'

(*Two Brog*, p 251) Biondi was received by James I at Whitehall, and Wotton was commanded to allow him £100 a year, which was afterwards confirmed to him for life as an annual pension (*ante*, I, p 469 n, II, pp 79, 80) By August, 1609, Biondi was back again in Venice, and in 1610 Wotton sent him to Turin to watch Charles Emmanuel's military preparations (*ibid*, I, pp 456 n, 493 n) In 1612 he was at Turin with Wotton, and two of his letters from Turin to Carleton at Venice have been preserved (*S P Italian States*, May 4, May 28, 1612) Twenty-one letters to Carleton, between Oct 9, 1612 and May 12, 1618, are in the *S P Dom* In 1614 Biondi was at the Hague with Wotton, who sent him to Brussels to remonstrate about Spinola's military preparations, and afterwards to Spinola and Count Maurice to arrange a truce (*ante*, II, pp 43 n, 49, 50) He represented James I at the Calvinist assembly at Grenoble, and in June, 1615, he returned to England with a letter from Wotton recommending him to Winwood (*ibid*, pp 79, 80) While at the Hague he sent the news of the place to Charles Emmanuel, and his letters are now in the Turin Archives (*Lettere Ministri, Inghilterra*) He was at Turin again in January, 1617, and was sent by Charles Emmanuel to replace Count Scarnafissi as his agent in England His letters from England between March 21, 1617, and August 6, 1620, are in the Turin Archives (*ibid*) Biondi was knighted in 1622, and married Mary, sister of Sir Theodore Mayenne On Sept 30, 1630, he wrote to Viscount Dorchester (Sir Dudley Carleton) recounting his early life and services, complaining that his pension was seldom paid, and praying for its increase by £100 and its regular payment (*S P Dom Charles I*, clxxiii, No 65) In 1640 Biondi went to reside at Aubonne, near Lausanne, and died there in 1644 (*DNB*) He was the author of three romances *L'Eromena*, Venice, 1624 (English translation by J Hayward, *Eromena, or Love and Revenge*, London, 1633), *La Donzella Desterrada*, Venice, 1627, and *Il Corallo*, Venice, 1635 (English translation, London, 1655), also of an historical work *L'Historia delle guerre civili d'Inghilterra, tra le due case di Lancastro e di Iorc*, Venice, 1637-44 (English translation by Henry Carey, Earl of Monmouth, London, 1641)

Branthwaite, Michael, was a relative of Sir George Calvert's, and when Wotton went as ambassador to the Emperor in 1620, taking in his company a son of Lord Wharton, Branthwaite was chosen to go with them as the young man's governor Wharton died on the journey, and Wotton, pleased with Branthwaite's 'hand and judgement and fidelity and erudition', took him to Venice (*ante*, II, p 193), where he acted as secretary during Wotton's last embassy there For Wotton's high appreciation of his society and services see *ibid*, p 231 When Wotton returned to England in Oct, 1623, he left Branthwaite in Venice as English agent, where he remained on a salary of thirty shillings a day until Dec, 1624, when Sir Isaac Wake arrived as ambassador (*ibid*, 279 n) Branthwaite's dispatches for these fourteen months are in the *S P Ven* In 1626 Branthwaite was at Eton, and Wotton sent him with letters to the Duke of Buckingham, describing him as 'a gentleman of approved confidence and sincerity' (*ibid*, 292) The next mention I find of him is in a letter of Sir Thomas Roe's to John Dynely, dated Feb 6, 1634, in which Roe recommends Branthwaite, 'an honest man, that withers in

England,' for service with the Queen of Bohemia, 'he has modest sufficiency of language and experience, and though plain and poor, he will be the better guided and diligent' (*Cal S P Dom*, 1633-4, p 453) In 1638 Branthwaite was in Paris, acting as governor to the son of the English ambassador, Lord Scudamorie, and Wotton gave Milton a letter of introduction to him (*ante*, II, 364, 382)

Burlamachi, Philip, or Filippo, was an Italian Protestant descended from a family of Lucca, but born in France, and naturalized in England 'He was a great capitalist, with correspondents in different commercial centres of Europe, who was much employed by the government to transmit considerable sums of money abroad for the use of ambassadors, and for the payment of troops, occasionally also to advance the sums of money required' (S R Gardiner, *N and Q*, 4th ser, VII, p 550) In 1619 Burlamachi was arrested with other merchants on the charge of exporting money, but was released on a payment of £10,000 (*ibid*, p 454) For his dealings with Wotton see *ante*, I, p 454, II, pp 7, 8, 130, 193, 316, with Sir Edward Herbert, *Herbert*, p 189

Castle, Doctor, can pretty safely be identified with the Doctor John Castle of Beiks, who matriculated at Oxford from Meiton College, Oct 24, 1600, aet 14, B A Dec 6, 1604, D Med July 10, 1644, buried in middle chancel of St Margaret's, Westminster, April 15, 1664 (Foster, *Ox*) Wotton speaks of him as having 'two capacities (as our lawyers speak), a political and philosophical, from both which I draw much good' (*ante*, II, p 384) The 'philosophical' was plainly that of medicine, the political the occupation probably of a newsletter writer, and he may be identified therefore with the John Castle mentioned as the newsagent for the Earl of Bridgewater, President of Wales, in *Cal S P Dom*, 1640-1, p 48 Three newsletters from John Castle are printed in *C and T Jas I*, I, pp 376, 429, 439, from originals in the British Museum, and there are three more unprinted in the same collection (*Harl MS* 7002, f 402, 7007, f 400, *Cotton MS*, Titus B, VII, f 470) Other letters in the *S P Dom* will be found calendared under the date of July 24, Aug 13, 1634, June 20, 1636, March 27, 1637 A certificate from John Castle, of the City of Westminster, Doctor in Physick, dated July 6, 1654, is in the *S P Dom* (*Protectorate*, LXXV, 39 II) John Castle was the father of the medical writer, George Castle, who was Fellow of All Souls in 1655 (Wood's *Athenae*, ed Bliss, III, p 998) John Castle is mentioned as a Royalist delinquent on July 23, 1645 On May 25, 1646, he was assessed for a fine at £300, and ordered on Aug 7 to be taken into custody (*Cal Comtee for Advance of Money*)

Clifton, Sir Gervase, of Clifton, Nottingham, 1586-1666, see Thoroton's *Nottinghamshire*, ed Throsby, 1790, I, p 108, for the life and character of this fine old country gentleman Dr Thoroton, who as a physician was not able, as he says, to keep alive the worthies of Nottinghamshire for any long time, and therefore 'practised on the dead' and attempted to keep their memories in life, says of Sir Gervase Clifton, 'for one thing he was most remarkable, having in that gone beyond any of our nation as yet heard of, he had six wives, and married a seventh when he was near seventy years old' His second wife was Frances, sister of his and Sir Henry Wotton's friend, Henry Lord Clifford, afterwards Earl of Cumberland (*ante*, II, p 328 n) Thoroton speaks of his

'sound body and cheerful facetious spirit,' his wealth and courtesy and hospitality, and the description he gives of the death of Clifton is not unworthy to be compared with Addison's account of Sir Roger de Coverley's end. 'He received from me the certain Notice of his near approaching Death, as he was wont to do an invitation of good friends to his own Bowling-Green (one of the most pleasant imaginable), and thereupon immediately called for his old Chaplain, Mr Robert Thirleby, to do the office of his Confessor, as if it had been to attend him to that Recreation he often used and loved, and when he had done with him, for his children, whom, Patriarch like, he particularly blessed and admonished, with the Smartness and Ingenuity of an excellent and well-studied Orator. The day following he received Visits from divers Friends, in the old Dining-Room near his Bed-Chamber, who were not so sensible of his Danger, because he entertained them after his usual Manner, yet that Night (as I easily foretold him) his sleepiness begun, which could never be taken away.' In the British Museum (*Lansd MS*, 238) is a volume of copies of letters made by some one in Sir Gervase Clifton's service. A large and most interesting collection of Sir Gervase Clifton's correspondence has recently been discovered in an attic at Clifton Hall. In the sack, in which these papers were tied up, were three letters from Sir Henry Wotton, transcripts of which were very kindly sent me by Miss Hervey Bruce, and will be found printed in vol II, pp 333, 352-4.

Cogan, Henry, succeeded Rowland Woodward in 1608 as the ambassador's agent for his business in England (*ante*, I, p 420). Bedell, in a letter of Nov 30, 1613, says that owing to Cogan's 'false dealing' he lost a great part of the allowance due to him as Sir Henry Wotton's chaplain (*Two Biog*, p 254). About 1625 Henry Cogan was granted a reversion to the office of Comptroller of the Mint, after the death of Richard Rogers, and assisted Rogers till his death in 1638. In 1640 a grant of the office was made to him (*Cal S P Dom*, 1638-9, p 198, *ibid*, 1639-40, p 423). He was associated at the Mint with William Parkhurst, who had been his companion at Venice. A letter from Henry Cogan to Sir Henry Vane, dated May 11, 1632, is in the Record Office (*ibid*, 1631-33, p 328). Henry Cogan, of Thames St, Bridge Ward and Charing Cross, was assessed for fines on Aug 5, Aug 28, Nov 23, 1643, and on April 29, 1644, ordered to be brought in custody to pay his assessment (*Cal Com^{tee} for Advance of Money*). Henry Cogan was the author of several translations, *Ibrahim*, 1652, *The Scarlet Gown, or History of the Present Cardinals of Rome*, 1653, and *The Voyage and Adventures of F M Pinto*, 1663.

Collins, Samuel, D D (1576-1651), born and educated at Eton, Provost of King's College, Cambridge, 1615, Regius Professor of Divinity, 1617, ejected by the Puritans from the Provostship in 1645 (*D N B*). Every year the Provost of King's College rode or drove over from Cambridge to Eton for the annual election of scholars in August, accompanied by two Fellows of King's called the 'Posers', and was received at the gateway with picturesque old ceremonial, the Provost of Eton greeting him with a kiss of peace (*Maxwell-Lyte*, p 542). Wotton and Collins became intimate friends, and frequent correspondents, unfortunately, only very few of Wotton's letters to the Provost of King's have been preserved (*ante*, II, pp 181, 370, 380). Lloyd speaks of Dr Collins as

'the glory of our English Nation for the Latin and Greek languages', and 'though very grave and reserved, yet at other times as much facetious' (*State Worthies*, II, pp 492-3) Fuller describes him as a 'pious and painful preacher' one of admirable wit and memory, the most fluent Latinist of our age, so that as Caligula is said to have sent his soldiers vainly to fight against the tide, with the same success have any encountered the torrent of his tongue in Disputation' (*Worthies*, ed 1811, I, 144) There is a portrait of this fine old scholar and wit in the dining-room of the Provost's Lodge at King's College

Darcy, Lord Thomas Darcy (1565?-1640) succeeded his father as 3rd Lord Darcy of Chiche in 1580, and was created Viscount Colchester in 1621, and Earl of Rivers in 1626 On March 6, 1591 (NS), he wrote to Burghley from Venice (*S P Ven*), and on Oct 26 from Florence (*S P Tuscany*) He was in Venice again from Dec 20, 1591, to June 19, 1592, and eight letters written during this period are in the *S P Ven* I have referred (*ante*, I, p 20) to what appears to have been a plot to bring the loyalty of Wotton and Lord Zouche into suspicion, and now print the portion of Lord Darcy's letter, which refers to the matter It is written from Venice to Lord Burghley, and dated May 8, 1592, NS Darcy writes 'Not long since, Francis Tusser, a gentleman known to your Lordship, as himself saith, came unto me and desired my help touching some service he had in hand for the Queen, the which, as I perceived, was to intercept a packet of letters, that came from Roome (as he said) to certain English gentlemen, in the which he nothing doubted to discover some matter of importance, and because it seemed to me to concern the Queen, I could not but protect him from the danger he feared, as also in respect of his other wants, aid him to compass the packet, the which at the last he did, and brought it unto me, but very hardly was brought to show me the letters that were in it But at last he showed me only the superscriptions of two letters, the one directed to my Lord Souche, in French, the other to Mr Wootton, in English I perceived presently he missed of his meaning, nevertheless, he assured me that although he had not lighted upon all, yet he had a great part What was in those letters, or to whom the other (three as I think) were directed, I know not As for my Lord Souche and Mr Wootton, it is more to be feared (as I hear) that their love to their Prince and country is more likely to hurt them here than any their malice or practice against either the one or the other And therefore they being persons so well-affected and so sure, I have marvelled greatly at this enterprise of Tusser's, and the more because some be so impudent as they could be content to play on both sides, although I think Tusser to be honest, and the craft of the Queen's Roman enemies being such as to seek by all means to put the Queen in suspicion of her most faithful subjects, as haply as they have done in this' (*S P Ven*)

Despotini, Gasparo (Jasper Despotine, as he was called in England), a Venetian physician of good family, and a convert to Protestantism, brought to England in 1611 by Wotton and Bedell (*ante*, I, p 505), and settled by Bedell in practice at or near Bury St Edmunds Bedell acted as his interpreter with his patients, until he learned English, and remained his intimate friend until his own death After Bedell went to Ireland, the two friends kept up a frequent correspondence in Italian,

An account of Despotine will be found in the life of Bedell by his son (*Two Brog*, pp 10-14, &c) To this a few particulars may be added In March, 1619, Despotine was granted denization in England (*Docquet Books*, vi), and when James I was ill in this year, he was called into consultation with the King's physicians, and Wotton, then ambassador in Venice, congratulated the Doge on having a share in the credit of the King's recovery, as one of his physicians had been a Venetian subject Despotine had given such satisfaction, that the King had sent him home in one of the royal carriages, which, Wotton said, was a sign of great favour (*Esp Prin*, May 5, 1619) In this same year Despotine married an Englishwoman, Susan Bland, by whom he had three daughters In 1624 Wotton travelled to Bury St Edmunds for the sake of his medical advice, returning thither in the last year of his life (*ante*, ii, pp 285, 409) In 1647 Despotine's name is mentioned as one of the elders of the Presbyterian Church at Bury St Edmunds (*Life of Bedell*, ed by T W Jones, Camden Soc, 1872, p 1x n) His will, dated 1648, and proved 1650, is printed in the *Wills and Inventories from the Register at Bury St Edmunds* (Camden Soc, 1850, p 200), and shows that he died possessed of considerable property A letter from Despotine to Sir Robert Crane is preserved in the Bodleian (*Tanner MS*, lxxi, f 146) He published at Cambridge in 1613 *Herc muletra de sanguinis missione in quadam febre quotidiana continua*, and in a letter of April 5, 1622, Bedell mentions another book of Despotine's as shortly to be printed *De Magnitudine morbi disputatio* (*Two Brog*, p 258)

Dethick, Humphrey, English factor in Florence for Sir Baptist Hicks (Viscount Campden), of Cheapside Dethick's history is curious I found a letter of Wotton's about him in the Media Archives (1219, f 267), to Belisario Vinta, without date, but written in 1602, and in Italian Wotton says that when Dethick first came to Italy (about 1589) he was a youth of good conduct, but being far away from the sight of his patron and parents, he fell into evil courses, and was finally ruined by an English gentleman who took him to Rome, initiated him into political intrigues, and was in the habit of sending him to the post to take away letters written to other Englishmen Dethick then fell apparently under the influence of some of the extreme Anglo-Spanish Catholic party, who wished to make away with James VI and secure the succession of the English throne to the Infanta of Spain In 1602 he travelled to Scotland for the purpose of assassinating James, but when he arrived he was seized either with remorse or madness, and began crying out 'The King! The King! Save the King!' and confessed his purpose Being at last exhausted he fell asleep, and some gentlemen in a neighbouring room, thinking him mad and dangerous, suggested locking him up One of them, however, named Chambers, induced them not to disturb him Dethick soon awoke, and rushing into the next room in a new accession of frenzy, ran his sword through Chambers, and killed him He afterwards confessed his purpose, and said he had been sent by the Grand Duke of Tuscany to kill James At another time, however, he denied it He seems to have been treated in Scotland as a simple madman (For Dethick in Scotland, see dispatches of George Nicolson, *S P Scotland*, lxxviii, 43 et seq, also *Chamberlain's Letters*, Camden Soc, p 139) In Rome the Jesuits declared that Dethick was a Puritan

(*Arch Med* 1219, f 267) A letter from Humphrey Dethick offering his services to Sir Robert Cecil, dated Pisa, July 22, 1601, is in the Record Office (*S P Tuscany*)

Donne, John Mr Gosse, in his *Life of Donne*, seems inclined to question Izaak Walton's statement about the intimate friendship between Donne and Wotton, and after a rather vague summary of Wotton's travels, adds 'It is therefore demonstrable that any close companionship between these two men was impossible at every juncture of their lives. They can have met but occasionally, and for brief periods' (vol II, p 315). A more accurate knowledge of the chronology of Wotton's life hardly corroborates this statement, as Wotton and Donne could often have met after their Oxford companionship. Wotton was in England from 1594 to 1600, save for the Cadiz and Azores expeditions, on both of which Donne was his companion. In 1604 he spent six months in England, and was also in England from 1611 to 1614, with the exception of his embassy to Turin. The winters of 1614-15 and 1619-20 were also spent at home, and from 1623 to 1631, the date of Donne's death, Wotton, as his letters show, was often in London.

Two letters from Donne to Wotton have been printed (*Gosse*, I, pp 179, 180). I have found a number more in the *Burley commonplace Book*, which I hope will shortly be published. Among Donne's published poems are three verse-epistles to Wotton, and a dialogue in verse (*Chambers*, I, p 79, II, pp 7, 14, 41). A fourth verse-epistle is in the *Burley MS*. In 1623 Wotton sent a cipher to Donne in order to facilitate their correspondence (*ante*, II, p 265), and Donne often mentions Wotton's letters (*Gosse*, I, pp 179, 199, 291, 301, 305, *Chambers*, II, p 7), though in 1607 he speaks of Wotton's seldom writing, being 'under the oppression of business, or the necessity of seeming so' (*Gosse*, I, p 170). Donne sent to Wotton with Joseph Hall, Bryan Duppa, Henry King, and probably Walton himself, one of the curious engraved seals which he had prepared before his death as a memorial for his friends (*ibid*, I, p 278).

Dourishe, John, was second son of Robert Dourishe, or Downishe, of Dourishe, Devon. His uncle, Walter Dourishe, married Mary Carew, sister of George Lord Carew, who became Earl of Totnes in 1626 (*Harl Soc* VI, p 91). John Dourishe was at Exeter College, Oxford, matriculating June 17, 1612, aet 19 (*Foster's Oa*). In June, 1615, he brought a letter from Winwood to Wotton, at the Hague (*ante*, II, p 80). In 1617 he was at Venice, and Wotton recommended him to Winwood, as 'an honest and understanding gentleman' who was 'born to some good fortune' at home, 'and hath vowed it to the service of his country'. Wotton adds that he had employed Dourishe 'in some public occasions' (*S P Ven*, June, 1617). He returned in 1618, apparently with Sir Henry Peyton's ships, and on Aug 2 Wotton mentions that a number of gentlemen from the fleet had come to Venice, and among them 'Mr John Doaridge, near kinsman to my Lord Carew, who is to abide here as receiver of such monies as shall become due to Sir Henry Peyton and his troops' (*Rox Club*, p 44). On Aug 9 Will Leete wrote to Bargrave, 'your dear friend Mr Downich is here at Venice very sick, and the rather that my Lord will not receive him into his house, having taken a special liking to the habitation, and the company likewise, his

importunity hath been most senseless and unmannerly, and would have passed into a bribe of an handfull of *scudi* if I would have accepted it, instead whereof I have given him a resolute denial, for we will be no more troubled with such persons in our family as long as I may have a voice' (*ibid*, p 46) He returned to England in April, 1619, bearing a letter in which Wotton recommended him to Calvert (*ante*, ii, p 168)

Dynely, Sir John (name also spelt Dinely, Dinley, Dingley, &c), was son of Richard Dingley, of Wolverton, Isle of Wight In 1637 he married Jane, daughter of John Hamond, of Chertsey (Berly, *Hants*, p 213) He was at Hart Hall, Oxford, matriculating Jan 31, 1606, aet 16 (Foster, *Ox*) He accompanied Wotton to Venice in 1616, and to Vienna in 1620, and acted as his assistant secretary in Venice from 1621 to 1623 It was John Dynely whom Wotton sent to warn Lady Arundel not to come to Venice after the arrest of Foscarini (*ante*, ii, p 232) Before 1626 he had entered the service of the Queen of Bohemia (*Cal S P Dom*, 1623-5, p 478), and in a petition of Jan 13, 1629, he states that he had been long in attendance on her eldest son In this petition he begs Charles I for the next vacant Sir Clerk's place (see also *ante*, ii, p 312) Wotton, he states, had promised that when he succeeded Sir Julius Caesar as Master of the Rolls, he would provide for Dynely in consideration of his eight years' service to himself in various embassies When Wotton had resigned his reversion of the Rolls to Sir Robert Heath, Heath had promised to provide for him, and now he was recommended by the Queen of Bohemia for this piece of preferment This grant seems to have been made, but subsequently annulled (*S P Dom*, *Charles I*, cxxxii, No 8) About the year 1633 Dynely was appointed Secretary to the Queen of Bohemia (*ante*, ii, p 348, *Everett-Green*, v, p 524), which position he retained many years In August, 1633, he came to England to help Sir Francis Nethersole (whom he succeeded as the Queen's Secretary), who had got into trouble in his attempt to raise a voluntary contribution for the recovery of the Palatinate (Gardiner, vii, pp 343-4, *Cal S P Dom*, 1633, p 195) Dynely shared in Nethersole's disgrace, and failed to obtain some favour from Charles I, for which he petitioned in 1638 (*ante*, ii, pp 389-90) On Jan 6, 1640, Dr Samson Johnson, Chaplain to the Queen of Bohemia, wrote that Dynely was likely to succeed Sir Robert Honeywood, the Queen's Steward 'He is a man not well affected to the Church His Majesty of England has no opinion of him, and justly, but the ladies will work for him all they can' (*Cal S P Dom*, 1639-40, p 306) In Dec 1653, Dynely petitioned Cromwell for payment of the arrears owing him among other of the Queen's creditors His pay as secretary was £400 a year, and on Dec 6, 1641, Elizabeth, 'both in regard of his long and faithful service, and of his present necessity,' granted him an additional £400 a year, none of which, however, had been paid, and for which he now petitioned the Protector Dynely's petition, with a copy of the Queen of Bohemia's warrant, and a statement by Sir Abraham Williams that the £400 a year had been paid him, is in the Record Office (*S P Dom Interregnum*, xlii, No 82) Letters of John Dynely's, written between 1626 and 1636, will be found calendared among the *S P Dom* for those years Six letters, written between 1637 and 1643,

are in the British Museum (*Add MS 29974*) Dynely was knighted before 1649, I do not know the date of his death

Eliot, Captain Robert (*ante*, i, p 67), can probably be identified with the Capt Elliot of Devonshire who, in 1597, piloted the Spanish fleet from Spain to Falmouth (Hume, *Treason and Plot*, p 257) A letter from Robert Eliot, dated Rome, June 3, 1603, is in the Record Office (*S P Ital States*) Eliot was one of the most dangerous of the Roman Catholic plotters against James I, and Wotton made three attempts to catch him In October, 1606, hearing that Eliot was coming from Rome into Venetian territory, Wotton begged the Doge that he might be arrested and sent in irons to Venice, which would be a 'most grateful offering to the King' Wotton said that he was a 'most venturesome spirit, of evil intentions, of broken fortunes, and capable of any enterprise, for he has had a hand in every plot against the King' Wotton handed in a written description of him, a very short man, thick-set, with black hair, a short, round, black beard cut in the French fashion, and thick whiskers His voice was strong and deep, his eyes sparkling and black, his step was quick, he dressed like a Frenchman, and spoke French and Spanish fluently (*Cal S P Ven*, i, pp 416-7) The Senate voted his arrest, but as he went to Florence and not to Venice, Wotton attempted to get him kidnapped on one of his visits to Lucca, and exchanged for Salvetti (*ante*, i, pp 401-2) He also tried to induce the Grand Duke to imprison Eliot, telling Montauto, the Tuscan Resident in Venice, that Eliot was 'the greatest scoundrel who existed, or who had ever existed in the world' (Montauto to Vinta, Aug 4, 1607, *Arch Med* 3000) The Grand Duke, however, made Eliot a captain in his fleet, and Wotton's attempts failed (*ante*, i, p 402) Capt Eliot seems to have subsequently entered the service of the Duke of Ossuna, and was given a command in the fleet which was to attack Venice in connexion with the plot of 1618 (*Romanin*, vii, pp 124-5, 140)

Georges, John (*ante*, ii, p 127), possibly the John George or Georges, son and heir of Robert George of Cirencester, who graduated from Magdalen Hall, Oxford, in 1614, and was M.P. for Cirencester in various Parliaments from 1626 till his death in 1677 (Foster, *Ox*)

Leete, William, was the son of Giles Leete, of Shelland, Suffolk, and Margaret Bacon, his wife, second cousin of Sir Edmund Bacon (*Family of Leete*, Charles Budger, 1881, pedigree) He acted as steward to Sir Henry Wotton, 1616-1619, and three letters from him (addressed to Isaac Bargrave) written in the year 1618 are at Eton (*Row Club*, pp 36, 46, 64) He afterwards became a student of medicine at Padua, where his name is entered in 1619-20, '*D Gulielmus Leet Anglus Cons Scottae die IX Septembris electus*' (*Andrich*, p 107) He died at Padua about Nov 1621 (*ante*, ii, p 219)

Mainwaring, Sir Henry, Lieutenant of Dover Castle, belonged to the Mainwaring family of Peover, in Cheshire He was author of *The Seaman's Dictionary, or An Exposition of all the Parts and Things belonging to a Ship*, London, 1644 He had been, the Venetian ambassador Contarini wrote, 'a most famous pirate, who has repeatedly cruised both in the Levant and the Indies, and captured a number of vessels, having had as many as six or eight of his own, and for nautical skill,

for fighting his ship, for his mode of boarding, and for resisting the enemy, he is said not to have his superior in England' (*Duffus Hardy*, p 85) For his career as a pirate see *Corbett*, I, pp 56-8 He was pardoned in 1616, and James I recommended him for service in the Venetian navy He was first chosen for command of the ships and troops sent to Venice in 1618 (*ante*, II, p 146 n), although the Spanish ambassador strongly objected to his being allowed to serve a State inimical to Spain (*Finetti, Philoxenis*, p 50, *Romanin*, VII, p 151 n) Sir Henry Peyton was subsequently chosen to command these troops, but in 1619 Mainwaring came to Venice to offer his services to the Republic, and Wotton recommended him to the Doge in his audience of Jan 3, 1619 As, however, there was no post vacant at that time worthy of his abilities, he returned to England, bearing letters of the date of Feb 3, 1619, the Venetian Government paying his expenses (*ante*, II, p 162, *Roz Club*, p 106)

Marta, Dr Jacobo Antonio, a Neapolitan by birth, was Professor of Canon Law at Padua, 1611-17, of Civil, 1617-21, died 1621 (*Cigogna*, II, p 372) Sir Dudley Carleton made his acquaintance at Padua in 1611, describing him as 'a public professor with a large annual stipend, one who hath committed as palpable idolatry as ever was published in print by styling the Pope "a God upon earth", and submitting all other jurisdictions whatsoever both civil and ecclesiastical to his omnipotency' (*S P Ven*, Nov —, 1611) Dr Marta was, however, willing to turn an honest or dishonest penny by making revelations of the iniquities of the Roman Court to James I, and a pension was granted him for this purpose On June 19, 1612, he wrote to James I promising a *Relation of the Court of Rome* (*S P Italian States*) He wrote again to the King in 1614, and Somers set wrote to Carleton to say that Marta's 'vast and immoderate ideas are to be restrained' (*Hist MSS Com*, 2nd Rep, II, p 52) Carleton handed him on to Wotton with the remark, Wotton wrote, 'that there was good to be made of him, but I should find him full of *Neapolitanarie*, which well translated are shifts I came therefor prepared with this information, not so much to consider his nature as his use' (*Roz Club*, p 14) His use, Wotton decided, was to write 'some solid work touching the Roman Church', which Marta composed, and sent to James I But the last and most important chapter, *Touching the policy with which the Pope doth govern the Princes of his flock*, he reserved, craftily enough, only sending the title, 'because he knew it would move desire' There ensued an amusing game between the doctor and the ambassador, each keeping the other 'in appetite', the ambassador promising money, the doctor an exposure of 'Roman devices' Marta seems to have won in the end, as on June 1, 1618, Wotton wrote that he had decided 'to comfort him with monies', and on Aug 21, that he had paid him £100, upon 'assured promise of perfecting those things which the King requireth' (*ibid*, pp 22, 58) Marta was in dubious relations with the Papal Nuncio as well, the latter writes (Nov 26, 1618) that Dr Marta was threatening to make some exposure, unless a certain letter was given him, which he could not get (*Mus Correr MS*, 2355) In another letter (Jan 18, 1617) the Nuncio says that Gregorio de' Monti had informed his secretary that Dr Marta had never visited Wotton's house (*ibid*) Two letters from

Dr Marta, complaining that his pension was not paid, are in the Record Office (*S P Italian States*, Dec 22, 1616, Feb 13, 1618)

Mole, John, or Molle, was born in, or near, South Molton, in Devonshire His youth was mostly spent in France, and he served as treasurer for Sir Thomas Sherley in Brittany At the defeat of Cambray he was wounded and taken prisoner, but afterwards ransomed 'Providence designing him neither to be swallowed by the surges, nor slain by the sword, but in due time to remain a land-mark of Christian patience to all posterity' (Fuller's *Church History*, 1655, Book x, p 48) In 1608 he was in Italy as tutor to Lord Roos, grandson of the Earl of Exeter (*ante*, i, p 428) A letter from Mole to Wotton, dated Florence, Aug 2, 1608, is in the *S P Ven* He informs Wotton that M Lomax, tutor to Lord St John (*ibid*), had died confessing himself a convert to Roman Catholicism Lord Roos went to Rome shortly afterwards Mole, 'unwillingly-willing,' went with him, and was immediately arrested by order of the Inquisition He was arrested, Donne wrote, owing to the fact that he had, in some translations from the works of Duplessis-Mornay, written of Babylon and Antichrist (*Gosse*, i, 199), and Chamberlain sent the same news to Carleton (*C and T Jas I*, i, p 77) Wotton, however, wrote many years afterwards (perhaps for the purpose of exciting the King's interest) that it was the possession of James I's writings that got him into trouble (*ante*, ii, p 257) Mole remained in prison thirty years, until his death in his eighty-first year, the Roman Catholics tying their famous controversialists on him, one after the other His constancy aroused great admiration in the Protestant world, and one of Joseph Hall's epistles is addressed to him, 'exciting him to his wonted constancy, and encouraging him to martyrdom' 'The hearts of all good men are with you Neither can that place be but full of angels, which is the continual object of so many prayers' His wife and large family, Hall states, were as firm as Mole himself (*Epistles, Decades* v, vi, London, 1610, pp 93-105) Wotton suggested many attempts to get Mole released by exchange or other methods (*ante*, i, pp 442, 508, ii, pp 126, 256), and Lord Exeter, Lord Roos' grandfather, induced Henry IV to write to the Pope for this purpose On Oct 22, 1608, Chamberlain wrote to Carleton, 'There is great means used for Molle, Lord St John's and Lord Roos' tutor, as well by the Spanish and Venetian ambassadors as by the French King, which, if they prevail not, it is thought some priests shall fare the worse, and pay the reckoning' (*C and T Jas I*, i, p 77) On Jan 3, 1610, John Poy wrote to Sir Dudley Carleton, 'Mr Mowle, my Lord Rosse's tutor, lies still at Soul Surgery in the Inquisition, the Pope answering the French King's letter, which my Lord of Exeter procured for Mowle's release, that he shall be *doler trattato*, and all means used for his conversion' (*S P Dom, James I*, iii, No 1) On Jan 10, 1618, Chamberlain wrote that Lord Exeter complained that the Spanish ambassador had not kept his promise to procure Mole's release (*Cal S P Dom*, 1611-18, p 512, and *Winwood Mem*, iii, p 407)

Monti, Gregorio de', was secretary of 'the language or compliments' to Sir Henry Wotton during his first embassy, to his successor, Sir Dudley Carleton, and again to Wotton, 1616-1619, and in 1621 until De' Monti's death in that year His pay was thirty ducats a month (*ante*, ii, p 105) When Carleton was at Turin, in 1615, negotiating the Treaty

of Asti, De' Monti was left in charge of English affairs at Venice, and also from May, 1619, to March, 1621, when Wotton was away from Venice. In his speech of May 5, 1619, Wotton recommended him to the Doge as a '*persona assai pratica e discreta*', and requested the Doge to give him audience whenever it was necessary (*Esp Prin*, May 5, 1619, Wotton's speech is printed, *Cal S P Ven*, 1202-1509, p cxlvii). Gregorio de' Monti's letters to Sir Robert Nuntton, 1619-1621, are at Eton, and are printed in the volume of Wotton's dispatches published by the Roxburghe Club. On June 24, 1616, Wotton and Carleton jointly petitioned for a gratuity for De' Monti (*S P Ven*), and on Oct 11 Wotton asked for a letter from James I expressing his confidence in him, and his intention to make use of his services in the future (*ante*, ii, p 105). A transcript of a Latin letter to this effect, dated Dec 30, 1616, and signed by James I, is in the *S P Ven*. On Oct 7, 1616, De' Monti wrote to Wotton that he had married a wife, '*la quale è povera e bruta*'. His reason for his choice was, he said, lest he should become jealous, or she grow proud (*S P Ven*). Gregorio died Nov 22, 1621. In his audience of Feb 27, 1622, Wotton pronounced a eulogy on the character and faithfulness of his late secretary (*Esp Prin*). De' Monti seems to have attempted to enter into secret relations with the Papal Nuncio, Gessi, who writes (Jan 18, 1617) that he was not, however, to be trusted, '*essendo persona molto astuta*', and in intimate relations with the heretics (*Mus Corren MS*, 2355). De' Monti's purpose was probably, as the Nuncio suspected, to get secret information which he could betray to Wotton.

Morton, Sir Albertus (1584?-1625), youngest son of George Morton, of Estuie or Esheie, in Chilham, Kent. His grandfather was Robert Morton, whose widow (Eleanor, daughter of Sir William Finch) married Thomas Wotton, and was Sir Henry Wotton's mother. Albertus Morton was educated at Eton, and elected scholar of King's College, Cambridge, in 1602. He accompanied Wotton to Venice in 1604, and on Nov 24, 1606, Wotton introduced him to the Doge, stating that he was about to send him to England, and he thought the Doge might like to entrust him with dispatches for the Venetian ambassador there. Morton, he said, was 'well-born, a close relation and dear friend of one of the King's most intimate councillors, and, in fact, a person who might be useful to the Venetian ambassador' (*Cal S P Ven*, x, p 435). He was in England by Dec 28, 1606, having made a very quick journey. The object of his mission was to give James I full information about the dispute between Venice and the Pope. He was received by James I, and did all he could to confirm the King in his determination to stand by the Republic (*ibid*, pp 451, 453, 462). In June, 1609, Morton was again sent to England, and Wotton gave him letters of introduction to Prince Henry and Salisbury (*ante*, i, pp 459-60). He returned, apparently, in the same year, bringing copies of James I's newly printed *Premotion* (*ibid*, p 466). In 1611 he travelled with Wotton to Paris, and Wotton being detained there, sent him on ahead to England (*ibid*, p 503). In Nov, 1611, he was at Cambridge (*ibid*, p 118 n), and in March, 1612, he accompanied Wotton to Turin. On May 28 he was sent back to England with special dispatches (*ibid*, ii, p 6), returning again almost at once with a present of a jewel from the Queen to Wotton, and the request for

Wotton's immediate return (*ibid.*, i, p 124) In May, 1613, he was almost killed by the running away of his horses in London, and suffered injuries from which he apparently never completely recovered (*ibid.*, ii, p 27) In this year he was appointed agent to the Duke of Savoy, from whom he had already accepted a pension (*ibid.*, i, p 132 n) His journey was delayed until May, 1614 (*Cal S P Dom*, 1611-18, p 234) In this year also he was appointed Clerk of the Council (*ibid.*, p 263) On Aug 4, 1614, Morton wrote from Turin (*S P Savoy*), but returned almost immediately to England On Dec 26 he was at Amiens, and Jan 13, 1615, in Paris on his return to Italy, and on Feb 3 he wrote to Somerset from Turin On March 25 he wrote again to Somerset, recommending that Isaac Wake (who was in Turin as Sir Dudley Carleton's secretary) should be appointed to succeed him, as his own health had been ruined by his accident in 1613 On March 27, 1615, Carleton wrote to Chamberlain, 'I here find Mr Albert Morton much thrown down, both in body and mind, and, indeed, in that condition that his physicians send him *ad montes et aquas*, which is a desperate condition Three days since he came to me expressly, and made a long narration of his private estate, which he would make appear suffered much by his absence out of England, chiefly by being put out of the way of a good fortune by his mistress which he was in danger to lose, but this particularly he did rather *accennare* than say directly From this he fell to discourse of his weakness, which he said began by a fall out of a coach, whereby his head was so bruised that he hath been ever since on the left side little better than paralytic, which doth increase upon him *cum palpitacione cordis*' Carleton adds that Morton was so overcome with his melancholy humour 'that he scarce talks of himself without tears' On April 4 Winwood wrote to say that Morton had been revoked, and Wake appointed in his place (*S P Savoy*) Letters from Morton to Winwood, dated at Turin April 16 and May 20, are in the *S P Savoy*, and one from Lyons of June 26, in which he says that he left Turin on the 14th of that month He joined Wotton at the Hague, and went on to England, bearing letters dated July 1, O S (*ante*, ii, p 83) In 1616 he was appointed secretary to the Princess Elizabeth at Heidelberg, and agent to the Princes of the Union, his pay being £200 a year (*Cal S P Dom*, 1611-18, pp 360, 396) In 1617 he was knighted, and in Oct, 1618, he returned to England ill, and under the care of a physician (*ibid.*, p 585) He was given a formal grant of a Clerkship of the Council, April 6 1619 (*ibid.*, 1619-23, pp 16, 34), and in Dec, 1620, he was sent with £30,000 to the Princes of the Union, to urge them to defend the Palatinate (*ibid.*, p 198) His instructions are in the *S P Germany States* For his reception see *Gardiner*, iv, p 184 He was back in England again by March 12, 1621 (*Cal S P Dom*, 1619-23, p 233) In 1622 he was anxious to be made Provost of King's College, Cambridge, but Dr Collins would not resign the post to him (*ibid.*, pp 465, 467) On Jan 4, 1623, Chamberlain wrote that he had resigned his Clerkship to Sir William Beecher, because he was impatient at being sent away when any Spanish business was discussed (*ibid.*, p 480) In this year he was among the candidates for the Provostship of Eton (*ante*, i, p 199) On Jan 13, 1624, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Edward Apsley, and Lady in Waiting to the Queen of Bohemia Before July 26 in this year he was appointed ambas-

sador to France (*Cal S P Dom*, 1623-5, pp 327, 330), but the appointment seems to have been cancelled, as he did not go to France till the following year. On Feb 9, 1625, Morton was appointed secretary of state in succession to Sir George Calvert (*Gardiner*, v, p 310), and in May of this year he accompanied Buckingham to Paris, and on June 14 he was dispatched to the Netherlands to urge the Dutch to join with England in an attack on Flanders. He died on Sept 6, 1625, a few days after his return to England (*ibid*, v, pp 330, 335, vi, p 9). Wotton speaks of Buckingham's 'singular love' to Morton (*ante*, ii, p 294), and his premature death cut short a career of brilliant promise. Besides those mentioned above, letters from Morton to Sir Thomas Lake, dated Dec 8, 1617, and Jan 3, 1618, to Carleton, dated May 28 and July 16, 1618, are in the *S P Ger States*, a letter of Oct 18, 1619, to Lord Doncaster, is in the *Egerton MS* (2593 f 33), and eleven letters between May, 1624 and March, 1625, are calendared in the *S P Dom*.

Mountford, Osbert, was the son of Dr Mountford, and was educated at Eton, being elected to King's College in 1601 (*Harwood*, p 206). In 1609 he was in Italy as tutor to his kinsman, William Lytton (*ante*, i, p 477), and made Wotton's acquaintance at Venice, who described him as 'very religious and very learned, and of diligent observation' (*S P Ven*, August, 1610). In 1614 he went to the Hague as Wotton's principal secretary, and on Aug 18 he carried dispatches to England. His account of Wotton's negotiations up to this date is now in the Record Office (*ante*, ii, p 43). He returned to the Hague, and was sent home again in December, but sailing from Flushing, his ship was upset in a gust, and he himself was drowned, and his dispatches lost (*ante*, ii, pp 64, 67).

Partridge, Edward (*ante*, i, pp 346, 348), was probably the Edward Partridge or Partherick of Eridge, Kent, who was at Magdalen Hall, Oxford, matriculating Oct 10, 1589, aet 15, and student of the Inner Temple, 1594 (*Foster, Or*).

Parkhurst, William, wrongly identified in the *D N B* with John Parkhurst, Master of Balliol 1617-37 (*D N B*, xlii, p 309). William Parkhurst was with Wotton at Venice, 1604-10, acting as assistant secretary, and Wotton dictated to him many of his dispatches during this period. In 1608 he was sent to England bearing letters dated April 24, and after some delay, owing to illness and misadventure, he arrived back in Venice on Sept 9 (*ante*, i, pp 420, 435 n). He returned to England with Wotton in 1611, and went into Kent in the autumn of that year (*ibid*, 118 n). In 1612 he accompanied Wotton to Turin, and Wotton left him there as English agent (*Cal S P Ven*, xii, p 379). On Dec 12, 1612, he was visited by the Venetian ambassador, Gussoni, who described him as a person 'so sagacious and ietent that it is impossible to extract any valuable information from him' (*ibid*, p 459). He remained abroad till the end of 1614, acting as informal English agent to the Duke of Savoy, and his dispatches from Feb 7, 1613 to Dec 20, 1614 are in the *S P Savoy*. In April, 1613, the Duke of Savoy (then engaged in war with Mantua) summoned him, alone of all the envoys at Turin, to the camp, for the purpose, Gussoni thought, of fostering the idea of some secret intelligence between himself and James I (*Cal S P Ven*, xii, p 528). On May 3

he was at Vercelli, and a little later the Duke sent him on a pacificatory mission to Geneva. He gives an account of this journey in a dispatch of June 10, 1613 (*S P Savoy*). He says that, being aware that the complaints of the Genevans against the Duke of Savoy had made a difficulty in the way of the former treaty (for a marriage between Prince Henry and the Infanta Maria), and fearing the same difficulty in the proposals for a marriage between Prince Charles and a Savoy Princess, and also thinking that the Genevans might take advantage of the war with Mantua to attack Savoy, he suggested to Charles Emmanuel that he should go to Geneva to arrange for more friendly relations between Geneva and Savoy, expressing the good will of the Duke, and his desire that James I should be made arbiter of the differences between them. The Duke accepted his proposal, and sent with him the Conte di Cartignana. Leaving Turin on May 14 they reached Geneva on the 18th, and saw the Syndics and principal people, including Giovanni Diodati. They remained there till May 29, but Cartignana was extremely anxious to be gone. This mission was undertaken by Parkhurst without orders from home, and the news of it caused considerable talk and speculation (see Chamberlain to Winwood, July 8, 1613, *Winwood Mem.*, III, p. 469). Carleton wrote from Venice to Winwood (June 21, 1613) that the Swiss were much alarmed by Parkhurst's journey, thinking it must have been undertaken with the connivance of James I. 'He went clothed by the Duke of Savoy with many magnificent titles, and hath the honour to be up to the ears in our Gazettes' (*ibid.*, p. 464). On June 12, 1613, Giustinian, the Venetian ambassador at Paris, writes of the 'great scandal' caused in Paris by the news of Parkhurst's declarations (*Cal S P Ven.*, XII, p. 550). When Antonio Foscarini brought the matter to the notice of James I, the King said, 'I am amazed at this. That person is no secretary of mine, but a certain individual left behind by Wotton without my orders'. The King, Foscarini wrote, seemed much annoyed at Parkhurst's action, declared that he knew nothing about it, and added that it must be some trick of the Duke's to gain prestige (*ibid.*, p. 554). As Albertus Morton, the officially appointed agent to the Duke of Savoy, was expected back at Turin, Parkhurst left Italy at the end of 1614, and on Dec. 26 met Morton at Amiens, and travelled to England with a letter in which Morton wrote, 'the bearer of these is a servant of Sir Henry Wotton's, sent me, upon my former sudden departure, into Italy, and by me left at Thurin to satisfy the Duke in the assuredness of my return thither. Now having, as it seemeth, signified his unwillingness to stay there, the Duke hath prevailed himself of the occasion of sending, and for that purpose hath been at the expense of his journey, as himself hath told me. This I thought good to signify unto your Honour because the Conte (Scarnafissi, with whom Parkhurst was travelling) seemeth to doubt that his unexpected desire of returning into England hath bred in his Highness some jealousy' (*S P Savoy*, Dec. 26, 1614). On March 3, 1615, Parkhurst was again in Turin, and Carleton wrote that he was going in the Duke's service to the States. His object was no doubt to help Count Scarnafissi in his negotiations for a Dutch subsidy to aid in the Montferrat war.

Of William Parkhurst's subsequent history I know little. He can probably be identified with the William Parkhurst mentioned as Warden

of the Mint in 1628 (*Cal S P Dom*, 1628-9, p 155), and the Sir William Parkhurst, of London, who was assessed at £300 on March 6, 1648, and ordered to pay £150 (*Cal Com^{tee} for Advance of Money*, p 867)

Rooke, George, can almost certainly be identified with the George Rooke, son of John Rooke of Canterbury, who purchased the manor of Monksholton in Kent, 6th Charles I, and who was the father of Lawrence Rooke, the astronomer, and grandfather of Sir George Rooke, the famous admiral. He died in 1649, aet 69 (Berry, *Kent*, p 301, *Genealogist*, 1st ser., iv, pp 196, 204, *D N B* xlix, pp 204, 209). George Rooke was with Wotton in Venice in 1605, and was sent in this year to Naples (*ante*, i, p 328). Wotton sent him to England, Aug 25, 1606, and to Pisa in 1607, to command Sir Robert Dudley to return to England, when he visited Lucca, and was approached by the magistrates of that Republic about the proposed kidnapping of Salvetti (*ibid*, p 401 n). In 1608 he was sent to Padua to prosecute the murderer of young Julius Caesar. Later in the year he returned to England, but fell ill on the way at Brescia, and Wotton feared that he had been poisoned by the friends of Caesar's murderer (*ibid* p 436 n). He was at Padua again at the end of 1609. As 'Georgius Roccho' his name appears in 1607-8 among the law students at Padua (*Andrich*, p 137). Four of his letters are preserved in the Record Office, April 18, 1608, to Francis Windebank, in which he writes that he is buying collections of songs and books on history for Windebank (*S P Ven*), June 4, 1608, to Salisbury (*ibid*), Dec 21, 1607, from Padua to Windebank (*S P Dom*, *Jas I*, xxviii, No 123), Oct 6, 1611, from Padua to Lord Salisbury (*S P Italian States*). George Rooke was one of the many sons of Kentish neighbours whom Wotton took into his service, and while at Venice he had general charge of the affairs relating to Tuscany. Coryate made his acquaintance when visiting Italy in 1608, and describes him as 'a Kentish Gentleman, one of the principal favourites of that honourable Gentleman, Sir Henry Wotton and a worthy traveller'. Coryate adds, 'This Gentleman Mr George Rooke used me so kindly both in Venice and Padua, that he hath perpetually bound me unto him in a very Gordian knot of friendship' (*Crudities*, p 128).

Sarpi, Paolo (or more correctly, Pietro). I have already described the relations between Wotton and Sarpi (*ante*, i, pp 87, 455 n), and it is not necessary to give here a biography of this famous man. A note on the portrait of Sarpi, reproduced, *ante*, ii, p 371, may be of interest. Fulgenzio Micanzio, in his life of Sarpi, after mentioning his unwillingness to be painted, says that the existing portraits are all copies *d'uno che si dice esser nella galera d'un gran Re, che gli fu tolto, contra sua voglia, e con bel stratagemma* (*Vita del Padre Paolo*, 1659, p 140). There can be little doubt that James I is the King referred to, and that the *bel stratagemma* was planned by Sir Henry Wotton. On Sept 13, 1607, Wotton wrote that he was sending a portrait of Sarpi to England, 'taken from him at my request' (*ante*, i, p 399), and the stratagem seems to have consisted in sending a painter to see Sarpi, who made a sketch of the Father, presumably without his knowledge (*ibid*, ii, p 371). This portrait, however, never reached England, the Pope devised another *bel stratagemma*, and when the bearer, Charles Bushy, reached Milan, he was arrested, imprisoned in the Inquisition, and the

portrait confiscated (*ibid.*, i, p. 399 n) But on Dec 21, 1607, after the attempt at assassination, Wotton sent another portrait of Sarpi, procured no doubt by the same means, 'with the late addition of his scars' The bearer was Captain Pinnet (*ibid.*, pp 407-8) From this portrait, and a companion picture of Fulgenzio, frequent replicas were made, and Wotton, after his return to England, seems to have been in the habit of giving them to his friends The letter he wrote when presenting one to Dr Collins, Provost of King's College, Cambridge, has already been printed (*ante*, ii, p. 371) Another pair of these replicas (no doubt a present from Wotton) was bequeathed by Donne to Dr King (*Gosse*, ii, p. 360), another was in the rooms of Sir Nathaniel Brent at Merton College, another at Roydon Hall (*N and Q*, 2nd ser., vii, p. 351), and a sixth portrait of Sarpi seems to have been in the possession of a brother of the Rev Samuel Blithe, Master of Clare Hall (letter of Edward Browne to Samuel Blithe, quoted *Cal S P Ven*, xi, p. xxxvi) The portrait of Sarpi at King's College disappeared after 1744 (*N and Q*, 2nd ser., vii, 350), that at Roydon Hall about 1827 (*ibid.*, iv, 122), and all attempts to trace these or any other of Sarpi's portraits in England have hitherto been unsuccessful, none of those interested in the subject being aware that one of them is preserved in the picture gallery of the Bodleian On taking down this portrait I found that it corresponded exactly to Wotton's description of the picture he presented to Dr Collins—the black frame, the mark of wounds on the face—and the title of Wotton's invention, *Conciliu Tridentinu Evnscerator*, is painted on it in large letters This portrait is mentioned in Anthony a Wood's MS catalogue of the Bodleian pictures, and cannot therefore be identical with the one presented to Dr Collins, which was hanging in King's College long after the date of Anthony a Wood's death It may possibly be the original sent to Lord Salisbury, or it may be Sir Nathaniel Brent's replica, but most probably it was presented by Wotton himself, who made several other gifts to the Bodleian Pine's engraving, published in the *Rights of Sovereigns and Subjects*, 1722, corresponds in attitude and features to this picture, and was evidently made from the original sent to England by Wotton, or from one of the many replicas Pine has, however, omitted the round black plaster which marks the stiletto wound in the right cheek While possessing no artistic merit, this portrait (even if it be only a replica) is of interest as one of the most authentic likenesses of Sarpi in existence, and the only one bearing the marks of the assassin's stiletto, made as Sarpi wittily remarked, *Stylo Romanae Curiae* (The information in this note has already been printed in *N and Q*, 10th ser., iii, pp 201-2)

Scioppius, Gaspar. A full account of the life and works of Scioppius will be found in vol. ii of Charles Nisard's *Les Gladiateurs de la République des Lettres aux XVe, XVIe, XVIIe Siècles*, Paris, 1860 Scioppius answered Wotton's letter to Mark Welser in his *Opuscula Grubini Legatus Latro*, Ingolstadt, 1615 He tells the story he had heard of Wotton at Venice (*ante*, i, p. 69 n) he says that James I called the Catholic Princes *Serenissimos Porcos* (*Legatus Latro*, p. 13), he relates how, when he was at Angsburg in 1612, Sir Dudley Carleton's secretary (Isaac Wake?) attempted to have him poisoned, and how when

he had taken refuge at Milan, the secretary caused him to be shot at when he was one day reading at a window, and how in Spain in 1614 he was set on by bravadoes in the pay of the English ambassador, Lord Digby, and nearly killed, but protected by the Virgin. He draws the conclusion, *Legatus Calvinianus, maxime Anglicanus, est vir bonus peregre missus ad mentiendum et latrocinandum suae Reip causa* (*ibid*, pp 26-8, 31, 67). Lord Digby, however, declared that he meant only to give Scioppius a beating, and Nisard suggests that Scioppius himself hired the bravadoes in order to make himself a martyr. Scioppius again mentions Wotton in his *Hol Krugsoederi Responsio ad Epist Is Casaboni*, Ingolstadt, 1615, when he declares that Casaubon kept a pretty servant girl in his house for the entertainment of travellers, and among them Wotton, and for the purpose of getting more money out of them (quoted by Nisard, II, pp 102, 198).

Seymer, Richard, was third son of John Seymer, of Hanford, Dorset (Hutchins, *Dorset*, 1873, IV, pp 61, 66). He was at Brasenose College (matric June 22, 1599, aged 15), and student of the Middle Temple, 1602 (Foster, *Or*). Eight of Richard Seymer's letters, written between 1613 and 1619, are in the British Museum (*Add MS* 28974), and from these it appears that he was at Paris learning French in Aug 1613, and that he accompanied Wotton to the Hague and Xanten in 1614. He was at Venice in Wotton's service in 1617, and accompanied the Jesuit *Praepositus*, Cerronio, to England in that year. On October 28, 1617, he was paid £275 (*ante*, II, pp 120, 122 n, 123 n). Will Leete wrote from Venice, July 8, 1618, 'We hear ill news of Mr Richard Seamor, that he should be slain in France. We all hope it is not true' (*Rox Club*, p 38). He was back in Venice by August, 1618 (*ante*, II, p 156), and in November Wotton sent him to visit his correspondents among the Gisons, to see about the project of founding Protestant seminaries (*ibid*, p 150 n). He was in Venice again on April 16, 1619 (*Add MS* 28974, f 46). On March 22, 1650, Richard Seymour, of Hanford, Dorset, compounded for delinquency 'in adhering to the late king in the first war only' (*Cal Com^{tes} for Compounding*, 2231).

Terringham, Sir Arthur (or Tyringham), second son of Anthony Tyringham, of Bucks, was at Magdalen College, Oxford, matriculating Jan 18, 1600, aet 16. Student of the Middle Temple, 1600. M P Blackley, 1614, killed 1642 (Foster, *Or*). In 1617 Wotton sent him and Richard Seymer to England with Cerronio (*ante*, II, p 120). Sir Arthur Terringham appeared as a witness in Strafford's trial, giving evidence to the effect that Charles I had not intended to land the Irish forces in England (*Cal S P Dom*, 1640-1, p 541). In 1639 Terringham was residing with his wife in Anglesea, and had a quarrel with his neighbour, Sir Thomas Holland, about seats in the parish church of Llanfihangel. Holland, although living in another parish, attended Llanfihangel Church, as it was nearer his house, and he was 'old and heavy', and had erected seats above the seats of the Terringham family, who petitioned to have them removed (*Cal S P Dom*, 1639-40, pp 165, 310, 612).

Throckmorton, Sir Arthur (1557-1626), eldest son of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton the diplomatist (see *D N B*). He entered Magdalen College 1571, aet 14, was M P for Colchester 1588-9, and was knighted

at Cadiz 1596. He married a sister of Sir Walter Raleigh, and resided at Paulerspury, Northants. His daughter Mary married Thomas, second Lord Wotton (*ante*, i, p. 484 n). At his death in 1626 he left the diplomatic papers of his father to Wotton, who bequeathed them to Charles I (*ibid.*, p. 217). He also left a collection of MSS to Magdalen College, Oxford (Coxe, *Catalogus Codicum MSS*, ii, pp. 19, 25, 87). Mary Lady Wotton inherited Paulerspury.

Woodward, Rowland, brother of Thomas Woodward, was in Venice with Wotton in 1605, when he was sent as a spy to Milan, and imprisoned in the Inquisition (*ante*, i, pp. 325-8). In 1607 Wotton sent him with dispatches to England, and he was attacked by robbers in France, and left for dead, but afterwards rescued (*ibid.*, 365 n). On Feb. 2, 1608, Thomas Woodward was paid £60 for Rowland Woodward 'for his surgeons and diets' (*Issues, &c.*, p. 53, Nichols, *Jas I*, ii, p. 247). On April 4, 1608, Wotton wrote that Rowland Woodward had been placed with the Bishop of London (*ante*, i, p. 420). Three letters from Rowland Woodward to Francis Windebank, written in 1620, are in the *S P Dom*, (cxv, Nos. 21, 50, cxvi, No. 1). He was then hoping to go to Vienna in Wotton's suite, but complained of Wotton's procrastination and inconstancy, and wrote of his love for Windebank's 'sweet sister Nel'. Another letter to Windebank concerning the Spanish match is printed in Gutch, *Collectanea* (i, 181). On Oct. 17, 1625, Rowland Woodward petitioned Charles I for 'a small pension or some other recompense, to help sustain him hereafter in a double weakness of estate and body', alleging as a claim his accident in France, and his wounds, from which he had recovered, 'although he yet feels the grief of a maim'. He had also been promised the reversion of William Trumbull's place as agent at Brussels, but now that post was abolished (*S P Dom*, *Charles I*, viii, No. 87). Seven letters written by Rowland Woodward between 1627 and 1631 are calendared among the Domestic State Papers for those years. In July, 1630, he was appointed deputy Master of Ceremonies to Sir John Finnet, with a salary of 6s. 8d. a day (*Docquet Book*, ix). He died before April, 1636, being succeeded in this post by Sir Balthazar Gerbier (*Cal S P Dom*, 1635-6, p. 356). Two verse-epistles from John Donne to Rowland Woodward are printed in Donne's poems (*Chambers*, vol. ii, pp. 12, 38), and Mr. Gosse prints a third epistle in which Donne addresses Woodward as a fellow-poet (*Gosse*, i, 318). 'There is none of Donne's friends' Mr. Gosse adds, 'of whom we would more gladly know more than of Rowland Woodward'.

Wotton, Pickering, was the eldest surviving son of Edward Lord Wotton. In 1600 he accompanied Henry Wotton to Florence, taking with him Amerigo Salvetti (*ante*, i, p. 35). While in Florence the Lucchese spy, Daniele da Massa, made himself the companion of his pleasures, in order to discover the whereabouts of Salvetti (*ibid.*, pp. 37 n, 39). In 1603 Pickering Wotton was with his uncle Henry at Venice, and meant to accompany him to Frankfurt and Paris (*ibid.*, p. 318). In 1605 he was in Spain, fell ill at Valladolid, and was converted to Catholicism on his death-bed by means of Father Richard Walpole. He wrote an account of his conversion, which was translated into German, and printed at Ingolstadt in 1606, with the title, *Bekehrung Herrn Paquern Wottons, eines Engellendischen Freyherrns, des Engellen-*

dischen Ambassadors bey den Venedischen Heirschaft, Bruders Sohn &c, von der Ketzer ey der Protestanten zu dem rechten, waren alten Catholischen und allen seligmachenden Glauben etc The English version is printed by Foley (ii, p 256), who adds that Edward Lord Wotton was converted by this narration in 1605, but gives no authority for the statement. The exact date of Lord Wotton's conversion to Catholicism is not definitely known. Lewis Owen, who was at Valladolid at the time, and saw Pickering Wotton in his illness, denies his conversion in his *Running Register*, 1626, pp 55-61. Sir Charles Cornwallis, however, who was English ambassador at Valladolid, states that he died a papist. Cornwallis writes to Salisbury 'The poor gentleman left not wherewith to pay his physician, his apothecary, his hostess, neither the charge of his burial. I had lent unto him almost three months since, £30, and Hawkesworth, my secretary, a little before his death, £10. For the love and honour I bear his father, I propose likewise to pay the charge of his burial' (*Winwood Mem*, ii, p 151). Pickering Wotton's funeral was attended by the Duke of Alva, the Conde de Lemos, and other Spaniards of great position.

Zouche, Lord Edward la Zouche, eleventh Baron Zouche, of Harringworth (1556?-1625), succeeded his father George, tenth Baron, in 1569, and was educated under Whitgift at Trinity College, Cambridge. In 1586 he was one of the peers who tried Mary Queen of Scots. In 1587 he went to Hamburg, and thence to Heidelberg and Frankfurt. In the summer of 1590 he met Wotton at Altdorf. On Aug 20, 1591, he wrote to Burghley from Vienna about his past life, and about a new licence to travel which he had received, and which evidently contained restrictions omitted in his previous one. 'The greatest evil,' he writes, 'hath been the fond spending of my time in my youth, which I could be contented to bewail so long as I live, and to punish myself with absence from my country and friends, the which sith through her Majesty's favour cannot be obtained, I will labour to temper this shame by emboldening myself to confess my faults (though contrary to mine own nature) before all men, and by prayer to my God, that through the taking of his punishments from me, he will make known how desirous I have been to make amends for the same in this my travel. I cannot tell whether I shall do well or no to touch that part of the license which prohibiteth me in general to travel in some countries, and companioning divers persons. This restraint is truly as an imprisonment, for I know not how to carry myself, so as this licence seemeth to be a restraint of my former, for I was come hither to see what means I could get to pass Italie, purposing to go upon the borders to practise the language, and then afterwards, if by any means I durst, to have made speedy passage through the whole. And now know I not whether I may pass upon the Lords of Venis' and the Duke of Florens' territories, because I know not if they have league with her Majesty or no' (*S P Dom*, *Eliz*, cccxxix, No 156). For Wotton's reference to this licence, see *ante*, i, p 273. In March, 1592, Zouche was with Wotton at Padua (*ibid*, p 271), and by August, 1593, he was back again in England (*ibid*, p 297). On Dec 22, 1593, Queen Elizabeth sent him on an embassy to James VI in Scotland, and in 1598 on a commercial mission to Denmark. In 1600 he retired to Guernsey from motives of

economy, but was back again in England in 1602, when he was appointed President of Wales. He held this office till 1615, when he became Warden of the Cinque Ports. In 1612, after the death of Salisbury, he was one of the Commissioners to whom the Treasury was entrusted. In 1609 he became a member of the Council of the Virginia Company, and in 1620 one of the first members of the New England Council. On July 17, 1624, he resigned the Wardenship of the Cinque Ports to Buckingham. He died in 1625 (*D N B*).

APPENDIX IV

A LIST OF ITALIAN AUTHORS SELECTED AND CENSURED BY SIR HEN WOTTON

Tanner MS 88, f 142, transcript The following list of Italian books was apparently made by Sir Henry Wotton for the use of some one interested in the study of the Italian language and literature, and was written some time after 1628, as the translation of Tasso's *Aminta*, published in that year, is mentioned (see No 9). All the authors mentioned are catalogued or described either in the *British Museum Catalogue*, the *Nouvelle Biographie Generale*, Triaboschi's *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, or Mazzuchelli's *Gli Scrittori d'Italia*, and it is from these authorities that my notes are derived. It may be as well to remark that when Wotton describes a book as 16°, it is to a volume generally described as 12° that he refers.

1 *Pumfilo Paisico del Secretario*, in 4°. A book of singular use, elegant and learned

2 *I fonti della Lingua Toscana di Oratio Lombardelli, Senese*, in 8°, which I should much commend if it were not written to me

3 *Le lettere di Claudio Ptolomei, Senese*, in 8°, full of various and solid knowledge

4 *Le Lettere del Abate Grillo*, in 4°, one of the wittiest men in Italie

5 *I tre Istorie di Venetia*, Sabellico, Bembo et Paruta, *successivamente* from the beginning of the City and by Commandment of the State—all good Authors, Andrea Moisini, who hath followed them in Latin, is a slight man

6 *L'Unione di Portogalla e di Castiglia*, di Conestagui Franchi, in 4° and in 8°, which latter is the best edition, a story rarely delivered

7 *Le creanze delle donne*, written by Piccolhuomini, professor at Padova, in 16° an ingenious Dialogue

¹ Paisico, Panfilo, *Del Segretario libri quattro, ne' quali si tratta dell' arte e facoltà di Segretario* &c Venice, 1620, 4°

² *I Fonti Toscani d'Oratio Lombardelli, Senese, Accademico Umoroso* Florence, 1598, 8° (See ante, i, p 22)

³ Tolommei, Claudio, *Lettere, libri vii* Venice, 1547, 4^{mo}, 1549, 1553, 1558, 1559, 8°

⁴ Grillo, Angelo, *Lettere*, 2 vols Venice, 1612, 4°

⁵ Sabellico, Marcantonio Coccio, *Rerum Venetarum Historiae*, Venice, 1487, fol Italian translation by Dolce, Venice, 1544, 4° P Bembo Cardinalis, *Historiae Venetae libri xii*, Venice, 1551 Italian translation, *Historia Venetiana*, Venice, 1552, 4° Paruta, Paolo, *Historia Venetiana*, Venice, 1605, 4° A Mamuceni, *Historia Veneta ab anno MDXXI usque ad annum MDCLXV*, Venice, 1623, fol

⁶ Conestaggio, Girolamo Franchi de, *Dell' unione del Regno di Portogallo alla corona di Castiglia* Genoa, 1585, 4°, Venice, 1592, 8°

⁷ Piccolomini, Alessandro, *La Raffaella, ovvero della Creanza delle donne* Venice, 1589, 8^{mo}, Milan, 1558, 8^{mo}, Venice, 1574, 12°

8 *L'Anticrusca di Beni*, Professor at Padova, in 4^o a book of fine knowledge for the tongue, and which hath bred much sin

9 *L'Amynta di Torquato Tasso*, in 16^o, newly translated into English, and called in Italie, *Il Capo di Venere*, because it was left unfinished by the Author

10 *Le Satire di Caporale*, Peaugino, in 16^o Incomparable in that kind

11, 12 *Le Opere di Berna e di Fiorenzola*, in 8^o Exquisite for the Language

13 *Le Prediche di Bitonto*, in 4^o Eloquently vain

14 *Il Dante col Commentario di Landino*, in fol Worthy the studying

15 *Li Commentarii di Castelvetro, sopra La poetica e Rhetorica d'Aristotle*, in 4^{mo} A laborious and learned work

16 *L'Oratione di Monsig^r della Casa a Carolo Quinto per la restituzione della Piacenza*, in 16^o One of the rare things of the world

17 *Le lettere dei Principi alli Principi o dalla Principi*, in two volumes 4^o full of excellent matter, and the best story of the latter times

18 *I dialogi di Nicolo Franco* and his letter *a la Candela*, for which he suffered death, in 8^o

19 *Le vite degli Pontifici Romani di Platina*, vulgarizate con l'aggiunta di Cicarelli, in 4^o

20 *La vita di Pio Quinto* in 4^o A singular piece containing his fulminations against Queen Elizabeth

21 *The Annotations of Salviati upon the Decameron of Boccaccio* With one of his Novelle told in 13 several languages of Italy, in 4^o

22 *L'Ottomanno di Soranzo*, a free relation of the Turkes' Wars,

⁸ Beni, Paolo, *L'Anticrusca, ovvero il Paragone dell' Italiana Lingua* Padua, 1613, 4^o

⁹ Tasso, Torquato, *Aminta fuola boscareccia* Venice, 1583, 12^o Tasso's *Aminta*, English'd (by John Reynolds?) London, 1628, 4^o

¹⁰ Caporali, Cesare, *Rime in questa ultima impressione corrette* Venice, 1604, 12^o

¹¹ Berni, or Bernini, Francesco *il primo libro dell' opere bulesche di F B, &c* Florence, 1552-5, 2 vols, 8^o

¹² Fiorenzuola, Agnolo, *Le Rime* Florence, 1549, 8^o

¹³ Antonius de Bitonto, *Sermones dominicales per totum annum* Venice, 1492, 4^o

¹⁴ Dante con l'espositioni di C Landino Venice, 1596, fol

¹⁵ Castelvetro, Lodovico, *La Poetica d'Aristotele, volgarezzata* Vienna, 1570, 4^o *Esamina-tione sopra la rettorica* Venice, 1556, 2 vols, 4^o

¹⁶ Casa, Giovanni della, Archbishop of Benevento, *Orazione scritta a Carlo V Imperadore, intorno alla restituzione della Città di Piacenza*, printed by Sansovino, *Delle orationi volgarmente scritte* parte prima, pt 1, 1562, 4^{mo}, reprinted by C R Dati, *Prose Fiorentine, &c*, tom 1, 1716, 8^o, 1735, 4^o

¹⁷ *Delle Lettere di Principi, le quali o si scrivono da Principi, o a Principi, o ragionano di Principi* New edition of 3 vols, 4^o, edited by G Ruscelli, published at Venice, 1581

¹⁸ Fianco, Niccolo, *Dialoghi piacevoli* Venice, 1541, 1542, 1545, 8^o, 1554, 12^o, 1606, 8^o

¹⁹ Sacchi, Bartholomaeus de Platina, *La Historia di Battista Platina delle vite de' Pontifici alla quale si sono aggiunte le vite de gli altri papi sino a Clemente VIII* scritte dal Signor A. Ciccarelli Venice, 1592, 4^o

²⁰ Catena, Giovanni Girolamo, *Vita del Papa Pio Quinto, &c* Mantua, 1587, 4^{mo}

²¹ Salviati, Leonardo, *Il Decameron riscontrato in Firenze con testi antichi e alla sua vera lezione ridotto dal Cavalier L Salviati*, 1552, 4^o

²² Soranzo, Lazzaro, *L'Ottomanno dove si da pieno ragguaglio della potenza del presente Signor de' Turchi Mehmeto III, &c* Feirara, 1599, 8^o

discovering many secrets of Government, and therefore forbidden at Venice, 8°

23 *Tutte le Comedie dell' Intronati di Siena*

24 *Valvasone della Caccia*, a delightful and useful Poem, containing many natural Secrets, in 8° *con figure*

25 *L'Antichità di Roma del Lauro*, *con figure*, in 4° *largo*

26 *La Censura della Tragedia di Speron Speroni*, a fine critical and learned piece, in 16°

BOOKS OF ART

27 *La Magra Naturale* di Battista Porta, in 8°

28 *La Magra Naturale* di Campanella, manoscritto

29 *Gli Automati di Heron*, Alessandrino, in 4°

30 *Gli Spiritali del Medesimo*, *con figure*, in 4°

31 *La Prospettiva d' Euclide comentata di Ignatio Danti*, in 4°

32 *La Geographia di Maurolico*, in 4°

33 *Il diascoride di Matthiola Sanese*, in fol *con figure*, approved for Purity of Language above all Modern Writers by the Academia della Crusca

34 *L'architectura di Palladio* Clear and Regular, in fol

35 *L'Istoria del Concilio di Trenta*, written by Maestio Paolo, worth all that were before it, and I believe all that will follow it in that language

36 *A discourse*, in 4°, written by Galihleo *sopra le cose che muotono*

²³ *Il Sacrificio degl' Intronati et Gl' Ingannati, Comedia del medesimo*, 1554, 8°
Delle Comedie degl' Accademia Intronati, la seconda parte Siena, 1611, 12°
²⁴ Valvasone, Erasmo di, *Della Caccia* Bergamo, 1591, 1593, 4°, fig , Venice, 1602, 8°

²⁵ Lauro, Giacomo, *Antiquae in his splendor, hoc est praecipua ejusdem templi, amphitheatra*, &c Romae, 1612-14, 2 vols, 4°

²⁶ *Giudizio sopra la Tragedia di Canace* (di Sperone Speroni), &c, 1550
 Attributed to Bartolommeo Cavalcanti (see Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, vii (1824), p 1877)

²⁷ Porta, Giovanni Battista della, *Magiae Naturalis*, Antwerp, 1561

²⁸ Campanella, Tommaso, *De Sensu Rerum et Magia libri quatuor* T Adami recensuit, et nunc primum evulgavit Frankfort, 1620, 4°

²⁹ Hero, of Alexandria, *De Herone de gli Automati o vero Machine se moventi Libri due*, tradotto dal Greco da B Baldi Venice, 1601, 4°

³⁰ *Spirituali di Herone Alessandrino ridotti in lingua volgare* da A Gioiigi Urbino, 1592, 4°

³¹ Danti, Egnatio, *La Prospettiva di Eucliae* tradotta dal R P E D con alcune sue annotationi, 1573, 4°

³² Maurolico, Francesco, *Cosmographia in tres dialogos distincta*, &c Venice, 1543, 4°

³³ Matthioli, Pietro Andrea, *Il Dioscoride* dell' eccellente Dottor P A Matthioli, &c, 1548, fol

³⁴ *I quattro Libri dell' Architettura*, &c. 4 pt Venice, 1570, fol

³⁵ *Historia del Concilio Tridentino* di Pietro Soave Polani (Paolo Sarpi) London, 1619, fol

³⁶ *Discorso al serenissimo Don Cosimo II, Gran Duca di Toscana, intorno alle cose che stanno in su l'acqua, o che in quella si muovono*, &c Florence, 1612, 4°

B CHARACTER OF ROBERT, LATE EARL OF SALISBURY

Builey MS, p 1, transcript On Feb 10, 1613, Chamberlain wrote to Winwood 'Sir Henry Wotton is busy in setting out the difference between the Pope and the Venetians, with all the circumstances that passed at the time of the Interdict, and withal means (he says) to make a *character* (as he calls it) of the Earl of Essex his first master, and of the Lord Treasurer his last patron' (*Winwood Mem.*, iii, p 432) Wotton's *Parallel* between Essex and Buckingham was circulated in MS in 1634, and printed in 1641, but nothing of his about Lord Salisbury was printed, or, as far as I know, preserved under his name in any MS collection But as the following *Character* appears in a MS book which was compiled by some one in Wotton's service, and which contains transcripts of many of Wotton's writings (see below, p 489), I think it may be ascribed to Sir Henry Wotton with some degree of probability There is another transcript of this *Character* in the *S P Dom*, *James I*, lxi, No 59

He came of a parent that counselled the state into piety, honour and power He did inherit his father's virtues, and therefore was called to succeed him in his offices He had a full mind in an imperfect body, to tell a courtier that ornament is not his best part, or should not be In a chan he had both a sweet and a grave presence, as if nature, understanding how good a counsellor he would make, gave him no more beauty of person anywhere else, of purpose because it should not remove him into action, had his body been an answerable agent to his spirit, he might have made as great a captain as he was a counsellor, for his pleasures of exercise were industry and expedition Courage was brought up with his understanding, and they agreed so well, that his mind being great enough, they dwelt commodiously together for he knew himself in a just way, and he never went out of it either for public danger or private threatening, which were many and bold upon him He was so ingenious as to have the best measure and use of wit, for it did help to bring him the nearest way to judgement He was sufficiently learned for his calling, and learning appeared the more in himself because he loved it in another man His words, either in speaking or writing, never passed by the sense without calling in to the understanding, nor ever went thence without leaving an impression, for besides their weight, they were delivered with such a dexterity of clearness that they were both sweet to a curious ear and easy to a common, being guilty neither of rudeness nor affectation He never put men to the pains of reading him twice over, for they took pleasure in repeating him often, which they might do with as little expense of time as the most of other men once, so much the nearer way he went to the matter, and notwithstanding he took not so large a scope to express himself in, yet him they read more than once, because they were satisfied, other men (for the most part) because they would be

Sometimes the less he did seem to be eloquent, the more he was, for he did not confine speaking well to one law of phrase or style, but varied his method in it according to the bringing up of the person he conferred with, and the nature of the argument, whereby he cleared it a passage to the hearer's apprehension, were he of a quality either learned or unlearned The capacity of the learned he gave satisfaction unto, to the unlearned did give both a satisfaction and a capacity to be satisfied He took up the knowledge

of no cause in matter of right, that fell within the question of his office, upon credit, for he would have the parties themselves. He was a discommodity sometimes to the lawyer, but a help to the law, for he brought many adversaries the direct way to an agreement, and saved law the travail of going about. There was no difficulty of getting access to him but through the press of suitors. He did help most men to speak to him, for before they had delivered themselves of half their meaning his apprehension was at the end of it. A mean man could not be discountenanced before him, for his courtesy stood before his greatness. He took not the name of God in vain in a promise, for his promises were limited to good ends, and so far he performed them. He gave much every year away to keep men from bribing him, for he sent presents back again when they might be suspected of corruption. He was ignorant in no state so much as in his own, which shows he regarded above his private, the truth whereof appeareth in one of his servants'¹ ability and faithfulness, which (he acknowledged) had repaired his private estate, when by his continual labours in the affairs of his office it was neglected almost into ruin. He was not covetous unless it were for the King, for he parted voluntarily with a great benefit to enlarge the King's revenues.² He had the most safe policy in him that can be in an eminent subject for he did not affect popularity, and therein he was as faithful to the State as to his own ends, for popular love belongeth only to Majesty. He was the best precedent of a public minister that a king can propose to be followed, for he carried his counsels of moderation like the king's thoughts, so reservedly to him that every effect of graciousness was (as it always ought to be) attributed to sovereignty, and those of justice so openly, that severity was accounted his own³, whereby the people understanding him only in what they love not to feel, it grew to be a cause of their malice to him, yet he lost not the reputation they owed him, for when any change happened in the body or head of the State, subject to the confusion of advice by the uncertainty of issue, they distrusted their own affections and believed in his judgement, putting themselves into his file, and following with such a suddenness of resolution, as if they had been born to say, 'This man doth not err.' So powerful is the wisdom of a counsellor, that makes it one of his grounds to hold the love of hate of the people vain for which they can give no reason. And then opinion of his understanding took great pity of their own ignorance, for it was a study of his providence to suppose every point of State into all the exigents it might be necessarily induced, and carried an appointment ever about him to secure the success. To know him is as much as need be required to exemplify a statesman into sufficiency, for it was the fortune of his employments to have an honourable practice in affairs of all kinds that can be incident to a State, but only civil war, wherein his judgement was the more worthy because he prevented it. He affected so much the act of worth above the name, that I dare persuade myself some advices which in private were his wisdom have come forth another man's. He never wrote down an injury done him in red ink, the aims he wore were only defensive, which (nevertheless) might happen to do hurt when they did no wrong, for no guard can be maintained without offending if it be violently intruded on. He did

¹ 'Dorckcombe' (note in margin)

² 'Wards' (*ibid.*)

³ See *Table Talk*, No 182 (below, p 499)

favours to many, and received favours but of one, besides his parents, for he was beholden to no other subject for his advancement. He depended immediately upon majesty, with (out) holding upon any second greatness, which is an honour the most noble to a man's self and the surest to his king. He was the enjoyer of one happiness that all men naturally seek to retire into, but seldom opens to any, and the most uneasily to a statesman, he met with the conversation of a man whom he dared believingly call his private friend.¹ His own plenty could not make him insensible of other men's wants, for in time of dearth he sent his officers into markets, to give dearly to the seller and to sell cheaply to the buyer. He was a profitable master to every (one) of his servants that did not abuse his bounty. His religious faith is set down in his testament as well as any holy knowledge can deliver it, and he that will not believe the words of a dying man in a perfect strength of mind, deserves not to be carried with credit to the grave. His making ready to die was the greatest blessing of his life to him, for he never went to bed without cares till then, but had alarms everywhere to wake him, save in his conscience, when death came to be his business he was in peace, and so died.

He that shall succeed him in his place may be ambitious to follow him in his way, for the honour of this transcended the dignity of the others. All the discouragement he can meet with in his passage will be through their constructions, whose breasts are too narrow to entertain so spreading merit, yet it should be no strong impediment because (for aught I hear) it hath not pleased God to give any of his detractors the wit to express themselves well against him.

C TABLE TALK

Builey MS, Nos 1-34, p 255 'Nos 35-145, pp 82-6. The following curious notes, which from their character I call *Table Talk*, occur in a MS book to which frequent reference has been made, and from which a number of Sir Henry Wotton's letters have already been printed. This volume resembles the commonplace books of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries which are to be found in many libraries, and contains several of the letters and documents that are generally included in these collections—Sir Philip Sidney's letter to Queen Elizabeth, on the Alençon marriage (p 237), Queen Elizabeth's letter to Sir Amyas Paulet (p 139), the letter to Lord Monteagle which led to the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot (p 103), Sir Walter Raleigh's apology for the Guiana expedition (p 92), &c. These documents are enumerated by Mr Alfred J. Horwood, who was sent in 1878 to examine the MSS at Builey-on-the-Hill, in his report printed by the Historical MSS Commission (Seventh Report, p 516). Mr Horwood also perceived that among these papers were some that concerned Wotton, and his remark that the volume contained 'copies of letters and papers seemingly by and to Sir Henry Wotton' (p 512) led to my examination of the volume, for which every facility was kindly granted me by the owner, the late Mr G. H. Finch. In addition to a number of poems and letters of John Donne (which had escaped Mr Horwood's notice, and which I hope will be shortly printed) I found copies, made by various hands, of nineteen letters and dispatches which, although unsigned, I was able to identify as Wotton's², and a large number of documents concerning Wotton's

¹ 'Suffolke' (note in margin)

² Among these the most important are Wotton's dispatch of Feb 18, 1606 (p 48), the original of which is in the Record Office (*ante*, i, p 342), his letter to Edmondes of May 18, 1607 (p 69, see *ante*, i, p 389), the letters to Ferdinand I

various occupations and interests during his first embassy at Venice¹, as well as extracts from the letters of the three other resident English ambassadors of the time, Sir Thomas Edmondes at Brussels, Sir George Carew in France, and Sir Charles Cornwallis in Spain. The volume also contains a copy of Wotton's poem, *The Character of a Happy Life* (p 278), written about 1613 (*ante*, 1, p 129), a copy of the Treaty of Xanten (p 197) negotiated by Wotton in 1614, and of his own inscription (p 40, see *ante*, 1, p 193). None of the entries are in Wotton's writing, several of the entries appear to be in the hand of William Parkhuist, one of his secretaries, and on p 40 the name 'Guglielmus Parkhuist' appears. It is plain, from the number of documents connected with Wotton, that the commonplace book belonged to him, or to some one connected with him, and that in it were copied many of the most important papers connected with his first embassy at Venice. The following collection of anecdotes and sayings may be safely regarded, I think, as notes of 'table talk' made by some one in Wotton's house in Venice—the frequent references to the assassination of Henry IV (Nos 36, 39, 40, 45, 46, 75, 76) would fix the date at the summer or autumn of 1610, and there is no reference to any event of a subsequent period. While it would be unwise and perhaps unjust to attribute all the remarks to Wotton himself a number of them are undoubtedly his, Nos 90 and 97 appear in his letters, a saying very like No 30 is attributed by Izaak Walton, in the *Compleat Angler*, to 'a man of great observation', Nos 115, 117, 118 are remarks that had been made to him, and there are many references to persons who were his friends or in whom he took an interest—Queen Elizabeth and King James, the Earls of Essex and Salisbury, Casaubon, the Doge Donato, Diodati, Sarpi, and Fulgenzio. For convenience of reference I have numbered the sayings

- 1 Every man a letter beyond himself is a fool
- 2 God hath made one work of substance, and man hath made another of art and opinion
- 3 It is the wholesomest getting a stomach by walking in your own grounds, and the thriftiest, by laying it on another man's table
- 4 Atheist(s) in affliction like blind beggars, forced to ask, but know not of whom
- 5 There are not two such acres in all the country as the Exchange and Westminster Hall
- 6 Women are not such tender fruits, but that they bear as well upon beds as plasht against the walls
- 7 Christmas Lords only know their ends
- 8 Our carts are never worse employed than when they are waited on by coaches
- 9 All women are for one use, though in divers titles
- 10 Next to no wife and children, your own wife and children are best pastime, another's wife and your children worse, your wife and another's children worst
- 11 Many statesmen hunt their own fortunes, and are often at a fault, favourites court her, and are ever in view

(p 103, see *ante*, 1, p 387), and to the Marquis of Hamilton (p 58, see *ante*, 1, p 487)

¹ Among these may be mentioned a letter from Queen Anne, wife of James I, recommending Wotton to the Doge Grimani (p 41), James I's letter to Wotton (p 42, see *ante*, 1, p 353 n), Lord Cecil's letter to the English merchants in Italy (p 127, see *ante*, 1, p 69), and Biondi's letter about the Project of Venice (p 106, see *ante*, 1, p 93)

12 Court motions are up and down, ours ¹ circular, theirs, like squibs, cannot stay at the highest, nor return to the place whence they rose from, but vanish and wear out in the air, ours like millwheels, busy without changing, they fortunes, we vicissitudes

13 A soul in a fat body lies soft, and is loth to rise

14 Flattery is increased from a pillow under the elbow, to a bed under the whole body

15 He that sleeps in the cradle of security, sins without snoring

16 Wit and a woman are two frail things, and both the frailer by concurring

17 That money is nothing but a thing that art hath turned up trump

18 That chambering is esteemed a civiler quality than playing at tables, though serving men use both

19 The best bed-fellow for all times in the year is a bed without a fellow

20 Sleep is death's picture drawn to the life, or the twilight of life and death

21 Often sleeping are so many trials to die, that at the last we may do it perfectly

22 Few dare write the true news of their chambers

23 Justices of the Peace have the felling of the underwoods, but the Lords have the great falls

24 Jesuits are like apicocks heretofore, that is, here and there one succored in a great man's house and cost dear now you may have them for nothing in every cottage

25 Every great vice is a pike in a pond, it devours virtues and less vices

26 Sentences in authors, like hairs in a horse-tail, concur in one root of beauty and strength, but being plucked out one by one, serve only for sponges and snares

27 Want and abundance equally inform a rectified mind from the world, as cotton and stones are both castings for a hawk

28 I am sure there is none of the forbidden fruit left, because we all daily eat of it

29 Your best three-piled mischief comes from beyond sea, and rides post through the country, but his errand is at Court

30 Many think there are as many miseries beyond happiness, as on this side of it ²

31 Truth is every man's by asserting

32 Time was never but a minute old

33 The wisdom of action is discretion, the knowledge or contemplation is truth, the knowledge of action is man

34 He that first considers what should be the latter, makes use of what is

35 Leagues and contracts of Princes last no longer than the causes for which they were made Mach ³

36 The Prince of Parma, of Orange, Sixtus V, Leo XI another

¹ Ambassadors' (?)

² Cf. *Complete Angler*, Pt I, chap 21 'For it was wisely said, by a man of great observation, "That there be as many miseries beyond riches, as on this side of them"'

³ Machiavelli (?)

Pope, Prince of Savoy, Princess of Piombino, Henry III, Henry IV—all since 1593¹ murdered by Spaine

37 All States are ungrateful, and so then ministers

38 The Span(ish) ambas(sador) in Ve(nice)², hearing of the French K(ing's) death, said he deserved it for assisting heretics

39 Monsieur Moulin³ in Orlea(n)s, being demanded what he thought of the K(ing's) death, answered *O Monsieur, c'est à nous de mettre les dents sur la bouche et contempler les grandeurs de Dieu avec vénération et silence*

40 The murderer must be wrought to the fact either by great promises of estate, or pardons and indulgences, that is by Spa(in) or priests, they stirred by helping the Princes of Ger(many)⁴ All conclude that the Prince of Condy,⁵ besides his disability in estate for rewards, his capacity and courage would never have carried him into such a resolution

41 The 16th of May the Bishop of Feltre⁶ was made *Vescovo della Signoria*, protesting he would lay aside all respects of Rome and dedicate himself to the Prince, which confirmation was commanded to be read in Senate

42 The Prince Donato very often used to amb(assadors) this compliment, *Noi ringratiamo la Signoria Vostra della buona disseminazione dell'honore che suo Re ci porta*

43 Sixtus IV built the *bordello* in Rome which yieldeth £4,000 *per annum* A whore there cannot turn to an honest life without paying so much to have her name razed out of the book as it cost to enroll

44 The *cameriere* of Contarini,⁷ at his return to Venice, being asked what he had seen in England (said), after he had received much courtesy, &c, he had seen *un'altra cosa che non si poteva dire per essere heresia, in somma*, he saw a picture in London of the Pope at stool, dropping medals, mitres, beads, with many card(inals) and priests holding up their hands, at which the Ve(netians) laughed exceedingly

45 Pere Cotton⁸ receiving the King's heart (who built a college for that purpose) and kissing it, said he would as willingly kiss the K(ing) of England's —

46 It was written from Bologna that the image there of St Denis wept three whole days before the murder

47 The Queen proceeded against the Earl of Essex by his own uncle⁹ and nearest allies, for if they accuse him and find him faulty, the people must needs think him so

¹ 1593 must be a mistake for 1583, the Duke of Palma died a natural death Dec 8, 1592, William of Orange was assassinated July 10, 1584, Sixtus V died Aug 27, 1590, Leo XI April 27, 1605, Henry III was killed accidentally Aug 2, 1589, Henry IV was assassinated May 14, 1610

² The Marquis of Bedmar

³ See No 117

⁴ i.e. by the action of Henry IV in the Juliers Cleves controversy

⁵ Henry II, Prince de Condé, 1588-1646

⁶ Agostino Mocenigo, appointed Bishop of Feltre, March 29, 1610

⁷ Francesco Contarini, extraordinary ambassador to England, 1609 (*ante*, i, pp 106, 489)

⁸ Pierre Cotton, Henry IV's confessor

⁹ Sir William Knollys (1547-1632), first Earl of Banbury, 1626 was one of the eighteen Commissioners at the first trial of his nephew the Earl of Essex on June 5, 1600, and was sent to Essex House on Feb 8, 1601, with the Lord Keeper, the Lord Chief Justice, and the Earl of Worcester

48 Christening, a ceremony of the Church, for witness the Jews have none, only they bring their children to the synagoge to be examined that they have <been> brought up in the knowledge of the Law, &c, so they leave them to their own hazard

49 The Q<ueen's> farewell to my Lord of Essex in a voyage to Calles,¹ that he should use her men like a match that once set on fire burns to the end Her purpose then was that what he should get, she would keep for debts

50 The Duke <of> Florence² seldom came where his brethren were, for avoiding the people's comparisons I may say most Princes use the like

51 A priest near St Hieronimo³ in Ven<ice>, sent for a spy into Germany, married there by dispensation, and after three <years> returned into Italy to his cure

52 *Dio mi guardi dall' entrata d' un francese et dall' uscita d' un spagnuolo*

53 An objection being made against the acting of a tragedy in Christ<mas> before the Queen, it was answered that 'choice was made to put your Majesty in mind that since your reign, tragedies were from the State got upon the stage'

54 A K<ing> should use his prerogative as rarely as God miracles, for his laws should be as the laws of nature⁴

55 A prisoner in Venice rejoiced when he heard Sixtus V was made Pope, for 'sure' (saith he) I shall now be free for he me when I was a boy' The Senate of Rome made a decree, after his statue was pulled down in the Campidolio, that no statue should be made of any Pope living Bellarmine saith of him *Quantum ego sapio aut credo, est apud inferos*

56 Pasquin He died Spanish and lived French

57 The F<rench> K<ing> by his ambassador⁵ signified to the State of Ve<nice> in their differences that he had given order for the levying of 10,000 *fant* 4,000 horse, and that he would be ready to help his friends, but he could not declare himself, because that so he in the negotiation should appear interested, when he desired to seem neutral

58 Contafieno in Se<nate> '*volevamo dar il rosto, cio e l'entrata, et non ha voluto, poi fumo, la dignità, ne anche al fino il spiedo, il governo spirituale Hora, se tutto questo non vuol contentarlo, mettiamo le cose in una vageia et abandoniamo la patria*'

59 My Lord of E<sex>, after being made Councillor,⁶ lost the Q<ueen's> favour, for before she made him controller of her Council, showing them through him her power Sir W Ra<leigh> refused it

60 The Q<ueen> was wont to call Sir R<obert> C<ecil> the register of her remembrances

¹ Cadiz

² Ferdinand I

³ S Giulamo, near Wotton's residence, 1605-10

⁴ A saying of James I 'Neither can I ever leese out of my remembrance what I heard your Majesty deliver in a great cause of judicature that Kings ruled by their laws as God did by the laws of nature, and ought as rarely to put in use their supreme prerogative as God did his power of working miracles' (Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*, Bk II, Ellis Spedding, III, p 429)

⁵ De Friesnes-Canaye

⁶ Feb 23, 1593

- 61 *Dux Venetus ordinatum non potestatum capit principatum*
 62 Errors like rivers, the further they run, the more they increase
 63 In things we know, we should not do as those that fall into waters, catch hold of the next bough, but search
 64 Out of arithmetic sprung music, which is but figures put into sounds, and out of geometry sprung perspective, which is lines put into beams
 65 *L'affetto et l'obbligo non admettono dilazione, ma solo l'interesse ricerca l'occasione le consulte*
 66 About a picture of my Lord of Essex which Bassadonna¹ had was written *Conservum en age diem*
 67 A preacher begging alms told the audience that if they would have new matter they must give him money for new books, 'I would have you charitable as they of Mantua and Naples, of Rome I say nothing, for there *vogliono essere serviti et ringratiati*
 68 A Venetian ambassador, when he saw Phillip the Second wore covers over his sleeves, and heard him say he was poor, answered, 'Your Majesty's wisdom is better known than your poverty'
 69 L V offered in the Venetian troubles 3,000 loaves a month for a year to be given at the doors of such poor women whose husbands or children went to the war
 70 It was unlikely that the Venetians would apprehend the Prince of Conde² for the French King, for Princes seldom deliver fugitives. The Venetians would not deliver the Marquis Sharra³ to the Pope nor Don Sebastian⁴ to the King of Spain, nor the French King, Ant Peres,⁵ nor the Archduke Owen,⁶ nor the King of England
 71 Discourse with all men as near as you can in their own faculties, for so you may increase your knowledge by them and gain their friendships
 72 In reading of history, a soldier should draw the platform of battles he meets with, plant the squadrons and order the whole frame as he finds it written, so he shall print it firmly in his mind and apt his mind for actions. A politician should find the characters of personages and apply them to some of the Court he lives in, which will likewise confirm his memory and give scope and matter for conjecture and invention. A friend to confer readings together most necessary

¹ Zuane Bassadonna (*ante*, 1, p. 299 n.)

² The Prince de Conde fled from Brussels to Milan in 1610, and remained in Italy till after the death of Henry IV. For an attempt to cause his arrest in Venetian territory, see *Cal. S. P. Ven.*, xi, pp. 453-4, 457.

³ Marco Sciarra (*ante*, 1, p. 432)

⁴ One of the many impostors who claimed to be Don Sebastian of Portugal appeared in Venice in 1598. Expelled from Venice, he was surrendered to Spain by the Grand Duke of Tuscany in 1601 (*Cal. S. P. Ven.*, ix, pp. 354, 449).

⁵ Antonio Perez (*ante*, 1, p. 285)

⁶ Hugh Owen, a Jesuit implicated in the Gunpowder Plot who fled to Brussels. Sir Thomas Edmondes, the English ambassador, was commissioned to demand that he should be arrested and sent to England (*Winwood Mem.*, ii, p. 188).

⁷ Cf. Bacon's *Essay on Discourse*, published in 1597. 'He that questioneth much shall learn much, and content much, specially if he apply his questions to the skill of the persons of whom he asketh, for he shall give them occasion to please themselves in speaking, and himself shall continually gather knowledge' (Ellis Spedding, vi, p. 565).

73 The F<rench> K<ing>, after he is dead for certain days, hath all legal ceremonies done to him, his table furnished, his physicians feeling his pulse. He mends, and at last he falls dangerously sick, and surely he will die.

74 By the Turks' law all contracts written in Latin may be broken.

75 A party in Senate, presently after the death of the F<rench> K<ing> said that many of the K<ing's> pensioners being free, none should work any of them to the service of the State without first moving the Senate, and giving knowledge of his person, for inconveniences which might follow after any one that should offer his service to the State, and then the Senate dislike his person.

76 Presently upon the K<ing> of F<rance> his death a miracle noised in Venice, and told by public authority for diverting the people's whisperings.

77 Any Friar may quit his monastery that pretendeth his father unable to live without the son's labour.

78 Masters of houses <are> like false pillars, which seem to hold up the house, when indeed the foundation holds up them.

79 The Turke hath a close grate with a curtain in a room where he may hear what passeth between all ambassadors and his vizier, so as the vizier, knowing not when he will be there, answers always as if in presence of his master.

80 The officers of the Turke in their prayers call on Mahomet that they may receive many gifts that day, knowing the great Signor gave them that office to make themselves rich.

81 A gentleman of Naples, begging a pension of Charles V, and amongst other services of his ancestors, telling the Empeior that his father had been Viceroy in Sicily, &c, but left nothing behind him, answered it was his fault, 'for I made him Viceroy that he might make himself rich.'

82 At Luca every hour is rung an *Ave Maria* bell, and the answer to what o'clock is it? is *sono sonate le 5 Ave Marie*.

83 Signor Hercule de Salice¹. 'That when the league was made between the 17 Cantons Swizers, 3 of Grisons, and 3 of Valetia, at the meeting (himself one) on each amb<assador's> trencher was set 19 glasses of each to drink to the continuation of the business.

84 *Illustrissimo* Nani², Ve<netian> ambassador, when the Pope told him that he would make his State sweat for it, answered that his State would then wipe it off with his *rochetto*.

85 Cavalier Guar. The Court of Rome is like the sea in all things, with this exception, that he that sails well in the one, and he that does ill in the other, arrive best at their ports.

86 The Jes<uits> after vespers say always divers *Ave Marias ad intentionem Rectoris*.

87 Charles V. That the diets of Germany were like *parti di vnpere*, the new and young did always eat up the old.

88 In Naples the general of the camp permitteth a bank-master for all kind of gaming, and any one that will venture living in the galleys shall have money lent him upon condition that he repay it at such a

¹ Hercule de Salice (*ante*, II, p. 149)

² Agostino Nani, Venetian ambassador at Rome, 1605-6

time, or remain there to work it out, so that many venture for a fortune. If they lose they know the worst, if they win they repay the debt. By this means the city is rid of many vagabonds, the galleys furnished, and all without distaste of the people.

89 The Count Olivares¹, Spa(nish) amb(assador) to Sixtus V, who said to him in a bugness that he did not believe him, 'if your Holiness do not believe me, yet make as if you did, for if I say false, it is not you that must correct me, but my master.'

90 The Pope Paulus V, when Fulgentio preached at Venice, told Contareni, Ven(etian) ambassador, that he was informed that in Ven(ice) false doctrine was suffered to be preached, and so willed him to warn the State thereof. He ans(wered) his avises went otherwise, that Fulgentio only exhorted men to the reading of the Scriptures. The Pope ans(wered) '*Et non sapete voi che il tanto leggere la scrittura guasti la religione Catholica?*'²

91 The Bishop of Philadelphia in Venice, being asked whether he had received the Pope's Jubilee of 1608, answered he had not received any these 1607 years.³

92 A courtier to the F(rench) K(ing) that his ears received truths as his chequers received his *datu*, that is, one for an hundredth.

93 The King of Swethland's son, being feasted with a dance, a gentlewoman taketh him forth. The Q(ueen) wherewith pulleth him back and said, '*Nonne admodum procar est puella quae filium regis ausa est sumere?*' He suddenly answered, '*Immo potius benigna dea quae non dedignata est filium hominis.*'

94 An advertisement was brought from Rome by a priest concerning the F(rench) K(ing's) safety, and presented to the F(rench) ambassador in Venice, with a prayer enclosed in it that all the while he should have it about him, should be as good as pistol proof to defend him.

95 Max(imilian) I was wont to say that he was K(ing) of Kings, the K(ing) of Spa(in) the K(ing) of men, the K(ing) of France, the K(ing) of asses.

96 In the banishment of the Jesuits from Venice, there was sent authority from the Pope to a gentlewoman Jesuitical to confess other women, and to give them medals, which they should receive instead of the sacrament, and have like effect.

97 Before men leap into great businesses, they must see to have a good foundation and ground to rise from, as one to fall on.⁴

98 Sometimes flashes are flung abroad of purpose, that haply lying still, would in time kindle of themselves.

99 The *Sposa* of Florence⁵ on the way had her meat served into her chamber first by men to the door, then by gentlewomen to her table.

¹ Count Olivares (1580-1590), resident ambassador at Rome in the pontificate of Sixtus V.

² See *ante*, I, p. 452.

³ See *ante*, I, pp. 436-7.

⁴ Cf. *ante*, I, p. 382, 'Be the minds of princes never so well prepared, and the love between them never so great, yet before they leap into any important treaty one with another, it seemeth as necessary to have a good ground from whence to rise, as another to fall upon.'

⁵ Maria, Madelina, sister of Ferdinand of Styria, married Prince Cosmo of Tuscany in 1608 (*ante*, I, pp. 426 n, 434).

100 Causabong to Rhony¹ presenting his Athaneus, being Greeke he said he would none of it, he understood it not *Ca* 'Your Honour's son notwithstanding doth' 'Fool,' said Ro 'it is not fit my son should know more than I,' so he went fretting away and sware *per Dieu je te farai si noir*, &c

101 Don Pedro² in '88, being asked why he did not run away when he might, said 'I could not *per la negra reputation d'un soldato*'

102 The Duke of Nevers³ to Villeroy⁴, that if he ceased not complaining of his government, he would kill him with the spurs he wore

103 The Pope by executing Fulg(enzio)⁵ showed to the world how he would use the Vene(tians) were they in his power, renewed the quarrel wherein he lost such reputation, feared the rest of the Ve(netian) Theologues, accused himself of treachery, and lastly confirmed the opinion the world hath of him for a most unconcileable man, who never since his Popedom hath vouchsafed to look upon his brother's wife, because through her means his brother refused once to procure him a sum of money

104 Sir F Bacon in Parliament, after a very fair speech made, said 'I should willingly assent to your former speech, if we were not come hither rather for physick than music'

105 In difficult times States send into the ears of the public toys, miracles, &c, as mariners, when they fear whales, throw forth empty barrels

106 Boterg, a Jesuit of the City of Bene, of whom it is said that he was the only *luomo da bene* among them all

107 Fulgentio burned at Rome in July, 1610, for denying the Pope to be the head of the Church, and a Capuchin then saved, though before condemned to have two wives

108 Since the example of Alexander VI, and then Bianca Capella, the use of poisoning is lost in Italy—not to give place to a better custom, but to a more convenient vice, the stiletto

109 Sir Ro(bert) Cecil accused to his Ma(jesty) by Udal, and the K(ing) telling him of it, burst forth into a rash, 'By God, I am ashamed to be beholding unto your Ma(jesty) for not believing that base rascal'

110 My Lord Montjoy⁶, reprehended by the K(ing) for taking tobacco, answered, 'By that your Ma(jesty) shall have a little more practice in England, <you> will find greater faults to pardon amongst us'

111 The Signoria of Ve(nice) farmeth 2/3rds of their *datu*, the other part they keep to themselves for their officers' greater respect

112 The Spanish ambassador needed no spectacles in Venice, for sure States represent most things far bigger than their truths

113 'The night heats in Venice, for your gross bodies retain heat longer, as wood than stiauw, so that air, thicked by vapours from the

¹ For Casaubon's relations with Rosny (Duc de Sully) see *Pattison*, pp 234-6

² Perhaps Don Pedro de Valdez, commander of the squadron of Andalusia in the Armada When his ship the *Capitana* was disabled, Don Pedro de Valdez refused to leave her, and was taken prisoner by Drake

³ Louis de Gonzague, Duc de Nevers (1589-1595), Governor of Champagne

⁴ Nicolas de Neufville, Seigneur de Villeroy (1542-1617), French secretary of state

⁵ *Ante*, i, p 496

⁶ Charles Blount (1568-1606), eighth Baron Mountjoy, first Earl of Devonshire

waters, retained heat after sun-setting Besides with the sun, winds do surely abate

114 *Fatali inadvertenze* The League of Cambray against the Venetians The Spanish fleet <in> '88, so little thought on that eight commissioners were then in the Low Co<untries> treating a league

115 Anteus, when he touched the earth, recovered his strength, so will you, when these great affairs that hold you up abroad, suffer you to touch your natural ground To SH H W

116 The Duke<s> of Ferrara preceded in Italie except with Venice, they took their name from gaining the Castle of Este They were before called Marchesi di Borgo and by Ferd<inand> III Emp<eror> intituled Dukes of Modena, then by Paolo II Granduke of Ferrara, who was the first except Milan that had such a title in Italie The difference betwixt Florence and Ferrara for precedency grew from a distinction between Dukes of provinces and cities, one of Tuscany, the other of Ferrara

117 Molin to SH H W of the death of the F<rench> K<ing> 'O *Monsieur, c'est à nous de mettre les doigts au bouche et contempler les grandes œuvres de dieu avec vénération et silence*'¹

118 My L<ord> T<reasurer> to SH H W concerning his following the King, that he must not by too much sedulity make himself cheap, nor by too much absence fall into forgetfulness

119 Diodati of Padre Paolo, *uomo cubiculare*, on what side soever he fell stood still

120 The Prince of Venice in this 'like the sun, doth effect all his purposes *in radio obliquo*, not by direct authority

121 The religion of Malta is to destroy the Turks and infidels, yet the R<oman> canons condemneth him of irregularity that any way sheddeth blood though by casualty In confession, a person for theft, though from a few, must restore or not be pardoned, they of Malta steal by authority

122 The Lord Treasurer Burleigh, speaking of a King's authority in Parliament, saith 'I know not that thing a King cannot do in a course of Parliament unless it be a miracle'

123 Cheri yielded to the D<uke> of Savoy with condition that they should hold the 1, 2, and 3 appellations, the last to the Senate at Turin, likewise the D<uke> shall never abide longer than three days there, if his occasions urged, four, and his Court must go out at one gate, and enter at another, like that of Barcelona When the K<ing> comes, the gates are shut against him, the porter asks, 'Who's there?' 'The K<ing> of Barcelona,' 'Then you know,' says the porter, 'what the K<ing> must do,' so he puts off one shoe and asks leave to come in

124 Judea, called Stallabium, for a colony of horse the Romans kept there The Castle whereat the Consul lived, at the fall of the Empire, was possessed by the Governor, and he subdued the city The inhabitants afterwards overcame him, and the chief governor for ever after was ordained, in hate of that castle being destroyed, to go up to the place and throw a stone into the Doira

125 Thebe, a Queen of Lombardy, had Corduba for her dowry, being two miles from Judea, who founding a monastery there, ordained that the mass-bell should ring so long as she might make herself ready, and come

¹ Cf No 39

thither from Corduba, in memory of which Q(ueen) the monastery continueth still that order of ringing

126 The fertility of Piemont may be imagined by the nearness of colonies, Jurea, Turin, Polenze, of hoise, besides the *marcones prefecti limitandi* of Monferat, Salusti, Scena, and divers others all within the space of twenty miles

127 Too great benefits from Princes to subjects are dangerous, they make the mind capable of merit more than duty

128 *Consilia senum hastas iuvenum esse*

129 Princes must choose their instruments *par negotius*, not *supra*, that are only theirs without friends or power

130 Acts that fill Princes' coffers are often the ruin of their first inventors

131 Princes' minds and favours (are) more transitory than others, sooner cloyed, and larger, so they easily overlook their first elections, having no other necessity in the fastness of their affections than their own satisfaction

132 Denials from Princes must be supplemented with gracious usage, that though they cure not the sore, yet they abate the sense of it But best it is all favours come directly from themselves, denials and things of bitterness from their ministers

133 Great must be the art of that man, that keeps himself afloat in the stream of Princes' favour, who effects it must only intend the honour and service of his master, despoiled of all other respects, transform himself into his inward inclination, work into necessity of employment by undergoing the offices of most secrecy, either of public service or private pleasures, beat he must down competitors of worth by the hands of others, conceal his own greatness in public with a feigned humility, what in potency or government he effecteth, let it rather seem the work of others than appetite of his own

134 H(enry) III, a famine so violent that the King was forced to direct writs to all the sheriffs *ad pauperes mortuos sepeliendos fumis media deficientes*¹ (Sic)

135 H(enry) III was complained of for his private electing Chief Justice, Chancellor, Treasurer that should be chosen they by the common counsel of the realm²

136 The Bishop of Winchester denied delivering of the great seal but in Parliament where he received it³

137 *Miles literatus*, or *clericus militaris*, Sir priest

138 Experience is dearly bought when it never learns to do but by undoing, and never sees order but when disorder shows it

139 No man's bounty is much loved that is not merely future

140 H(enry) III for want, and rather than call a Parliament, pawneth Gascoine, his imperial crown, jewels, and when his own pawns fails pawns the jewels and ornaments of St Edward's shrine, and in the

¹ Probably the famine of 1258 (Matthew Paris, ed Luard, v, p 702)

² *Ibid*, v, p 7

³ Ralph Neville, Bishop of Chichester, who was elected Bishop of Winchester 1238, but Henry III refused his assent He became Chancellor in 1226 by appointment of the common council of the kingdom, and in 1236 refused to resign his office without a requisition from the body that had appointed him (*Ibid*, iii, p 364)

end, wanting means for diet (as Paris saith) he, his Queen and childien
*cum Abbatibus et Prioribus satis humilibus hospitria quaerunt et prandia*¹

141 H(emy) III, a Parliament at Oxford² chose 24 comites to govern the kingdom, 12 by them(selve)s, 12 by the King, afterward Montfort,³ Gloster⁴ and Despencer⁵ at another Parliament resigned the authority of 24, and made themselves a Triumvirate,⁶ each one of them aiming to be a *perpetuus dictator*

142 Men must beware of running down steep hills with weighty bodies, they once in motion, *suo feruntur pondere*, steps are not then voluntary

143 A gracious kind of pardoning, not to take notice of offences

144 Tyrants shed blood for pleasure, kings for necessity

145 Immoderate liberality is a weak means to win love, for it loseth more in the gathering than gaineth in the giving

¹ 'Et iam cum abbatibus, prioribus, clericis, et viis satis humilibus hospitria quaesivit et prandia' (Matthew Paris, ed Luard, v, p 199)

² The 'mad' Parliament at Oxford in 1258

³ Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester (1208?-1265)

⁴ Gilbert de Clare, eighth Earl of Gloucester (1243-1295)

⁵ Hugh le Despencer (d. 1265), Justiciary of England

⁶ In 1264, after the battle of Lewes

LETTERS OF SIR HENRY WOTTON, PRINTED IN THE *RELIQUIAE WOTTONIANAE*, OMITTED IN THE PRESENT EDITION

1 March 12, 1591, to Lord Zouche *Reliq*, 4th ed, p 631

2 March 26, 1591, to Lord Zouche *Reliq*, 4th ed, p 634

3 July 31, 1592, to Lord Zouche *Reliq*, 4th ed, p 679

4 Sept 12, 1592, to Lord Zouche *Reliq*, p 692

5 Sept 17, 1620, to Conway and Weston *Reliq*, 3rd and 4th eds, p 509
See ii, p 191 n

6 Oct 20, 1620, to Calvert *Reliq*, 1st ed, p 467 3rd and 4th eds,
 p 293 *See* ii, p 193 n

7 March 18, 1621, to Buckingham? *Reliq*, 1st ed, p 508 3rd and 4th
 eds, p 302 *See* ii, p 210 n

8 May 10, 1622, to Calvert *Reliq*, 3rd ed, p 536 *See* ii, p 238 n

Portions of Wotton's newsletters to Lord Zouche, long lists of the 'occurrences of the week', have also been omitted, these will be found in the *Reliquiae*, 4th ed, pp 589-91, 593-6, 597-8, 604-5, 607-8, 612-15, 615-17, 621-3, 644-6, 658-62, 665-7, 668-70, 671-2, 674-6, 677-8, 682-3, 686-7, 688-90, 694-5

GLOSSARY OF ARCHAIC, OBSOLETE, AND RARE WORDS USED BY SIR HENRY WOTTON

The words in italics are words not found elsewhere, or familiar words first used by Wotton. The definitions are for the most part those given by the *New English Dictionary* and the *Century Dictionary*.

- Abone**, to make good, 11 224
Abord, arrival, 1 414
Aborted, brought to a premature or fruitless termination, 11 36
Abversion, dissuasion, 11 400
Acceptation, acceptance, 1 383 468
Accepton, acceptance, 11 356
Addo *se*, to lay upon, 1 455
Affiance, confidence, assurance, 11 64
Agone, ago, 1 416
Alholantyde, All Hallows, 1 486
Amortized, held in commission, 11 318
Amusement, distraction, deception, 1 326, 432
Apern, apion, 1 415
Apostamated, affected with an apostem, corrupted, 1 395
Appertinent, appuitenant, 1 298
Approachment, approach, 11 166
Approvement, approval, 11 172, 304
Apricocks, apricots, 11 491
Apt, to fit, prepare, 11 494
Armada, fleet, 11 159
Arthritical, arthritic, 11 338
Artisan, one who practises an art, 11 343
Ascertain, to make oneself certain, 1 240
Assassinate, assassin, 1 407, 408 n, 11 371
At a squat, quiet, suspended, 11 280
Aversation, aversion, 1 379

Baloon, a game played with an inflated ball, 11 157 n
Banded, banded, 11 381
Bangling, squandering, 11 228
Beaten, experienced, 1 340
Bewray, to betray, 1 327, 11 92, 111-12, 205, 211, 218, 267
Blanch, to pass without notice, 11 322, 382
Blanked, nonplussed, disconcerted, 1 238
Bragg, lively or boastful, 1 381, 11 265

Bruit, rumour, tidings, 1 422, 11 64, 70, 241
Brusk, brusque, 11 410

Capitulate, to make the subject of negotiation, 1 364, 11 157
Caring, taking care of, 1 235
Cast, a couple, 11 330
Cease, to put a stop to, 11 165, 251
Censure, to judge, to give an opinion of, 1 339, 349
Chambering, lewdness, 11 491
Chambers, pieces of ordnance, 11 83
Chamlet, a cheap stuff of wool and silk, 11 211
Chaus, chiaus, Turkish messenger or envoy, 11 15, 142
Choice, special value, estimation, 11 315
Close, an enclosure, 11 340
Closter, a measure of wood, 1 249
Collaudation, praise, commendation, 11 89
Commercement, commerce, 1 322, 388, 11 108, 249
Compear, to appear, 11 199
Complement, the action of constructing or building up, 11 332
Complements, compliments, ceremonies, 11 328
Comply, to use compliments or ceremonies, 11 208
Concoction, digestion, 11 186, 387
Concur, to participate in, 1 391
Concu, to add (?), 1 460
Conducts, conduits, 11 101
Confer, to contribute, 11 212
Confiner, one living on the confines, a neighbour, 11 298
Confiscable, liable to confiscation, 11 198
Congeniality, similarity of tastes, 11 205
Conoscible, cognoscable, 1 414
Consistorial, of or belonging to a consistory, 1 346,

Convented, summoned, 11 28
 Convention, summoning, 11 232
 Corbet, to curvet, 11 28
 Correspondent, responsive, 1 383
 Corroborate, to invigorate, 11 394
 Counter-buff, a blow in the contrary direction, 11 17
 Crazedness, ill health, 1 459 n
 Crazy, ill, infirm, 11 107
 Cremisin, crimson, 1 464
 Cross, across, 1 434, 11 168
 Curious, particular about manner of action, 11 308

Debatement, debate, discussion, consideration, 1 355, 11 196, 215
 Decumbent, lying in bed through illness, 11 98, 102, 129, 141, 219-20
 Deering, darling, 1 329
 Defalk, to defalcate, 11 57
 Deferred, rendered, 11 89
 Deformation, alteration of form for the worse (opposite of reformation), 1 363, 384, 386
 Demerit, to merit, to be worthy of, 1 357
 Dependency, suspense, 1 348
 Destinated, appointed, 1 391
 Diet, allowance for the expense of living, 1 46, 11 76
 Difficult, to make difficult, 11 60
 Dilating, enlarging, expatiating, 1 361 n
Disappetency, failure of appetite, 11 272
 Discomfortable, comfotless, 11 219, 330
 Disconvenient, inconvenient, 1 298
 Discountenance, to put out of countenance, 11 488
 Disestimation, disesteem, 1 317
Dis exasperate, to pacify, 1 324
Disinterested, unbiassed by personal interest, 1 385
 Disports, recreations, 11 91
Dissol, assol, 11 68
 Distent, distension, 11 53
Disumbrageous, free from cloud or suspicion, 11 172
 Doubles, doublefools, 1 330

Ebriety, inebriety, 1 298
 Economical, pertaining to a household or its management, 11 133
Electrating, making an Elector of the Empire, 11 224
Elemented, instructed, well grounded, 11 369, 408
 Eremit, hermit, 11 224
 Especial, pre eminent, 11 169
 Evagations, diversions, 11 403
Exclusive, exclusion, 1 385
 Exemplar, exemplary, 1 349
 Exemplify, to instruct by examples, 11 488

Expectative, expectation, 11 73
 Expressions, things pressed or squeezed out, 11 380
 Extemporal, impromptu, 1 354, 11 135, 250
 Family, household of assistants, servants, &c, 1 47, 317, 450, 467
 Fault, break in the line of scent (hunting term), 11 290
 Featly, fitly, aptly, 11 147
Febulous, feverish, 1 321, 11 85, 189
Fence out, to spend, 11 353
 Fit, to provide with what is fit, 11 147, 202, 254
 Flashing, dishing, 11 221
 Flatter, to nurse or take care of one self, 1 462
Flatuous, flatulent, 11 344
 Fledge, fledged, fit to fly, 1 353
 Flight, one able to go or run swiftly, 11 392
 Foot, the sum or total of an account, 11 81
Forbear, to prevent, 1 465
For esters, foreigners (*for esteri*), 1 296
 Fraught, freight, 11 324

Gally, to frighten, 11 321 n
 Generality, commonness, prevalence, wide range, 11 214
 Genial, pertaining to generation, 11 465
 Genius, demon or spiritual being, 1 252

Habilitated, qualified, 11 368
 Habilities, abilities, qualifications, 1 438
 Harquebus, early type of portable gun 1 81, 407, 418, 491
 Harrington, a brass fathing token 11 308
 Hectical, afflicted with hectic fever, consumptive, chronic, habitual, 1 143, 11 24, 38
 Historified, decorated with figures historiated, 11 346
Humourists, students of 'humours' 11 400
Humorous of, desirous of, 1 391
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